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INDIAN ART AND LETTERS

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NEW SERIES. VOL. VI. NO. 2

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INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1930-31

[THE following is an extract from Chapter VIII. of the recently issued "India in 1930-31," published by the Government of India, Central Publication Branch.]

After describing the progress of the Survey's investigations of the prehistoric remains in the Indus basin, the Report proceeds:

"Turning now from prehistoric to historic times, we may describe first the discoveries made this season during the course of the excavations at Taxila, which were again of much interest. Here Sir John Marshall's operations were mainly directed to clearing up some of the outstanding problems relative to the history of the several cities on the Bhir Mound and in Sirkap. He has now ascertained that there were not more than four successive cities on the former site. The latest of these was in occupation at the beginning of the second century B.C., when the Bactrian Greeks overran this part of the Punjab, and the second when Alexander the Great came to Taxila in 326 B.C. —a fact that is demonstrated by the discovery in the second stratum of Hellenic pottery and of coins of Alexander and Philip Aridaeus. In the absence of similar precise evidence in the lower levels it has not yet been possible to determine the dates of the two earlier cities, but in view of the rapidity with which city succeeded city in later times at Taxila, there seems no reason, despite the fact that the buildings of the first settlement are distinctly rougher in construction than their successors, to suppose that the site was occupied earlier than the sixth or seventh century B.C. In all four levels now exposed the buildings and streets were laid out very irregularly, and in some points of construction and detail the houses were definitely inferior to the earliest buildings at Sirkap. With the establishment of Greek rule at Taxila occupation was shifted from the Bhir Mound to Sirkap, and to this age belong both the first and second cities on the new site. A find of interest made in a house belonging to the second city in Sirkap was a group of objects comprising a bronze ceremonial water vessel (*kamandalu*) of typical

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Indian pattern, a bronze standard lamp with four legs ornamented with spread-winged birds, a bronze incense burner and the remains of a bedstead of wood covered with brass or copper sheeting. The succeeding city (that is, the third from the bottom) dates from the reign of one of the early Scythian kings—probably Azes I., many of whose coins were found buried in small hoards beneath the house floors. It was evidently this monarch who first laid out the city in the straight regular streets which continued to distinguish it to the end of its history, and contracted its perimeter, substituting well-built walls and bastions of solid stone for the older fortifications of mud ; and the magnitude of the structural alterations dating from this period indicates that the Scythian conquest of Taxila was in all probability accompanied by widespread havoc and destruction of property. How violent were the times of the Greeks, Scythians and Parthians may be gauged from the fact that Sirkap was apparently reduced to ruins and rebuilt no less than six times within a space of 300 years. It was on the last of these occasions that the many treasures of gold and silver found by Sir John Marshall, and described in our last Report, were hurriedly buried and never afterwards reclaimed, doubtless because their owners had been put to the sword or driven into exile. The co-ordination of these treasures with other antiquities found with them has made it clear that this catastrophe occurred when the Parthians were overcome by the Kushans a little before A.D. 64, and we are thus provided with an important means for determining the dates of many rulers connected with Taxila, notably Pacores, Zeionises, Aspavarma, Sasas and Satavastra, as well as for reconstructing the history of local art during the first century A.D., since it is now for the first time possible to differentiate between the sculptures produced in the Scytho-Parthian and Kushan periods respectively. Among other finds of interest recently made in Sirkap were an inscribed ladle and bowl of silver, and a series of square coins issued by a hitherto unknown ruler named Vijayamitra with a legend in Kharoshthi on the obverse and in early Brahmi on the reverse. The coins date from the second half of the first century A.D., and were probably struck, not in Taxila itself, but in some district of the Eastern Punjab—possibly Audumbara—where Brahmi was used equally with Kharoshthi.

“In addition to these operations in the ancient cities of Taxila, an imposing Buddhist stupa and monastery of the later Kushan period were excavated during the year at Bhamala near the head of the Khanpur valley some thirteen miles from Taxila, and the clearance of the monastery attached to the great Dharmarajika stupa—the most important institution of its kind in the neighbourhood—was also started. The Bhamala group of edifices is noteworthy for the boldness of its architectural detail, and the stucco figures

which adorn it display more character in their modelling than was usual at this date. Several of the panels depict the death of the Buddha, a subject which has not hitherto been found treated at Taxila. There is also present an interesting pavement of terracotta tiles incised with Buddhist symbols, which resemble those at Harwan, near Srinagar, in Kashmir. Like all other Buddhist monuments in the neighbourhood, the monasteries both of Bhamala and of Dharmarajika were sacked and burnt by the White Huns (Ephthalites) towards the close of the fifth century A.D., and the evidence of their violence is only too apparent in the abundance of charcoal, fiercely burnt masonry, charred manuscripts, gold and silver coins, and human skeletons lying in contorted attitudes among the ruins. The gold coins are issues of the Kidara Kushans, the silver of the White Huns themselves. The latter were probably in circulation at Taxila before the actual destruction of the monasteries, which may be assumed to have taken place some time after the White Huns had taken possession of this part of the Punjab.

“At Nalanda, in Bihar, the excavation of the Buddhist university city, to which brief reference was made in last year's Report, was continued. The remains here, which range in date from the sixth to the twelfth century A.D., indicate that the city fell into ruins a number of times and was as often re-built. The lay-out of the city is characterized by a range of detached monasteries along the east side, and a corresponding range of stupas along the west. A number of these monasteries, and also the main stupa at the south end of the site, were excavated in previous years; and in the year under review the stupa site No. 11, situated next to the main stupa, was cleared, and a large number of small votive stupas that had been erected around it by pious devotees were revealed. This stupa differs considerably in plan from the main stupa next to it, and lacks the many stucco images with which its neighbour is embellished, its own decoration being limited to brick niches and pilasters of various patterns. Well-wrought plaster reliefs of animal figures, with the deer and the wheel of law in the centre, were, however, recovered in a later structure excavated at a higher level towards the southern end of this site. These reliefs occur on what appears to have been a pedestal that once supported a large stucco image of the Buddha in the preaching attitude. As soon as the buildings at Nalanda are excavated steps are taken to conserve them. The chief work of conservation done this year was to monastery No. 8, where the ruined walls and cells and the main entrance gateway were in part reconstructed from internal evidence, and a subsidiary shrine in the courtyard was repaired. A new approach road connected with the District Board road was constructed, and an original passage between two of the monasteries was opened up again to connect with the approach road and bring visitors straight

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to the site. Among the minor antiquities recovered at Nalanda were a stone image of the Buddha in *bhumisparsamudra* and a very well executed standing figure of Avalokitesvara. Another important find was a missing portion of an inscribed stone slab that had been found in a previous year, which enables this inscription to be fully deciphered.

"At Paharpur, in Bengal, excavation was continued in the great monastic courtyard containing the massive central temple of brick, and around the high panelled basement of the temple was exposed a regular line of low walls that doubtless bounded the original *pradakshina* path. The excavation in this courtyard further revealed the ruined remains of a small shrine that appears to be a miniature replica of the great central temple, apparently of the Pala period (ninth to tenth century A.D.), the main shrine itself dating from about the seventh century. Near by were also disclosed a large well, 8 feet 6 inches in diameter, and also the bases of five votive stupas, one of which recalls the star-planned façade of certain Chalukyan temples. Deeper digging to an earlier stratum towards the south of the quadrangle revealed the remains of a spacious hall three bays in width, which appears to have been provided originally with wooden beams on rectangular pillars of brick and to have been eventually destroyed by fire. The cell-lined walls that enclosed the monastic quadrangle were also further excavated on the eastern and southern sides, and the façades of all four sides of the quadrangle have now been exposed to view. The work of repairing the cells exposed was continued, and much of the eastern wall of the courtyard was built up, along with the north gate-house, in strict conformity with the old work. Among the minor antiquities found were a number of interesting terracotta plaques, and a miniature standing image of Kuvera inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the ninth century A.D. At Mahasthan, also in Bengal, two terracotta figurines were found. These are of the Sunga period, and thus represent the earliest antiquities that have so far been recovered in Bengal.

"At Nagarjunikonda, in the Madras Presidency—a site which dates from the second or third century A.D.—further excavation brought to light two more ruined stupas, one of which was found to contain earthenware pots and the bones of animals. A few more valuable sculptures of the Amaravati style have also been discovered; and the numerous stupas, monasteries, and temples on the site have been repaired and made more accessible by improving their surroundings.

"In Burma, owing to the disturbances in certain parts, attention was mainly directed during the year to the examination of ancient sites in Pagan and in the area between Myinpagan and Thiyipyitsaya. Forty-two mounds and sites marking the position of old temples, monasteries, and stupas were

examined. The finds unearthed consisted of terracotta votive tablets—many belonging to the period of King Anorata (eleventh century A.D.), and bearing legends in Pali, Sanskrit, or Talaing, but not in Burmese—some stone stupas, several images of the Buddha in stone and bronze, a few gold, silver, and bronze finger rings, bronze utensils, earthenware urns—two of them glazed and heart-shaped and containing mercury—and fragments of an inscribed stone slab. Small stone images of Ganesha were also found among the ruins of Buddhist shrines; and other mounds yielded a small bronze image of a Bodhisattva and two small stone plaques illustrating the principal scenes from the Buddha's life, one of which is an exquisite piece of carving assignable to the twelfth century A.D. . . .

“Useful work was again done by the Archaeological Chemist during the year in treating antiquities recovered from excavations, nearly 2,000 antiquities having been received in his laboratory for preservative treatment; about fifty specimens of metals, minerals, decaying stone and such-like were also submitted to him for chemical analysis. Some large Buddhist paintings on silk in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum at Delhi were found to require his attention and were transferred to a silk backing and mounted on stretchers to strengthen and preserve them. His advice has been given on the preservation of disintegrating stone at the famous Pagoda of Konarak, of the fine woodwork of the Sun Temple at Katarmal, of the important plaques and sculptural reliefs at Paharpur, and of the stone roof of the Jama Masjid at Delhi. Experiments have also been made by him with various stone cements, and a special preparation composed of magnesium oxide and chloride has been evolved which has been found excellent for repairing stone antiquities. The successful eradication of rank vegetation and jungle growth from ancient monuments is a big problem in India, and it is gratifying to record that good results have been obtained in this direction with a dilute solution of sodium arsenite.

“Considerable progress has been made in epigraphical research during the year. The most important discovery was another version of the Emperor Asoka's minor rock edicts at Kopbal, a place situated in the extreme south of Hyderabad State. The ‘activity’ of this great and pious monarch, to which he himself refers in this edict, is amply attested by the fact that no less than six copies of this edict were engraved under his orders in this remote corner of his dominions—three in North Mysore, two in South Hyderabad, and one in North-Western Madras, all within a hundred miles of one another. The Kopbal inscriptions have not yet been properly studied, but it is hoped that before long they will be available to scholars interested in the subject. Other epigraphical activities in South India include the collection of over 300 new

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inscriptions in the Madras Presidency, pertaining to the Chalukya, Pallava, Chola and Pandya rulers, and work on the deciphering of the collection of Kanarese records from the Bombay Karnatic. In order to accelerate the publication of the texts of Kanarese and Telugu inscriptions copied in the Madras Presidency between 1904 and 1929, the Government of India have entrusted their editing to outside scholars, and this work is progressing well. In North India the most important records examined during the year were those recently secured for the Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Muttra. Here an inscription engraved on a pillar in the Gupta year 61—which is equivalent to A.D. 380-381—during the reign of the Emperor Chandragupta II., is of interest in that this is the earliest date at which this ruler has been proved to have been on the throne. Another record here, also on a pillar, pertains to the reign of the Kushan King Huvishka, for whom it gives the earliest date yet known—the year 28—when apparently he ruled conjointly with his predecessor Vasishka. Another important record, described in the *Epigraphia Indica* published by the Archaeological Survey, is the stone inscription of Yasovarmmadeva that was unearthed in the excavations at Nalanda. This inscription proves that the name of the king who was chiefly responsible for the defeat of the Hunas (Huns) in India early in the sixth century A.D. was Yasovarmmadeva, and not Yasodharmadeva as was previously supposed.

“Satisfactory work has been done during the year in the immense and responsible task of conserving the ancient monuments, numbering over 3,000, that are now maintained by the Archaeological Survey. . . .

“In regard to Museums, an important work in which the Survey assisted was arranging the exhibits that were transferred from the old provincial Museum at Muttra to the new Curzon Museum of Archaeology there, and the services of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum at Calcutta were lent to the local authorities for this purpose. All the best and most typical sculptures have been selected for display, and the exhibits have been arranged as far as possible in accordance with the historical development of art at Muttra; thus Sunga sculptures, introduced by the colossal Yaksha statue from Parkham, are followed by different types of Jain and Buddhist images pertaining to the vigorous school of art that flourished at Muttra from about the beginning of the Christian era, when the Saka satraps held sway, to the downfall of the Kushan Empire about A.D. 300. Among the headless images of Kushan kings in this collection is one inscribed with the name Kanisha. The examples of the Gupta period in this Museum include a life-size image of the standing Buddha, which is a masterpiece of Gupta art; and the collection is rounded off by some fine examples of post-Gupta Brahmanical sculptures.”

A PICTURE ROLL FROM GUJARĀT (A.D. 1433)

BY NĀNĀLĀL CHAMANLĀL MEHTĀ, I.C.S.

THE pictorial roll consists of two carefully joined strips of cloth, the first of which is somewhat wider than the other. The entire roll, measuring 38 feet in length and $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, is in a good state of preservation, notwithstanding the fact that it will complete its existence of half a millenium in 1933. The cloth appears to be a common closely woven cotton sheeting which has been specially treated with a view to make it smooth on the side on which it has been painted and to stiffen it on the other side. The colour is earthen—slightly yellowish. The cloth itself is an excellent example of the work of the medieval weaver and a testimony to the skill of the artist for selecting and treating his material so well.

Like the bulk of the medieval paintings, the present picture roll is also connected with Gujarāt and Jainism. Unlike them, however, the object of this roll is entirely pictorial and has nothing whatever to do with manuscript illustration. There are but three lines of writing; the first one inscribed just below the shrine of Suparśva—the seventh Tīrthaṅkara, is not legible except for the words *S'riyam Sarvatra*. The second inscription is just below the first picture mentioned above and runs as follows :

"Samvat 1490 Vars'e phū(lguna)o va(dī)o Champakaneravāsī prāgvāṭa-jñātiya Sū(ha) Khetābhū Lādī-Suta o Sū(ha)o Guṇa-(yī) kena Lekha-kāritoyam."

"This picture was caused to be made by Sāha Guṇa-Yika (?)—the son of Khetā-bhā and (his wife) Lādī, of the Prāgvāṭa caste and resident of Champakanera on the third of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna in the Samvat year 1490."

The letter after *Guṇa(yī)kena* has been rubbed out, and hence the name Guṇa-yika is somewhat conjectural. The third inscription on the fourth picture is similar, but absolutely clear. It is :

"Samvat 1490 Vars'e Phū o va o Champakaneravāsī man o Tejābhū o Bhāvadesuta-Ko o Vāghūkena Prāgvāṭa-jñātiyena s'ri-Sāntiprāsāde lekha Kāritah."

"The picture of the shrine of Shri Shāntinātha was caused to be made by (Kothāri—a well-known surname among the Prāgvāṭs, meaning treasurer) Vāghāka of the Prāgvāṭa caste, son of mantri (minister?) Tejābhū and Bhāvade (his wife), and a resident of Champakanera on the third of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna in the Samvat year 1490."

The date in both the pictures—the first and fourth—is the same. There can be no doubt that the names Ko(thāri) Vāghāka and Sā(ha) Guṇiyaka (?) are

A Picture Roll from Gujarāt (A.D. 1433)

the names of the patrons who ordered these pictures, and not of the painters, for in the first place the surnames Kothāri and Sāha are significant, even up to this day, of the affluent members of the enterprising and mercantile community of the Prāgwāṭs—now called Porawād Vāṇiyās—principally resident in Ahmedabad and Surat in the Bombay Presidency; and, secondly, the style of the various pictures is absolutely the same, and it is not conceivable that two painters could have worked at two different pictures on the same piece of cloth and completed them on the same date. The Prāgwāṭs (the writer of the present note was born in the same community) have been better known as ministers—such as the famous Vastūpāla and Tejapāla, the patron builders of the famous temples of Delawādā in Abu—and business-men, rather than poets or painters.

The Samvat year 1490 corresponds to A.D. 1433, when the Saiyads of Delhi were ruling in Northern India, and Gujarāt was an independent principality under a Sultan. Champakanera* is the modern Chāmpāner, a deserted village in the Panch Mahals district in the Bombay Presidency, a place of no importance at present; but it was once an important military centre of Western Gujarāt under its Hindu sovereign Vanarāja Chāvdā and his famous Jaina minister Shilaguṇa Sūri. The inscribed images of both these important personages in the history of Gujarāt are preserved in the Panchāsar temple at Pātan—the neglected capital of Siddharāja and Kumār-pāla, and the home of the famous Hemachandra in the Baroda State. They are interesting examples of medieval Jaina sculpture and should be published.

There are seven pictures in all; the largest being 4 feet 9 inches in length and the smallest being 1 foot 8 inches. The latter is picture No. 2, and consists merely of a coloured sketch of the *Śikhara*—the spire with an enclosed geometrical pattern. Near the spire an animated figure of a standing monkey is shown dancing to the music of cymbals and a flute played by a monkey on either side of him. Barring picture No. 2, the other six pictures depict a *Śikhara* shrine standing on a high terrace, with a prominent broad flag flying from the top and containing in its sanctum a seated Tīrthaṅkara. The Tīrthaṅkaras are usually painted in their respective canonical colours and distinguished by their distinctive emblems painted on the pedestals.

The first picture is somewhat damaged and has no *patākā* or flag flying at the top. It is no doubt the picture consecrated by the son of Khetābhā and Lādī. The Tīrthaṅkara is painted green, and provided with a canopy of a seven-hooded cobra. His emblem—the *swastika*—on the pedestal is

* It was finally destroyed with the reduction of the famous fort of Pāwāgarh by Muhammad Begadā, the Sultan of Ahmedabad, in the fifteenth century. Chāmpāner has now a population of thirty or forty homesteads only.

A Picture Roll from Gujarāt (A.D. 1433)

obliterated, as is practically the inscription at the foot of the sanctum. The figure is probably Suparsva—the seventh of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. The picture shows a broad flight of steps made of bricks pointed in white lime. There are no less than seven tiers of steps, each tier being indicated in yellow, while the brick steps are shown in their natural red colour. The picture measures 2 feet 3½ inches. The top part of it shows in vertical elevation or longitudinal section the multicoloured inside of the spire over the sanctum. The central Śikhara is flanked on either side by a set of three smaller and symmetrically constructed spires, the whole structure being supported by a row of substantial but absolutely plain columns. The sanctum itself is elaborately decorated, and the Tīrthaṅkara is seated under an ornate canopy. The picture roll was obviously made to the order of some of the members of the Śvetāmbara sect, who still form the overwhelming majority of the Jainas in Gujarāt; for all the Tīrthaṅkaras are elaborately ornamented as is customary in their shrines, in contradistinction to the austere and nude images of the Digambaras. The hooded cobra is encased in a green circle with lotus-buds hanging at either end. On either side of Suparsva is depicted an attendant with a fly-whisk, while just outside the sanctum is on the left a *Srāvaka* (a layman) and a *Sādhu* on the right in a posture of obeisance.

The second picture, which begins with the inscription already noted, probably represents the open hall—the *mandapa*, with the patterned floor under the usual Śikhara crowning the edifice, supported by typically bracketed pillars. Then intervenes a blank space measuring 2 feet 4 inches in length and a little over 9 inches in breadth, with margins ruled in broad stripes of blue and red.

The third picture is the largest and the most elaborate. It measures 4 feet 9 inches, the spire above being 2 feet long. At the top is a panel of seven standing figures—five male and two female—painted yellow against a background of red. I do not know the exact significance of these figures in the Jaina hagiology. Just below the panel is a small inset showing a four-armed Indra with his usual emblems. The figures in the other inset are too defaced to be recognizable. The shrine itself is topped by a high flagstaff with a broad yellow, red-tasselled flag. The central spire, crowned as usual with a *Kalāśa*, is elaborately worked out, and shown with a number of subordinate Śikharas both in the interior as well as outside the shrine. On the right of the spire are two panels, one of which is altogether obliterated, while the other shows a conventionally painted circular pond with a male figure standing by the side of it. The sanctum is occupied by a golden image of Ādinātha—the first Tīrthaṅkara—who is recognizable by his cognomen of a bull shown in the centre of the elaborate *parikara*, or the pedestal. On the

A Picture Roll from Gujarāt (A.D. 1433)

right is a small shrine also with the figure of Ādinātha, but painted in red. A lay worshipper (the face is defaced) is seen doing obeisance from the steps on the right, leading up to the spacious and multicoloured verandah. The panels just below the verandah seem to depict the scenes taking place on the open courtyard, just outside, or perhaps within, the precincts of the temple. The upper panel—very much damaged—shows the Sādhus climbing up the hilly approaches to the shrine, while the lower panel shows a variety of scenes grouped round a circular tank. There are small shrines of Tirthaṅkaras which appear like the *Utsava-Mūrtis* of Southern India that are taken out in procession on occasions of religious festivals. One of the bullock-chariots has a Tirthaṅkara seated in it. The bullocks are unyoked and an attendant is pouring out water from a typical *carafe*—in use up to the present day—into a medieval basin-like utensil, which occurs frequently in the pictures of *Vasanta Vilāsa*, and may be a kind of flower-bowl. Below this is an animated scene, where beside a comfortable ox-cart is seated a *Śrāvaka* appreciating the posture of the gesticulating *dansouse* dancing to the drum and the pipe (*Sahnai*). The third scene is in vivid contrast to the worldly scene above. A group of male and female devotees and a Sādhu are listening to a discourse by the preceptor seated on the *sinhāsana*, with the familiar tripod called *sthāpanāchārya** in front of him. Attached to the Ādinātha temple described above is a beautiful *mandapa*, or hall, with the architecture typical of medieval Gujarāt. The floor is decorated with a *swastika*, while the supporting square pillars are crowned by a curved spire reminiscent of the famous Rudramāla, constructed by Siddharāja Jayasimha. A group of dancing figures is shown on the entablature of the columns. A pair of conventional peacocks is shown on either side of the mandapa spire.

The next picture (IV.), measuring 2 feet 10½ inches, is the shrine of Shāntinātha, the sixteenth patriarch, as is evidenced by the inscription below it and also by the usual cognomen of an antelope. The Tirthaṅkara is painted in golden colour. On the right side of the sanctum are shown in three tiers, one above the other, a pair of whisk-bearing clergy and a pair of male and female devotees in a posture of worship. The verandah floor shows square slabs of stones with inlaid rosettes in pink, with a green centre. At the top of the picture on the right is a group of three figures—the man is blowing a pipe, while another is offering a flask (of wine?), and the woman a bunch of flowers,

* A sacred symbol of Jainism, and always used by the Jaina clergy. It is always placed in front of the person occupied in individual meditation or religious discourse to the laity. See Plate 30 of my *Studies in Indian Painting*. Dr. Coomaraswamy has misinterpreted the meaning and place of this symbol—called by him *hattha-pītha* in picture 3, Plate I. The tripod is between the two monks, and not in the rear. See his article in *Eastern Art*, vol. ii., p. 239, on “An Illustrated Jaina MS., A.D. 1260.”

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accompanied by a playful gesture with a black piece of cloth (?). Just below the inscription is a coquettishly poised figure of a hunter woman, with her bow and arrow and an antelope, stretching out her leg to the hunter to have a thorn extracted. The woman is dressed in a short blue skirt with a red, close-fitting jacket.

This is followed by a margined (in red, yellow, and green) blank of 4 feet 10 inches, the significance of which will be discussed later.

The last three pictures are on another piece of cloth deftly joined on to the preceding one. Picture No. 5 measures 4 feet 2 inches. It is beautifully preserved like the other two, and is very similar to picture No. 3. The presiding Jina is the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara—Neminātha, whose cognomen is a conch. Neminātha is, in fact, the Jaina counterpart of Shri Kṛṣṇa—blue in colour, and said to be even his contemporary, only superior to him, however, in every possible respect. It is round Neminātha and his bride Rājimatī that the romantic poetry of the Jainas has been woven for centuries. My friend Muni Jina Vijayaji has drawn my attention to the following couplet summarizing the place that Neminātha and Rājimatī on the one hand and Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā on the other occupy in the lyrical and romantic literature of Jainism and Vaiṣṇavism respectively :

Jo na hota Nema aur Rājamatī to kyā karatā Jainajati.

Jo na hota Kṛṣṇa aur Rādhā to rahatā Vishnu-bhagata adhī.

“What would the Jain Sādhus have done if there were no Neminātha and Rājimatī ?

The number of devotees of Vishnu would have been half if there were no Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.”

A few striking differences from picture No. 3 may, however, be noted. The spire is more ornate, and the pillar on the left is spiral-shaped. The blank space on the right was probably left unpainted, for it is obviously meant for the other pillar. On the right margin of the spire are four miniature shrines, three of them being occupied by solitary Jinas, while the last has a female deity with a child in the arm. The Jina shrines are flanked on either side by a conventional *molsiri* tree, commonly depicted in the Vasanta Vilāsa. Just over the broad-faced flag is a miniature shrine of Gaṇapati poised over the blue clouds. The verandah of the central shrine is divided into three parts, inlaid with coloured stones. At the bottom, and apart from the picture, is a woman dancing to the music of flute and cymbals. This group was probably a part of the picture which was never painted, for there is a blank space of 2 feet 10 inches before we come to picture No. 6. The latter measures 4 feet 4 inches, and is probably the best preserved of the lot. The sanctum itself measures 13 inches in length, and has the blue-coloured and snake-hooded image of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jina, with his symbol of a cobra placed on an elaborate pedestal. The shrine is supported by two substantial-

A Picture Roll from Gujarāt (A.D. 1433)

looking spiral columns, while the verandah and the outer courtyard are similar, as in the pictures Nos. 3 and 5. At the foot of the picture is an elderly couple trudging along with their staff, possibly on pilgrimage.

The last picture, measuring 3 feet in length, follows the margined blank of 2 feet, and depicts the most important Tīrthaṅkara—Mahāvīra Vardhamāna, with his cognomen of a lion. A Śrāvaka, with a basket of flowers for worship, is seen on either side ascending the broad steps of the temple. Outside the sanctum itself are to be seen the Sādhus on the right and the lay-worshippers—men and women—on the left. A monkey is seen climbing up the spire, as in the two preceding pictures. At the foot of the picture is a woman dancing with a *tānpurā*, while her companion is playing the cymbals. An empty basket is lying on the side, and possibly the *danseuse* is one of a class of flower-sellers who are frequently found in the vicinity of Jaina temples.

I shall not repeat here what I have said elsewhere* regarding the general features of Gujarāti painting in the fifteenth century. The outstanding feature of the pictorial roll is the size of the drawings, which are absolutely unique so far as the medieval painting of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries is concerned. It is, of course, obvious that the elaborately coloured drawings of the various shrines are not intended to illustrate the exact appearance of the temples, if such in fact did exist. From the inscription it is very probable that the illustration of the shrines of Shāntinātha was taken from an actual building. The pictures described above give us in colour the vertical elevation, as it were, of some of the medieval Jaina temples. One peculiar feature may be noted in this connection. It was suggested some years ago by the late Mr. Vincent Smith that the *pictra dura* work of the Moghul buildings of Agra and Delhi, in particular of the Taj, was the work or, at any rate, the result of European initiative—of a Venetian artist. I have seen myself the most important shrines of Italy, but nowhere have I seen anything comparable to the exquisite inlaid work of the Moghul buildings. Apart, however, from the question of comparative merit, a glance at the pictures of these Jaina shrines of the fifteenth century shows that inlaid stonework was known to these temple builders of pre-Moghul India.

While the drawings of the various Tīrthaṅkaras follow a stereotyped formula, the figures of the worshippers, of the laity, especially the dancing groups in pictures Nos. 2, 5, and 7, are of considerable interest. The worshipping figures in pictures Nos. 5 and 7 are specially noteworthy, for while they follow the conventional formulae, characteristic of the fifteenth century, they are æsthetically superior to the majority of the paintings, say of the Vasanta Vilāsa. All the figures are in profile, but the principle of the greatest

* See my *Gujarāti Painting in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 31 to 37.

A Picture Roll from Gujarāt (A.D. 1433)

visibility is uniformly and skilfully observed,* especially in the treatment of the dancing figures shown in pictures Nos. 5 and 7.

Generally speaking, the present picture roll is artistically superior to the pictures of the Vasanta Vilāsa (A.D. 1451). The drawing is more careful and the portraiture more definite than in the ordinary Jaina pictures. The various pictures seem to have been drawn either by the same artist or his immediate pupils or colleagues of the same school. The object of the pictorial roll appears to have been an act of piety on the part of the several Jainas, who co-operated in having the pictures painted of the sacred temples. The presence of blank surfaces ready to be painted on, shows that the work was not entirely completed. It is possible that the cost of further paintings was not forthcoming from the parties who had agreed to co-operate. It is clear from the presence of the worshippers in the various shrines that the pictures were not meant as mere architectural drawings to be translated later into construction, but that they were intended to illustrate either the existing shrines of Champāner or other places of pilgrimages.

The drawing in a good many cases is extremely fine—as in the case of the worshipping figures (see picture No. 7), and is reminiscent of the old fresco-painters on the one hand and the Moghul artists on the other, especially the earlier Rāgini pictures of the sixteenth century, some of the earliest and, from the point of view of time, most authentic of which are contained in the Laul album in the Bodleian. There is an obvious affinity between the frescoes of Ellora and the pictures of the Gujarāt school. In fact, this particular style, with provincial but characteristic variations, of the “ancient West” extended from Western India through Rājasthāna to Bihar and Orissa, Bengal, and perhaps also to Tibet, and survived well into the eighteenth century. It is found in some illustrated palm-leaf MSS. of the sixteenth (Mr. Ajit Ghose’s collection) and eighteenth centuries (one in the South Kensington Museum). The predominant colours are red and yellow and secondarily green and blue. The quality of the pictures is to be judged from the fact that they were made for a *clientèle* to whom colourful representations of sacred edifices and images meant the performance of a pious duty. To say that “the obvious aim of the Jaina artist was psychological and particularly spiritual expression”† is to ignore

* In the language of the Vishṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa the figures are done in *ardha vilochana* posture.

† See Ajit Ghose’s article on “The Development of Jaina Painting” in *Artibus Asiae*, pp. 187-202, 1927. The discovery of an illustrated MS. of *Bala-Gopāla-stuti*—a work pictorially belonging without doubt to the fifteenth century Gujarāti school—is of particular interest in this connection. See Professor Norman Brown’s detailed article on “Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings from Western India” in *Eastern Art*, vol. ii., pp. 167-206; also Dr. Coomaraswamy on “An illustrated Śvetāmbara Jaina MS. of A.D. 1260” in the same volume, pp. 237-239.

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the fact that the artists were more often than not non-Jainas as at present, and that the æsthetic consideration was perhaps the last thing likely to appeal to an opulent bourgeoisie like the Jainas. Money was, of course, unstintingly lavished on temple-building, illumination, illustration and copying of religious texts, but the discriminating taste of a cultured class was missing, which perhaps accounts for the comparatively feeble products of medieval sculpture and painting made for the Jainas.

The architectural details gathered from these medieval pictures are in complete accord with all that we know from a study of the surviving monuments of the fifteenth century. The temple-architecture is characteristic of medieval Gujarāt, and it has no distinctive traits which may be specifically termed Jaina. The use of the words Buddhist, Jaina, or Hindu in connection with architecture, sculpture, or painting has been most confusing, for it hardly needs any reasoning to show that the artists who did the work did not necessarily or generally belong to any particular sect of the clients for whom they were working. The style in vogue was the artistic heritage of the period and was adapted with necessary modifications for the varying demands of the *clientèle*. While the temples reflect the splendour of the medieval buildings of Gujarāt, the images of the Tirthaṅkaras are of iconographic interest only. The treatment of water, tanks, clouds and hills follows the conventional formula. It is only when we come to the representation of the dancing wayfarers, the weary pilgrims, the discoursing Sādhus, or the devout worshippers, that the purely æsthetic interest is aroused, and that is perhaps the principal point of difference from the later but more archaic pictures of Vasanta Valāsa. The animals and birds—especially the monkey, the parrot and the duck—are also treated with greater realism than is the case in the bulk of the medieval MSS.

[The illustrations that accompany this article will be found on Plates A–F.]

A VISIT TO BIDAR

BY DR. E. H. HUNT

TILL recently few travellers visited Bidar, but it is now easy to reach either by road or railway, and its charm is enhanced by the clearing of cactus and other measures, which are part of the well-considered scheme for preserving places of interest in the Hyderabad State, and making them accessible.

Many accounts have been published, and the pamphlet by Mr. G. Yazdani, "The Antiquities of Bidar," not only gives details of its history, but a translation of all the important inscriptions. All writers mention the attractive situation and the indefinable charm of this ancient city of the Bahmani and Barid Shahi kings, and the object of this note is to draw attention to some of its features which have been less frequently described.

The road branches off from that ancient trade route which crosses India from coast to coast, passing through the Western Ghats near the Karli Cave temples; thence via Sholapur, and, skirting close to Golconda, reaches the east coast at Masulipatam. Travelling from Hyderabad, the last few miles are on an open plain, almost treeless, and from a considerable distance one can see domes and minarets, with the long red walls of the fortifications. The plateau is high, some 2,300 feet above sea level, and Bidar lies at its edge, the steep scarp, about 300 feet high, leading down to the lower plain of the Godavari and Manjira rivers.

If one approaches the city from the new railway station, it is convenient firstly to visit the polo ground. Both pairs of goal-posts are still intact. They are solidly constructed of stone, and show that the length of the ground was nearly 500 yards. The original width is not easy to define, but it would not have been so narrow as the village street of Gilgit, where the game is still played. At the side of the ground is the tomb of Ali Barid Shahi, beautifully proportioned, and constructed largely of finely worked and polished black diorite. This tomb is unusual in that it is open at the base, and the late Mr. Leslie Crump was inspired to write a poem, the main theme of which was that the spirit of the king could watch the game he had loved so well in life. Vague local tales mention the game played at night, the balls being taken red-hot from a brazier and sent hurtling through the air, glowing with a shower of sparks. Bidar teems with such tales, impossible to prove, though many may well preserve a germ of truth.

The University, in the days of its prime, attracted students from the whole world of Islam. It is now a ruin, partly from neglect and partly from

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the effects of lightning, or, as another and unconfirmed account states, from an explosion of gunpowder. As a ruin it is magnificent. The front is still partly intact, and is covered with encaustic tiles, arranged in beautiful patterns, yellow being the predominant colour. From the top of the minaret, which is still standing, a wonderful view is obtained, not only of Bidar itself, but of the whole countryside. Two spiral stairways run inside this tower, each with its own opening on to the top parapet. This unusual arrangement may well account for a strange tale of a man who was no longer wanted. He was encouraged to climb the minaret and scramble round the narrow balcony to see the view. At the best, for the hardened climber, this process is not easy, and the man would have welcomed the suggestion that he descend again. He was taken down the second stairway, and led into some hidden chamber from which he could not escape.

The fortifications of the citadel are constructed of red laterite, perhaps the most beautiful of all building stone. They are still in excellent repair, and for their sake alone Bidar is worth a visit. The gateways are of special beauty, and follow the usual design, with curved approaches and iron spikes, to deter a charging elephant. Over one of these gates is an inscription, still nearly intact, in encaustic tiles of an attractive blue. Behind the wall which is thus decorated is a room where for four centuries music has been played to mark the hours. The strange beating of the Naubat drums, heard in the night, recalls, as perhaps nothing else can recall, the past glories of Bidar. Discarded drums of great size can be seen, though elsewhere—*e.g.*, Roza—even larger drums may be noted. Before playing, drums are tuned by warming, and smoke from the brazier obscures the players.

Passing through the Naubat Gate one comes on the famous triple moat, cut deep in the solid rock. Unconfirmed rumour is again busy, hinting that bears and other wild animals were loosed from their cages at night to roam along the deep bottoms of the moats; an efficient bar to intruders. A bridge crosses the moats to lead to the innermost gate. Just beyond the bridge, in the centre of the road, is a smooth stone, worshipped daily by the local Hindus. If the road is repaired by the P.W.D., the stone is at once uncovered again. It is the footstep of the god, who in one stride reached Bidar from Pandharpur.

Inside this last gate lies the great area of the inner fort, about half a mile square, and now happily cleared of cactus. To the left, up a long flight of steps, one may see the Rangin Mahal, famous for its mother-of-pearl inlay.

Days might be spent in wandering about. The armoury is filled with interesting objects. As at Golconda, Ajanta and other fortified towns, that

“modern” feature, the aperture sight, may be seen. Special features at Bidar are two gigantic letter locks, and a collection of pots with which to measure exactly the powder needed for the large guns. Of such large guns there are many. Two are famous : one for its length, about 28 feet, and now dislodged from its mounting ; the other, still in its original bastion, from which a magnificent view is obtained over the Manjira valley. This gun, the Mandoo gun, is short but of immense thickness, the bore being about 20 inches, with stout metal to withstand a heavy charge. The inscription on this gun, in gold, is of great beauty.

On the plain below the fort lie the tombs of the Bahmani kings. The whole scheme of construction may be readily studied in one which has split in half. The interior decorations of the tomb of Ahmad Shah, the founder, are unique in their design and in the freshness of their colour. More intriguing to the self-appointed guide are sixteen precious stones let in to the under surface of a dome far out of the reach of pilferers. These sparkle when the guide reflects sunlight on to them, and appear to be of considerable size. Some are “Golconda” diamonds, Golconda in those days being the centre of the world’s trade in these stones.

From these tombs one may look back on Bidar with its long lines of fortifications lining the top of the scarp. Fable yet again intrudes. From the lower levels of the precipice springs emerge. The water has miraculous properties. On a bitter morning in December it is warm, while in the afternoon of a scorching day in May it is as cold as ice. It is useless to explain that spring water, coming from the deep recesses of the rock, is of nearly constant temperature throughout the year. At the mouth of one of these springs is a garden, the Fahr Bagh, one of the most attractive spots in this attractive area. On the site of a former Hindu temple of Narasimha is a small but pleasing mosque erected by the Emperor Aurungzebe, and by its side lies the spring. At some unknown period in the past a tunnel has been excavated into the hillside following up the water. At the opening of this tunnel is a Hindu temple with steps leading down to black water. One is encouraged to walk in and to wade along the tunnel to a second temple at the far end, being warned that the water, at first knee-deep, reaches the armpits later. Estimates of distance vary from 400 yards to 1 mile. Of the estimates of distance one favours the optimist who suggested 1 mile, yet the unromantic result of an exact test shows that 300 feet separate the temple at the entrance and that at the far end.

One climbs, with caution, the slippery steps which end the water-tunnel, and peers through the reeky smoke of coconut-oil lamps at the pilgrims worshipping. Fable rises to heights unexpected even in Bidar. Pilgrims

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come in streams, from far and near, wading some with a child on each shoulder ; women and men, all devout, and all anxious to give any possible assistance to strangers from a foreign land.

One returns to the small rest-house, just outside the fort, and finds a man waiting, with a large basket filled with coarse bread made from millet. A bugle blows, tree-tops wave, and within an astonishing short space of time the compound fills with wild langur monkeys. The largest, husband of fifty, and father of almost as many, bears about his person honourable proof of prowess in many a fight to the death, by which prowess alone he retains his position. The Old Man confidently seats himself beside the basket and helps himself to such bread as he fancies, while the females fuss about, scolding their infants, and quarrelling over the pieces of bread which are thrown to them. Thus one sees the continuance of an old grant, for the feeding of these monkeys.

Throughout India and beyond India Bidar is famous for its "Bidri" work : inlay of silver and gold in a special alloy of copper, lead, tin and zinc. This alloy is black in colour and is often mistaken for iron. In its manufacture a special local earth appears to be essential, accounting for the local restriction of this ware to Bidar. Formerly some exquisite pieces were made, but there came a time when design deteriorated and the industry might well have come to an end. Fortunately skilled help has resulted in a most promising revival, and Bidri work is again in great demand.

One may ask the question, Why do places such as Bidar, F'atehpur Sikri and Golconda, at one time of great importance, become of less importance, or even deserted ? The answer, in many cases, is failure of water supply. This, probably more than any other single factor, has led to the marked diminution in the population of Bidar. The construction of a railway, the great improvement in roads, and improvement in water supply may well result in Bidar again becoming of importance. Its architectural and other beauties will be in no way disturbed, for one can feel confident that no interference will ever be allowed.

[The illustration that accompanies this article will be found on Plate G.]

A VISIT TO THE ANCIENT CAPITALS OF CEYLON

BY DR. ANDREAS NELL

[A lecture delivered before the India Society on October 7, 1931, the Marquess of Zetland presiding.]

HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

THERE are some towns in Ceylon which were royal seats for short periods and during a few reigns, but the ancient royal capitals were only three: Anurādhapura from 367 B.C. to A.D. 846, twelve centuries; Polonnaruwa from A.D. 846 to A.D. 1236, four centuries; and Kandy from A.D. 1593 to A.D. 1815, two centuries. The changes of location can be explained by a short retrospect of the invasions and wars which forced these changes. There were many immigrations and invasions from India from the earliest times; one great invasion is depicted in an Ajanta fresco-painting. The earliest recorded in the Ceylon palm-leaf chronicles is that assigned to the year 483 B.C., when an Aryan horde from North India occupied the country and made their leader, Prince Vijaya, sovereign of the whole country, supreme over the Yakkha chiefs and people who were the previous inhabitants. Vijaya and his people were of the Sinhala tribe, and the island, known as Tambapanni, now was called Sihaladipa in Pali, and Sinhala-dvīpa in Sanskrit.

The location of Vijaya's capital about eighteen miles north of Anurādhapura has not been explored, but, as no stone was used in those days, perhaps little can be found.

During 116 years of rule by the Vijayan dynasty some notable towns were founded by the principal chieftains; one was the *gama* or "township" called Anurādhagama, from the name, Anurādha, of its chieftain-founder, and of the constellation under which it was established.

In 367 B.C. the lawful heir to the throne, Pandukābhaya, succeeded, after a campaign of ten years, in defeating his usurping uncles, and he fixed his capital at Anurādhagama, appointing a governor of the city and making municipal regulations; henceforth, the place was a *pura*, or "city," and called Anurādhapura. In the written, as well as the spoken language, its usual name was *Nuvāra*, "the capital city." The erection of big buildings in Anurādhapura began in the reign of King Devanampiya Tissa (who succeeded in 247 B.C.), when Buddhism was introduced by Mahinda, son of the Emperor Asoka; the Bo-tree was planted, dāgabas begun, and monasteries and nunneries were lavishly provided.

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We do not know exactly what immigrations from Tamil South India may have previously occurred, but there is a full record of an invasion in 145 B.C. resulting in the Tamil King Elāla ruling for forty-four years, until a Sinhalese prince of Ruhuna, the southern quarter of the island, fought his way up to Anurādhapura and re-established Sinhalese sovereignty. This king, Duttha Gāmani, became a national hero on this account, and also in recognition of his great building activity at Anurādhapura. He reigned from 101 B.C. to 77 B.C., but only thirty-four years after his death Tamil military leaders reigned at Anurādhapura, and the Sinhalese king was sheltering in the rock-caves and forests of the mountainous centre of the island. When he regained his throne, fifteen years later, he built the great Northern Dāgaba at Anurādhapura in fulfilment of a vow made when in flight at that spot.

Except for a brief interlude at Sigiriya, the royal city was occupied by the kings, and stone architecture flourished until A.D. 781, when the old city of Pulastipura was made the royal city, being the place we know as Polonnaruwa; the later stays at Anurādhapura were few in number, brief in time, and ineffective. In A.D. 846, Anurādhapura was abandoned and Polonnaruwa was used for four centuries for greater security against Tamil inroads. There were, however, two serious interludes in this security. About A.D. 1003 the great Tamil Emperor of Chōla occupied the city and renamed it Jananāthapura; during the fifty years of Chōla rule, which followed, some Sivite shrines were built in the city, but all in dells somewhat removed from the Buddhist edifices.

In A.D. 1053, once more a Sinhalese prince, Vijaya, from Ruhuna came north, defeated the Tamils and reoccupied Polonnaruwa, now called for a time Vijayarājapura. Between A.D. 1153 and 1196, two kings, Parākrama Bāhu (the First) and Nissanka Malla enriched Polonnaruwa with stone architecture and sculpture of immense dimensions. The second short period of Tamil supremacy from A.D. 1215 was destructive in character. Libraries were ransacked, books torn or burnt, dāgabas burrowed into for treasure, vihāras broken, and shrines robbed of the treasures of centuries of royal and public patronage.

For the third and last time, a Sinhalese prince from Ruhuna came north and overcame the Tamils, but, as the north part of the island was largely inhabited by Tamils, he resided at Dambadeniya; his successors resorted in Kurunegala and Gampola; all three places were named *pura*, but not *nuvara*; Anurādhapura was still meant by the term "Nuvara." A fourth Tamil defeat occurred in the middle of the fourteenth century; the Tamil King of Jaffna claimed suzerainty by virtue of his army and demanded tribute and taxes from the Sinhalese. A great noble of royal blood built a fortress near Colombo, equipped his troops, and, when the tax-gatherers came, he hanged them on trees by the roadside. During the consequent war, the King of Jaffna's armies

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were totally defeated. At about this time, the King at Gampola had made Kandy a royal residence on the strength of assurance of its security and invulnerability given by a Brahmin recluse in a rock-cave, Senkada, whose rock, or *gala*, gave the new city its name Senkadagalanuvara.

When, in A.D. 1505, the Portuguese came to Ceylon, the Royal dynasty was represented by the King of Ceylon at Kōṭṭē, the new fortress-palace near Colombo, and by sub-kings at Kandy and elsewhere.

After years of warfare and intrigues, the Portuguese in A.D. 1590 conceived a brilliant plan and executed it successfully up to a point. An army led by a Sinhalese royal prince invaded and occupied Kandy and proclaimed King Dom Philip, another Sinhalese royal prince. The Commander-in-Chief, Konappu Bandāra, baptized as Dom John of Austria, did not approve of this *finale* to his arduous campaign. Dom Philip died immediately under suspicious circumstances, and Dom John, otherwise Konappu Bandāra, renounced Christianity, embraced Buddhism, and proclaimed himself Sovereign Lord of Ceylon under the name of Vimala Dharma Sūrya. This was in 1590. Four years later the Portuguese again invaded Kandy and proclaimed Queen Dona Catharina, a royal princess, daughter of the previous King of Kandy. Vimala Dharma Sūrya defeated the Portuguese, captured the young Queen and married her. The King of Sītāwaka had died in the previous year, and the nominal king at Kōṭṭē died three years later. Thus, in 1597, King Vimala Dharma Sūrya was the only Sinhalese king left, and Kandy, correctly speaking Senkadagalanuvara, became the Nuvara, the royal city and the capital of Ceylon. To this day, its Sinhalese name is Nuvara, or Mahanuvara, the great city.

The Portuguese and later the Dutch knew the Sinhalese King of Ceylon by a descriptive phrase used by the Sinhalese envoys and letter-writers, "*kande uda rata rāja*," "the king of the country upon the hills" (*kande*); this was the source of their term "King of Kandy."

The autonomy of the sub-king's rule at Ruhuna had been abolished by King Parākrama Bāhu; there was no royal family in Ruhuna to furnish heroic princes who would wage war against the Tamil invaders who broke into the northern parts from South India. But this peril of nearly sixteen centuries' duration was ended when the Portuguese occupied and ruled over the whole maritime area of Ceylon. The new peril from European invasions was infinitely greater; for nearly a century the Portuguese profited by the dissensions between the several royalties reigning at Kōṭṭē, Sītāwaka, and Kandy, but from A.D. 1597, they were opposed by the one monarch left, the one at Kandy. For fifty years the Portuguese, and for a hundred and fifty years the Dutch, failed to overcome the Sinhalese in the Kandyan kingdom.

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The few military occupations of Kandy were invariably brief and disastrous to the invading troops ; the same fate befell even the British occupation in 1803. Successful resistance continued for two centuries. The end came in 1815.

The Sinhalese dynasty ended in A.D. 1739 ; the ministers placed on the throne a Tamil, and the next three kings were also Tamil ; the last, who had no shadow of a claim, was selected so as to be a puppet, but did not act the part after his accession. Surrounded by intriguing ministers, and driven to drink by his anxieties, he developed into a cruel bloodthirsty despot, and the people welcomed his deposition.

By a treaty on March 2, 1815, the King was formally deposed, and the King of England proclaimed King of Ceylon. According to the declaration of war on January 10, 1815, the objects of the war were the permanent tranquillity of the British settlements, the vindication of the honour of the British name, the deliverance of the Kandyans from their oppression, and the subversion of the Malabar domination ; and in the official Declaration of the Settlement of the Kandyan Provinces it was justly claimed that the British forces had come "led by the invitation of the chiefs, and welcomed by the acclamations of the people."

Thenceforth Colombo was the capital of Ceylon.

DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATIONS TO BE FOUND ON PLATES H AND I.

Figure in the fresco painting in Vēluvana Vihāra (built by King Parākrama Bāhu I., A.D. 1153-1186). The pose and the style suggest derivation from the Ajanta school. The reverent worshipper is turned towards the central figure in the fresco, the Buddha descending from the Tushita heaven ; a good replica of the whole picture is on exhibition in the Colombo Museum.

The Waḷadāge of King Parākrama Bāhu I., A.D. 1153-1186, mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*, 78, 41 : " (further, he built) a beautiful round temple wholly of stone for the Tooth-Relic, adorned with glorious pillars, staircases and outer walls and so forth."

Lankātilaka Vihāra, built by Parākrama Bāhu I., restored in recent years, a brick structure ; the frescoes on the inner walls are hardly recognizable.

Kirivehera, a dāgaba attributed to the queen of Parākrama Bāhu I.; she is said to have applied such a dazzling white plaster to the surface that it seemed coated with milk, *kiri*.

The Lāta Maṇḍapaya, built by King Nissanka Malla, A.D. 1287-1196. An ornate shrine with pillars curved and carved to resemble the stalks of the lotus plant ; two lines of pillars, outer and inner, form an ambulatory clockwise round the central railed enclosure, in which a flat-topped dāgaba-shaped stone would bear the Tooth-Relic during an exposition. The rails and pillars are all of stone.

BARABUDUR

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL TH. VAN ERP

[A lecture delivered before the India Society on March 16, 1932, Sir Francis Younghusband presiding.]

I CONSIDER it a great privilege to deliver a lecture on the Barabudur in the country which counts among its sons the pioneer of that monument, the man who first made it known and accessible to us Europeans: the great British Governor, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. It was he who in 1814 took the initiative for the first excavation of the ruin, then almost entirely buried after nine centuries of abandonment, and ordered the first architectural plans and description to be prepared, a work which was performed by a Dutch engineer officer, Lieutenant Cornelius. To Raffles and his clever co-operator Crawfurd we owe the first records concerning the monument: they are in Raffles' standard work of 1817, "The History of Java."

I shall try to give you some clear idea of the Barabudur with the aid of a series of slides, pointing out the religious meaning of the sanctuary, its remarkable architecture, the beauty of its reliefs and sculptural ornament.

Of its early history very little is known. We do not know when its building was commenced, nor the name of the reigning king. It was probably the middle of the second half of the eighth century A.D., when Java was under the rule of the Çailendra's, a dynasty that for centuries had its principal seat in Çriwidjaya in Sumatra, near the present Palembang. About A.D. 930, if our scanty information be correct, some catastrophe took place in Central Java, and the Mahayana, the doctrine of salvation of which the Barabudur is a glorification, then went to wreck. The monument was no longer taken care of by the monks living in the sangharama, the neighbouring monastery, and was abandoned to nature. What this means in a tropical country like Java, with an uninterrupted chain of volcanoes in its longitudinal axis, is clear to everyone who has visited "Insulinde," the country that, as our author Multatuli wrote, "is swung along the equator like a girdle of emerald." In 1814 the ruin was covered with earth, rubbish, and growth. The cattle of the neighbourhood daily pastured at the place where formerly the pious Buddhist went on pilgrimage. I spare you the later history of the monument, and only mention

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that from 1907 to 1912 measures were taken to prevent further ruin, and at the same time new architectural plans were prepared, and about 1800 large photographs were taken. I had the privilege of being entrusted with this work.

And now allow me to pass to the slides and show you first of all—

1. AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY MAP OF CENTRAL JAVA.

Here in Central Java the pulsation of Hindu-Javanese civilization was felt most strongly. Here Hindu-Javanese art achieved its highest triumphs.

Evidently there were two principal centres of power. The one south of Mount Merapi, the Meru-api or Fire Mountain, is now known as the plain of Prambanan, situated between Jogjakarta and Surakarta. The other was to be found in the south of the valley of Kedu, by the River Progo, the great artery of Central Java. Here we find the remarkable triad of Buddhist sanctuaries: the magnificent Barabudur, the splendid Mendut temple, and between them that small jewel of architecture called Tjandi Pawon. These three sanctuaries, the outer ones distant from each other about two miles, are situated exactly in a straight line. Undoubtedly they belong together and were built at the same time—*i.e.*, in the second half of the eighth century.

The map gives us an idea of the carefully chosen situation of the Barabudur. Here we overlook the immense valley of Kedu, the enchanted garden of Java, the Javanese Arcadia. In an eastern direction there rises a range of five imposing volcanoes. The southern one, called Mount Merapi, is still in continuous activity, and during the last two years has brought again death and destruction to many a mountain village.

In the north-western direction there are the Sumbing, Sindoro, and Prah.

2. SURROUNDINGS.

It is well known that the Hindu-Javanese were most careful, in choosing the site of their sanctuaries, to take into account the surrounding scenery. This is clearly shown in this slide. It gives a view in a northern direction. In the foreground are the highest terraces of the building with the latticed stupas. Here we overlook the valley of Kedu, densely covered with rice-fields and villages, partly hidden by coco-palms and bamboo groves. In the background is the majestic silhouette of the Sumbing. To the right the Tidar Hill, that according to Javanese tradition is considered to be the head of the nail by which the island of Java is fixed to the earth.

3. SITUATION ON A NATURAL HILL.

This slide shows us that the sanctuary has been built on the top of a natural hill rising isolated from the plain.

We must bear in mind that the Barabudur was the only monumental stupa in Java. This most sacred sanctuary of Buddhism was originally covered from head to foot with a layer of white stucco including the reliefs and the Buddha statues. It stood on the summit of the hill like a bright jewel, sparkling in the tropical sunlight. One could see it at a very great distance from everywhere in the valley. Indeed, it was the "Focus of the Light of the Buddhist creed"; it was "the Lightning Tower of the Dharma," shedding its blissful rays upon mankind. Besides, it was a symbol of the cosmic fire, a representation too of the Meru, the Indian Olympus, centre of the universe, where the gods resided. Moreover, in the eyes of the Hindu-Javanese population, it was, perhaps, a reflection of the regal power of the mighty Mataram kings.

In the neighbourhood some remains of brick foundations have been found. Probably these belonged to the sangharama, the monastery, used as a dwelling-place by the congregation of monks who took care of the stupa, and by the pilgrims who flocked hither from all parts of the island.

4. GROUND PLAN.

The ground plan shows us clearly the twofold character of the architecture of this stupa—*i.e.*, the substructure, which was in the form of a square, and the superstructure, which was circular. The transition from the one to the other is the so-called plateau.

At the base there is a broad terrace which does not belong to the original plan. It was built round the original basement in the last stage of the construction, as the original base, or rather the foundation, proved inadequate. From it there rise a series of four galleries. They form together the actual procession path used by the faithful. There we find no less than 1,300 remarkable reliefs illustrating canonical texts, which together, and leading up to the climax, give a glorious interpretation of the Mahayanist system.

The superstructure consists of three circular terraces crowned with seventy-two small latticed stupas. In the centre rises the main stupa, which may be called the heart of the sanctuary.

The staircases coincide with the principal axis. At the points where they pierce the main walls of the understructure they are covered by monumental gateways. How wonderful is this ground plan! It has the appearance of a beautiful ornament. It has been composed in a scheme of two principal axes, two diagonals, and sixteen diagonal lines.

5. VERTICAL SECTION.

This vertical section shows how the monument was built in heavy massive terraces around the top of a natural hill. At the foot are the mouldings of the original basement. This one was too weak, and in the last stage of construction it was strengthened by a broad terrace, a powerful mass of 27,000 cubic feet of stone. On the plinth of this original foot 160 reliefs were found. This important discovery dates from 1885, and for it we are indebted to the railway engineer, Dr. Ijzerman.

Since the publication of Professor Krom's archæological description in 1920, the general meaning of the covered reliefs was known, but not the exact text which was followed by the sculptors.

A few years ago, however, Professor Sylvain Lévi made the interesting discovery that these panels illustrate the *Karmawibhaga*, a Sanskrit text found by him in Nepal in 1922. Along the first gallery there are illustrations of the *Lalitavistara*—in other words, of the legend of the Buddha and further of the Jatakas, stories relating to the former lives of the Buddha. These Jatakas are continued on the second balustrade. The panels along the main wall of the second, third and fourth galleries and those of the third and fourth balustrades illustrate another canonical text of great importance to the Mahayanists: the *Gandavyuha*. This extensive text contains tales about the spiritual wanderer Sudhana visiting a number of sages in search of the truth.

The central stupa contains an inaccessible main chamber, in which a remarkable unfinished Buddha-statue has been found. Above the main chamber is a smaller one, which it may be supposed was the depository of some relic.

I pointed already to the fact that the stupa is regarded as a symbol of the universe. Now it is very remarkable that the vertical structure of the Barabudur shows a striking conformity with the division in spheres of the universe according to Indian cosmogony.

We find here the three cosmic spheres, which gradually become more and more spiritualized: the *Kamadhatu*, the *Rupadhatu* and the *Arupadhatu*.

The first one is single and seems to correspond with the basement, now covered. It is the sphere of lust, in reality that of twilight, of dawn.

The fourfold *Rupadhatu*, the region of distinctly visible forms, the so-called *Maharloka* or world of splendour, is in accordance with the complex of the four galleries, with all their wealth of sculpture.

The highest one, the *Arupadhatu*, fourfold again, is the sphere of shapelessness, of the invisible. It is the world without phenomena, corresponding with Barabudur's superstructure, containing the plateau and the three circular stupa-terraces.

6. SOUTH-EAST CORNER BEFORE RESTORATION.

This slide shows us the south-east corner of the monument as it was before restoration.

7. SOUTH-EAST CORNER AFTER RESTORATION.

Here we see the same south-east corner after restoration. Allow me to draw your attention to the essential beauty of this architecture. It is caused by the plastic effect of the masses. The Indian architect builds with volumes. That plastic effect is secured by the strongly projecting parts in the square ground plan of the understructure ; thence a vivid play of light and shadow.

We have to do here with a low terrace structure. From the nature of things the horizontal line dominates here. It is embodied in an unbroken row of cornices. At the restoration it has been our chief aim to complete the gaps. Besides we have tried to restore to the monument something of its original outline (*cf.* Illustration 1).

8. SOUTH-WEST CORNER SEEN IN DIAGONAL DIRECTION.

In this slide we clearly see that the profile of the whole building shows a segment of a globe, that is to say, part of half a globe. This is the shape of the oldest Indian stupas, as we recognize it, for instance, in the monument of Sanchi. Professor Foucher was the first scholar to draw attention to this particularity.

9. BIRD'S-EYE VIEW.

This view from an aeroplane is exceedingly instructive. It gives us a clear insight into the conception of the builders. One can discern distinctly the square substructure with its prominent projecting parts, and the circular composition in the superstructure, the stairways leading up from the court straight on to the main stupa. The encasement of the original base is also plainly visible.

At the foot of the hill, on the east, remains of small sepulchral stupas in brick came to light. But the urns were empty. Probably, however, they once contained the ashes of the pious monks, who lived in the neighbouring monastery.

This monastery was supposed to have been erected on the ridge of the hill, where now stands the small resthouse. In a recent monograph I pointed out that this must be a mistake.

The Buddhist monasteries in Java were one-storied semi-permanent buildings. For these structures the ridge just mentioned offered no space. Undoubtedly the monastery stood somewhere in the surrounding plain.

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10. COMPARISON IN SIZE WITH SANCHI, ABHAYAGIRI, SHWE MAUDAU, ETC.

The Barabudur measures at its base about 400 feet square. The original top of the main stupa rose to 130 feet.

This slide gives an idea of the size of the sanctuary compared to that of five other world-famous monuments.

First of all, we see here the oldest one of the well-preserved Indian stupas, the well-known tope of Sanchi, dating from the second century B.C. Further, the Abhayagiri stupa in Ceylon, first century B.C., the Shwe Maudau in Burma, St. Peter in Rome, and the pyramid of Cheops.

11. SINGHA.

Each of the four entrance staircases was guarded by two guardians, in the shape of the conventional lion, a singha. Only on the west side there were lions of this large type, 6 feet high. Lieutenant Cornelius mentions positively having seen two of them in 1814, and he records accurately at how many feet distance they stood from each other. Between the years 1840-73 one disappeared. It has not yet been discovered where this big lion-statue has been removed to.

12. STAIRCASE WEST.

We are now just in front of one of the four staircases, leading straight up from the stupa-court, to the principal tope. At the points where they pierce the main walls, they are covered over with gateways. None of these lower staircases has been completely preserved. While excavating the stupa-court, we were fortunate enough to recover almost all the ornamental pieces, so that the staircases on all four sides could for the greater part be rebuilt with the original stones. The lower staircases are adorned with the so-called Kalamakara ornament, a decorative motif, that is prominent in central Javanese art, and is regularly used in the frames of niches and gateways. We shall see it again on some of the following slides.

13. BROAD TERRACE.

We are now on the broad terrace. Above the cornice we find a series of niches with a Dhyani-Buddha. This niche takes the form of a temple-shaped building. It is the architectural unit which has been repeated no less than 432 times in the five balustrades. Needless to say this repetition was not always identical. On the contrary, in every balustrade we see some modifications.

Under the cornice there runs a frieze with human figures intercepted by twenty gargoyles. This frieze has in the first place a decorative function.

Here we meet with a continual repetition of various demi-gods, the *dei minores*, which are so prominent a feature in the Mahayanist pantheon, and which, as a rule, are represented on the outer walls of the sanctuaries in order to suggest the celestial sphere ; I refer to the yakṣas, rakṣasas, nāgas, and especially the gandharvas and their female partners, the heavenly nymphs, the so-called apsarases.

14. APSARA.

One of these apsara figures is shown here separately. With its smooth, realistically modelled forms, it represents the ideal of Indian female beauty. Remarkable is the classical pose with what the Germans call "Stand- und Spielbein," with the striking undulating line in which the head, the upper and lower part of the body are composed.

Characteristically Indian is the prominent line of the hip in this sculpture. This arched hip is highly praised in Indian literature, and sometimes compared to the heaving of a sandbank in a river.

In her left hand the nymph holds the stem of a lotus, growing up from the earth, in the right a fly-whisk or chowree, called "camara" in Sanskrit.

15. MAKARA GARGOYLE (Illustration 3).

Barabudur is a terrace structure open to the air. The rain falling down in the galleries was caught by the balustrades. In these balustrades one hundred drains were made. On the outside they discharge in monumental gargoyles. In the lower balustrades these exhibit the makara type shown here.

The makara is an old Indian motif that is found in monumental art as early as the third century B.C. It has a long history of development. When, after ten or eleven centuries, the motif enters the Hindu-Javanese art, it is stabilized into the elephant's head. Distinctly we see here the opened mouth with the teeth, the tusk, the trunk rolled upwards. At the end there is a stalk with lotus flower. From it a cluster of strings of pearls falls down on the spout, resting on the tongue. We see the slit-eye, the conventional ear, and behind it a ram's horn. The whole is supported by a crouching caryatid, a gana.

I had the good fortune to excavate five of these gargoyles, in excellent state of preservation. Here is one of them. The same morning when I found this makara, the Regent, the native chief of Magelang, the capital of the district, happened to be present. When he witnessed my joy in finding this beautiful piece of sculpture, he said : "Captain van Erp, will you allow me to offer you a couple of these makaras? I have got two of them in my bathroom."

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On hearing the word bathroom we must not think of our tub with shower-bath, but of a large brick basin. The Regent's father had taken them away years ago from the Barabudur to be used in his home. Some weeks afterwards I put them back in the place where they belonged. Both these makaras have caused me a good deal of trouble. The Regent's residences are Government buildings. There is a regulation that yearly after the rainy season the plinths are tarred and the walls whitewashed. I noticed then that these Barabudur makaras alternatively had been considered to belong to the plinths and to the walls. It took months before the tar and the whitewash were removed

16. MAKARA GARGOYLE.

Another makara gargoyle, now seen in profile—again an excavated piece—a gorgeous sample of pure architectural sculpture.

We must keep in mind that the whole sanctuary initially was built up without any ornamentation. In this first stage of the work such a gargoyle was a roughly-carved stone block, showing the principal form of the makara. Not until the building was finished architecturally did the sculptors begin their chisel work; so the gargoyles grew up with the building, and the whole gave the effect of pure architectural sculpture in the highest sense of the word.

29,627

17. VIEW IN FIRST GALLERY.

This slide gives a general aspect of Barabudur's understructure. Against the main wall and the balustrades there are a continuous series of reliefs, the total number being 1,300. They vary in width from 8 to 13 feet. One has to take a walk of about two miles along the four galleries to view all the reliefs. Only in this first gallery are there two rows of reliefs, one above the other. On the main wall the upper row of panels shows the Buddha legend in 120 panels: illustrations of a canonical text, the *Lalitavistara*. For the rest jataka reliefs on the main wall as on the balustrades; they are illustrations of tales of the former lives of the Saviour. At the corner of the heavy cornice there is again a gargoyle, now no more of the makara type, but in the shape of another monster head, the kala, a conventional lion's head.

On the cornice we have always the chapel with Dhyani Buddha, crowned with small stupas.

The arches of the niches are adorned with the kala-makara ornament.

18. VIEW IN THE SECOND GALLERY (Illustration 2).

Here a view of the main wall in the second gallery. It gives a good idea of the richness of the relief ornamentation. Here and in both the follow-

ing galleries there are illustrations of another highly-honoured canonical text, the Gandavyuha. As I mentioned above, these are tales of the spiritual wanderer Suddhana, visiting numbers of sages in search of the truth.

19. KALA-HEAD GARGOYLE.

The gargoyles of Barabudur are of two different shapes. Besides the makara type, there is the other: the kala-head, also called vanaspati. It is a conventional monster's head, which can be traced back to that of the lion.

It is unnecessary to praise this sculpture, for it speaks for itself. Of the eighty gargoyles of this type not a single one functioned in 1907; twenty-two of them were recovered in the excavation.

It was a day full of joy for me when the gargoyles resumed their duty for the first time, after having been inactive for who knows how many centuries. I shall never forget it. It was in the month of November, at the beginning of the rainy season. After the first heavy tropical shower the gargoyles spouted again jets of water arm thick out of their grotesque mouths.

I will make a confession. With childlike pleasure I stood for minutes under one of the gargoyles, and from pure delight had myself drenched soaking wet.

And it seemed indeed as if the gargoyles themselves enjoyed it too. Looking at them sharply, I fancied to discover an expression of glee on their countenance.

20. ORNAMENTAL FRIEZES OF THE CORNICES.

Here we have samples of ornamental friezes of the main wall in the four galleries. In the first gallery a garland motif of strings of pearls, filled with lotus flowers; alternately the pink lotus, the nelumbium with the broad petals, and the blue lotus, the nymphæa, with the narrow, sharp-pointed petals.

In the second gallery: garlands with parrots (evidently more frequent in Javanese art than in that of India).

In the third and fourth galleries: lotus rosettes.

21. DETAILS OF PARTITION ORNAMENT: PILASTER, SPIRAL POST.

Here we see details of ornaments functioning as partition motifs between the reliefs: a pilaster, a spiral post, a horizontal frieze with conventional flower pattern; all of them motifs that are well known in Indian art, but yet having Javanese features in their forms.

22. GATE, FOURTH GALLERY, NORTH.

The gateways belong to the most interesting parts of the substructure. This is the best preserved one. We had the good fortune to restore the

crowning part to its original state. Here we see that the gates, too, are framed by the kala-makara ornament.

Allow me to call your attention to the typical Indian vault construction, entirely built up in horizontal layers.

Under the monster's head we notice a couple of celestial figures, Rishis, soaring in the clouds. They are showering flowers over the faithful who ascend from the fourth gallery to the stupa-terraces.

Now we have arrived at a remarkable point, the transition between the sub- and the superstructure. We are still abiding in the *Rupadhatu*, the world of phenomena, in the *Maharloka*, the world of splendour, but are about to enter the *Arupadhatu*, the world without phenomena, without form.

23. STUPA-TERRACES BEFORE RESTORATION.

This is a view of the stupa-terraces as they were before restoration. Please notice the chaos that was to be found here. In the principal stupa you see a large hole made by treasure-hunters. Practically not a single one of the seventy-two latticed stupas was intact.

24. STUPA-TERRACES AFTER RESTORATION (Illustration 6).

The same after restoration.

I draw your attention to the striking difference in character between the sub- and superstructure.

In the galleries a profusely moulded architecture, a wealth of impressive reliefs and ornament. In the stupa-terraces the utmost simplicity, complete absence of decoration. Simple terrace-walls without mouldings, a repetition seventy-two times of the same stupa-motif and in the centre the mother-stupa : the nucleus and heart of the sanctuary.

This striking contrast, of course, is not accidental, but purposely planned. On the stupa-terraces the eye was no longer to be fascinated by the magnificence of reliefs and decoration. It is the place for contemplation, for meditation. Here the pilgrimage ended with the performance of some devout act, bringing an offering of flowers, incense and so on.

25. UNCOVERED ORIGINAL BASEMENT.

This slide gives an insight into the encasement of the original foot. It was uncovered piece by piece in 1890, in order to enable photographs of the 160 reliefs of the plinth to be made.

26. RELIEF ON COVERED BASEMENT.

We take leave now from Barabudur's beautiful architecture and turn our attention to the reliefs.

To take as a first example, one of the 160 panels of the original basement, now covered again. Here is represented what, according to the inexorable law of karma, is awaiting the sinner who, in his earthly life, was guilty of killing and consuming animals. On the extreme right, as an introduction, the scene is depicted: some rocks, some deer, a monkey. A tree forms the partition between this and the next picture. We see here rippling water with fishes and some people fishing with a net. The third panel shows two men—the foremost is hunch-backed—going home with the catch. The last scene takes us into the hereafter, right into the underworld, hell. On a couple of big stones rests a copper pan; the fire is burning underneath. Entirely to the left is a servant of hell, armed with a club. In the frying-pan are the villains who feasted upon the river-delicacies. Now they are fried in their turn.

27. RELIEFS ON THE COVERED BASEMENT.

Two more reliefs with karma illustrations. On the upper one, entirely to the right, two persons who did not manage to live peacefully together on earth. They attack each other with weapons.

Next to it a picture of the future in the underworld. The same individuals have become demons and are now condemned to an eternal fight. The hell-bird with metal beak and claws accentuates this tragedy by tearing pieces of flesh from their bodies.

Next to it another offence against life. A lamb is being butchered. It is hanging from a tree by its hindquarters. A man cleaves the skull of the lamb. The final act is laid once more in hell. The miscreant, who cleft the skull of the lamb, is sitting on the ground now. His hands are bound together under his knees. To the right and left servants of hell are standing. Together they are managing a jacksaw and split the sinner in his turn in two equal parts.

On the lower relief again other infernal punishments. A man is being crushed under the metal-shod feet of an elephant. Further on some people are driven into rock-caverns. As soon as they are imprisoned there, the caverns narrow and the men are slowly but surely crushed. To make life as disagreeable to them as possible they are smoked too: a man keeps a bundle of burning straw before the entrance of the cave.

As a last scene there are again some people who live in enmity. For punishment they have grown together by their backs. They are trying to get

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free, but in vain ! For ever and ever they have now the opportunity to vex each other.

28. THE STORY OF THE SELF-SACRIFICING HARE.

And now a single instance of the inexhaustible treasure of jataka illustrations—*i.e.*, tales of the former lives of Buddha. To give you an idea of the preponderance of the jataka panels, I may mention that they take up fully half of the 1,460 illustrative reliefs.

Take the story of the self-sacrificing hare. It is said that the Boddhi-sattva was incarnated in a hare.

Indra, the old-Vedic deity, the god of firmament and personification of the atmosphere, has descended on earth and is wandering about in the disguise of a Brahman. During several days he has no chance of finding food, and then he meets the beasts of the forest. They deal charitably with him. The lion offers him a dish of sour milk. A monkey brings a bunch of bananas. An otter presents some fishes. But the hare, not being blessed with worldly goods, has nothing to offer but some bitter grass. He thinks this food unworthy of the Brahman. But he does not want to be outdone by his colleagues. He kindles a fire, throws himself into it and offers his roasted body as food for the starved Brahman.

Then Indra reveals his true being. He saves the hare from the fire and carries him along to heaven. As a reward for the hare's deed of sacrifice Indra adorns his palace and the moon with the image of the hare.

Let me add another detail characteristic of the spirit of these Buddhist tales. The text mentions expressly that the hare, before throwing himself into the fire, shakes himself energetically three times. His intention was to save the living population he carried with him from a sure death through fire. Behold a sample of the Indian doctrine of *ahimsa*, of non-violence, enjoining the respect of the lives even of the humblest animals.

29. THE STORY OF THE LION AND THE WOODPECKER.

The hero of this tale is the woodpecker.

A lion is devouring a stag so greedily that a bone sticks in his throat. He is on the point of suffocating. The woodpecker happens to be in the neighbourhood. The lion asks for help. The woodpecker saves the life of the lion by pulling the bone out of his throat. Afterwards the woodpecker meets with difficulties. In his turn he appeals to the lion for help. The lion gives a flat refusal. When the woodpecker shyly reproaches him for his ingratitude, the lion's character is shown by this answer : " You may be glad that, when extracting the bone from my throat, I did not bite your head off."

This tale is very interesting to us occidentals as we know it from our own fable literature. This same story is found in one of the fables of Æsop and La Fontaine. The only difference is that the hero is a crane instead of a woodpecker.

It will be known to you that several of our fairy tales and fables have their origin in the Orient. Through the Persian and Greek literature they have reached us. I thought that it might be interesting to demonstrate this fact by one of the reliefs.

30. HEAVENLY TREE.

Besides 1,460 illustrative reliefs the Barabudur has more than 1,200 decorative panels which are arranged along the balustrades. Among them there are two decorative motifs of ancient Indian art which occupy a prominent place. They are the vase of good fortune filled with lotus flowers, the so-called *Mangalakalaça* or *Purnaghata*, and the heavenly tree, the wishing tree, the *Kalpavṛkṣa*.

Both these attributes of paradise are inherent in the stupa, which indeed is regarded as a symbol of the Indian Olympus, Mount Meru, which is the dwelling-place of the gods.

This slide shows the heavenly tree. Under this wishing tree, a distant relation of our Christmas tree, one has only to sit down to have all one's wishes fulfilled. Jewel pots, symbols of abundance, are placed underneath. *Kinnaras*, partly man, partly bird, appear above. You will observe that these celestial singers and musicians have the appearance of Greek harpies.

The tree is adorned with a crown and a parasol. The leaves are shaped like those of the Indian fig-tree, as it was under such a tree, the sacred Bodhi-tree, that the Saviour attained enlightenment.

31. RELIEF OF THE GANDAVYUHA.

Finally, let me show you some reliefs and details which will convey a good idea of the artistic qualities of the Barabudur sculptures.

Here can be seen an excellent example of the reliefs in the second gallery. In the centre the principal person, Sudhana, is seated. He devoutly pays his respects to a Bodhisattva, enthroned in a temple in front of him. Behind him is a group of attendants. The background is harmoniously filled up by a pair of wonderfully carved conventional trees.

First of all we are struck by the calm and serene spirit of these carvings, which quietly narrate their story. Moreover, the composition is charming, lucid, and well balanced. The whole panel is composed of large groups. The horizontal line is most prominent. This is in accordance with the elongated

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shape of these reliefs, arranged in long rows, in harmony with the horizontal aspect of the whole monument.

32. RELIEF OF THE SUDHANA KUMARA AVADANA.

This illustration of an episode of one of the former lives of the Buddha is exceedingly beautiful. In the centre is the principal scene : nymphs carrying jars of water to a sacred lotus-pond. On the right the hero of the legend, a prince, appears. He is throwing a golden ring into the jar of one of the graceful nymphs. On the left they are seen walking in stately procession to a temple. The sculptor's love for idyllic scenes is clearly shown here. The action of the personages is only slightly indicated, but the whole scene is very effectively rendered. The figures are carved in high relief, on a flat background. This background is of great importance in the Barabudur reliefs. It has the same function as the rests in music.

In later Javanese art, especially that of East Java, we notice a great change. There the background is entirely filled up with magic curls and flourishes. This dread of the empty space, the *horror vacui*, was evidently unknown to the Barabudur sculptors.

33. DETAIL OF THE FORMER RELIEF.

In this detail of the previous slide we notice once more something peculiar to the sculptures of the Barabudur. I refer to the enchanting chasteness and tenderness of the figures.

34. RELIEF OF THE SUDANA KUMARA AVADANA.

This is another fine example of relief sculpture. It is the last but one of a series of twenty panels, illustrating the story of Prince Sudana, as related in the *Divyavadana*. These scenes have been identified by Professor Foucher. In the centre of the panel, under a canopy, the prince is seated on a throne with his bride. On the left we notice a female dancer and a group of musicians. On the right a servant and the *purohita*, or family priest. Behind them are an elephant and horses, attributes of the royal household.

35. DETAIL OF THE PREVIOUS RELIEF.

Lastly, there is this detail of the graceful dancing girl. May I draw your attention to the charm, due to the properties of the volcanic stone. This stone is very porous and has a coarse, sharp grain. It is this grain which in the sunlight produces a wonderful glittering surface.

It must, however, be remembered that this material charm belongs only

to the ruin and not to the original building. As I have explained, the whole monument was once faced with a layer of white stucco.

A dancing girl seems to me a suitable end to a lecture.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I fear I have already presumed too much on your patience. In spite of my poor English, I sincerely hope that I may have succeeded in showing something of the fascination of this most sacred sanctuary of old Javanese Buddhism, of this indestructible stone bridge to the gods, of this glorious stupa, which symbolizes the path to light, to truth, and salvation.

[The illustrations that accompany this article will be found on Plates J to N.]

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SIAMESE PAINTING

BY DR. H. G. QUARITCH WALES

[A lecture delivered before the India Society on February 2, Sir Francis Younghusband presiding.]

THE study of Siamese painting has in the past received very little attention. Indeed, its historical aspect has, I think I may say, received no attention whatever, while, so far as I am aware, the only valuable observations on the subject of the style and technique are those of Professor Karl Döhring. In dealing first with the historical aspect I shall venture to put forward a theory that traditional Siamese painting is in the main to be regarded as an offshoot, decadent but nevertheless interesting, of the classical Ajanta school of India.

In the case of the sculpture found in Siam we have plenty of examples of all periods, and these include not only the products of Siamese sculptors, but also those of a number of other peoples who had occupied the country before the Thai arrived. Thus in recent years very great progress has been made towards an understanding of the historical development of the various schools of sculpture found in Siam. On the other hand, with painting we are handicapped by the perishable nature of the material, so that perhaps no example survives from a period anterior to the destruction of the old capital Ayudhyā, in A.D. 1767. Hence it has generally been supposed that it would be a hopeless task to attempt to trace the historical development of Siamese painting. We can, however, take the first step backwards without any hesitation: the painting as we know it undoubtedly represents an ancient tradition, for Siamese artists of the early Bangkok period had lived at Ayudhyā, and, since they were bound by convention, they reproduced carefully the style of painting that they had known at the old capital before it was destroyed. For at least three centuries prior to the fall of Ayudhyā, the painting, like the sculpture of Siam, must have been decadent; but it seems to me probable that about the thirteenth to the fourteenth century A.D. Siamese painting may have enjoyed a brief but bright period characterized by a comparatively vigorous and living style, of which no examples now survive. This style, if it ever existed, would have corresponded to the so-called classical style of Siamese sculpture which was a direct result of the reaction of the Siamese artistic temperament to the new and vital experience, provided by their attainment of freedom from Khmer domination and as a result of the Sinhalese Buddhist missions in the thirteenth century.

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The evidence which, in my opinion, supports this contention is provided by a series of incised outline drawings on stone, found at the temple of Vat Sri Jum, at Sukhodaya, the capital of the first free Siamese kingdom, and published more than twenty years ago by Fournereau.* They date from the fourteenth century, and their subject is the Jātakas. They are definitely to be regarded as drawings on stone and not as bas-reliefs. Now Siamese paintings of the Ayudhyā style are characterized by an emphasis on line which has caused them sometimes to be described as coloured drawings. In these fourteenth-century drawings on stone we also have linear definition, but it is accompanied by a grace and suppleness which is unknown in later Siamese art. It seems probable, therefore, that there may have existed contemporary frescoes in the same style. Now it has by some been concluded that, because these incised drawings show considerable resemblance to slightly earlier frescoes known in Ceylon, they must be the work of Sinhalese artists who accompanied the Buddhist missionaries from Ceylon. But I am inclined to think that they were produced by Siamese artists who had been very strongly influenced by the Sinhalese, but had also incorporated some features which they had evolved themselves from a much earlier period when they first came in contact with Mahāyāna Buddhism via China or Burma; and there are also features which are the result of classical Khmer influence. In particular it may be mentioned that the royal crowns have already evolved from the low-staged Khmer crowns far in the direction of the modern tapering Siamese crowns, while the rather fleshy bodies seem to be a legacy from early Thai art, prior to the coming of influence from Ceylon.

With these fourteenth-century Siamese incised drawings might be compared the purely Sinhalese frescoes found at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon and dating from the thirteenth century.† They are lighter and more elegant than the Sukhodaya drawings because they are nearer the source of inspiration and they lack the heaviness imparted by the Thai and Khmer elements. The prototype of these frescoes, and also, to a great extent, of the fourteenth-century Siamese line drawings, is to be found in the famous and beautiful fresco showing an apsaras and her attendant from Sigiriya in Ceylon, dating from the fifth century.‡

There is another and stronger reason for my calling attention to this magnificent Ceylon offshoot of the classical Ajanta school of Indian painting. After a lapse of fourteen centuries one can recognize the decadent descendants

* "Annales du Musée Guimet," Tome trente-et-unième, deuxième partie, Paris, 1908. Especially Pl. XI. 1 and Pl. XV. 1.

† "History of Indian and Indonesian Art," by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, 1927. Pl. XCVI., Fig. 291.

‡ Reproduced *inter alia* in "A Handbook of Indian Art," 1920, by E. B. Havell. Pl. I.XXIII.

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of the Sigiriya frescoes in Siamese paintings of Ayudhyā style! If one bears in mind the salient points of the Sigiriya frescoes, the crowned and ornamented maidens casting down flowers, their lower garments partially concealed by the encircling clouds, I think one may recognize a very distant relative in Fig. 1, which I reproduce from a late nineteenth-century Siamese manuscript. The resemblance struck me as very remarkable. It is, of course, highly conventionalized and mechanical, with a simplification that is the effect of exhaustion, not the simplification of a primitive art. The linear definition of the features, indeed the general emphasis on line, is characteristic of Siamese painting, just as it is of late Rajput painting, another descendant of the Ajanta school.

I have thus concluded that Siamese painting of the Ayudhyā style is in the main the product of Sinhalese influence, though not to the exclusion of other influences, for the Siamese of Sukhodaya were adept at assimilating foreign influences, which resulted in a style which certainly deserves to be called national, and maintained itself as such almost to the present day. It should be mentioned that Khmer influence on Siam practically ceased after the classical period; in fact, the influence was rather the other way, and modern Cambodian painting is Siamese in style. On the other hand, though the Chinese influence that is evident in early Thai art was swamped by Indian influences, yet late Chinese influence is to be seen in Siamese painting in the formal architectural and floral decorative motives, often also in the backgrounds.

Siamese paintings exist as illustrations in illuminated manuscripts, as banners hung in temples, and as frescoes painted on the inner walls of temples.* These walls are often entirely covered with paintings from the roof down to the floor, and the subjects are usually Buddhist. On the long walls the representation of the last ten births of the Buddha is very popular; on the west wall (opposite the Buddha image) is often depicted the temptation by Mārā, represented on a much larger scale than is the case with the Jātaka pictures on the side walls. On the east wall (behind the image of the Buddha) is often to be seen the Buddhist version of the ancient Indian world-system, with Mount Meru in the centre; and sometimes monks are to be seen standing in meditation over corpses. Over the windows there are often groups of gods who hasten to pay homage to the Buddha. Another favourite subject of the Siamese painter is the Rāmāyaṇa.† This is best seen in the galleries of

* The manuscripts and banners were represented at the lecture by original examples, and the frescoes by lantern slides.

† A few scenes from Rāmāyaṇa frescoes are reproduced in Döhring's "Siam," Munich, 1923, Pl. XXIV.-XXVII.

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the Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha, which may be said to correspond in some measure to the *chitra-salas* of ancient India.

For centuries the temples were the only picture-galleries of the people, and they played a great part in their religious education. Occasionally the artists seem to have set out intentionally to portray scenes in early Bangkok or Ayudhyā ;* but even in the definitely religious scenes the old Indian heroes are always dressed in Siamese style, set in Siamese surroundings, and given backgrounds of magnificent Siamese architecture. Thus the frescoes have done for Siam of the Ayudhyā period what the Angkor reliefs have done for classical Cambodia. They have left us a record of old-style architecture and customs, and to the student of living culture they are an invaluable aid to the understanding of the Siamese mind and religious conception as expressed through the medium of art. Thus I think it may be said that, in addition to the historical interest, the study of Siamese painting is also of some sociological importance.

Unfortunately, the frescoes in the older Bangkok temples have suffered much as a result of the rain dripping through the roofs, and harm has in some cases been done by allowing Chinese to touch them up. Recently Siamese artists have undertaken the restoration of the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs of the Chapel Royal, with what success I do not know. But it is well known that there are now few, if any, Siamese artists possessing the skill of the old masters. This lack of skilled artists is not due only to Western influence, but it can be traced back to the end of the seventeenth century, when King Narai did much to foster an interest in Siamese painting. The result of this was that the best painters came to be much sought after to serve in the palaces and decorate the throne-halls and royal temples. But as this meant a certain amount of loss of liberty to the favoured artists, it unfortunately led to the loss of much talent, because many good artists preferred to conceal their ability in order to retain their liberty, and as a result of this hardly any famous artists are remembered by name.

I understand that the Siamese process of fresco-painting is as follows : The walls are first covered with a simple layer of mortar, then with dazzling white lime mortar, without any admixture of sand, and the mirror-like surface is burnished and polished. On this surface the small figures are painted with lustrous vegetable colours. The outline drawings of Siamese pictures are first executed on paper, and then carried out on the walls. There is some understanding of the ancient Indian rule that the colour of natural objects should follow nature, while gods and heroes should be depicted in the colours

* Döhring, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVIII., shows a portion of a fresco apparently representing Ayudhyā before its destruction.

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which tradition ordains, such as green, red, blue, gold or silver. For the gold figures actual gold-leaf is used. The figures are strongly conventionalized, and always represented without light or shade. The chief work is always put into the drawing, and there are definite rules as to the colour of the outlines, so that the drawing on a gold ground is red, on red black, on black red, on blue black, and so on.

The formal limitation shows itself chiefly in the traditional types of figures. Thus faces, though sometimes portrayed full-face or three-quarter, are usually in profile; bodies are full-face, and feet are shown from the side as in Egyptian art. But as soon as groups of people are represented they are more naïvely conceived. One of the chief characteristics of the frescoes is that the story is unfolded in epic manner, but Europeans at first find difficulty in following it because there is no clear demarcation between the various scenes shown in close juxtaposition. There is little regard for proportion or perspective, and that thing which is behind another is painted above it, as it was in Egypt. Of the reliefs of Borobodur, where the artists also did not allow themselves to be bound by optical laws, it has been said that "the disproportion does not jar, but only contributes marvellously to the strength of the story-telling and to the richness of the decorative effect." But in the Siamese frescoes this is often marred by the introduction of unnecessary accessories and side-shows, which result in an overburdening with detail, and prevent the real sequence of the story from at once striking the eye. In these side-shows one sees Europeans, particularly the old Dutch adventurers of 250 years ago, painted as onlookers at the scenes of the life of the Buddha. And here realism appears sporadically, and in this lies the possibility of future development.

The bright colours of Siamese paintings appear garish to the European eye when taken out of their natural surroundings. To appreciate them to the full one must go to Siam. There, when one passes from the brilliant tropic sunshine into the half-light of the temples, the deep rich colours are toned down, for from the earliest times it was in this half-light that the frescoes were intended to be seen. Thus the enchantment of the whole impression is enhanced, and the observer is led into a legendary dreamland.

Figs. 2, 3, and 4 are examples of portions of Siamese frescoes which have been selected for reproduction here because, while exhibiting to the full the characteristics of this style of painting, the scenes portrayed are clearer and more readily recognizable to the European eye than is frequently the case. In Fig. 2 the dream of Queen Maya is represented, the white elephant being shown in the inset; and Fig. 3 represents the incident in the Vesantara Jātaka when the Bodhisattva gave away the famous rain-making elephant, the most

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treasured possession of his country, to eight Brahmans who had been sent to ask for it by the King of Kalinga. Those who know what the white elephant is, or rather was, to the Siamese, will understand what a powerful impression both these incidents have made on the Siamese mind. Both these frescoes illustrate characteristic Siamese temple and palace architecture, and I think such pictures constitute a very interesting record, especially when one does, as in these examples, get a glimpse of the inner life of the palace during the Ayudhyā and early Bangkok periods.

In Fig. 4 the Buddha is represented seated on his throne under the Bo tree and being attacked by the forces of Mārā, who is seen on the left riding on an elephant with royal umbrella-of-state and surrounded by his followers, who are attacking in old Siamese battle formation. On the right the scene changes, for the enemy is being routed. Buddha has stretched down his hand to call the earth to witness to his merit, in response to which call the Earth Goddess has appeared and wrung a stream of water from her hair which has given rise to a disastrous flood, accompanied by voracious crocodiles. This picture exemplifies the economical and forceful plan, frequently employed by the Siamese artist, of combining two or more distinct occurrences, in this case the attack and rout of Mārā, into one scene.

Turning now to a brief consideration of the manuscript illustrations: These are found in the paper manuscripts, not in those of palm leaf, and the best paintings are found in works of a religious nature—Jātakas, the Life of the Buddha, and the story of the pious monk named Phra Malai, who by his merit was able to visit both heaven and hell. And with regard to the torments of the latter it may be mentioned in passing that the Siamese artists often exhibit the greatest ingenuity. Fig. 5, representing the temptation of the Buddha by the daughters of Mārā, and Fig. 6, a princess accompanied by her attendants, are good examples of the late Ayudhyā style of manuscript painting, and they both exhibit the two predominating qualities of Siamese manuscript illustrations—good design and movement. In the latter respect Fig. 5 will especially appeal to those who appreciate Siamese dancing. These two examples are also typical in that the subjects of manuscript illustrations are usually persons or deities without the architectural backgrounds which figure so prominently in the frescoes.

Fig. 7 illustrates a remarkable development of Siamese painting which certainly deserves some notice. It is reproduced from what is probably a late eighteenth-century copy of a seventeenth-century manuscript drawing of Louis XIV. Its interest lies in the fact that the flowing curves and freedom of line indicate that in the seventeenth century Siamese art still retained considerable vitality and elasticity which enabled an artist when brought face to

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face with an unfamiliar subject to express his conception of it in Siamese style, instead of abandoning entirely his own conventions in favour of an attempt to imitate Western realism. This picture of a seventeenth-century European has been made to conform to Siamese style, and the result, though curious, is quite pleasing, while, on the other hand, the nineteenth-century leaning towards Western realism is without merit.

In Fig. 8 the design is Siamese and is good, but one can detect the beginning of the tendency to realism in the faces of some of the chess players, though the figures of the monks remain conventional. The tendency towards realism in the secular personages increases in pictures of late nineteenth-century origin, but the sacred figures of monks, with which no liberties may be taken, remain conventional. So long as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Buddhist religion continue to be honoured by the Siamese, so long will the traditional figures of gods, heroes, and monks remain unchanged, and naturalism will be confined to secular subjects. The extreme development of this realism, as exhibited in many late nineteenth-century pictures in which perspective and European backgrounds have been introduced, and to which incongruity has frequently been added by the presence of conventional religious figures, has produced a result which is unpleasing and hardly deserving of notice here. In the same way the idea of depicting incidents from Siamese history is quite late and can be ascribed to European influence.

[The illustrations that accompany this article will be found on Plates O to R.]

ANGKOR : A ROYAL ROMANCE

By MISS LUCILLE DOUGLASS

[A lecture delivered before the India Society on October 20, 1931, Sir Francis Younghusband presiding.]

I wish to express my thanks to the Council of the India Society for its generous hospitality and for the opportunity of giving my lecture on Angkor before so distinguished an audience. I am glad that among the guests this evening are a number of the Indian Delegates to the Round Table Conference, for it is to the culture of their country that the world owes a debt of gratitude for the flowering of the Khmer civilization, the roots of which were deeply buried in the Hindu soil.

At the time when the Kingdom of Sussex had become the Kingdom of England, and my own adolescent nation was as yet unborn, there flourished in the heart of the Indo-Chinese peninsula a race of people known as the Khmers, whose culture paralleled that of the Egyptians and Assyrians, and whose art might challenge that of the Greeks in their prime.

Of undoubted Hindu origin, these people migrated from India at the dawn of the Christian era, bringing with them the seeds of their civilization and religions. Whence they came or by what route, whether by land on the north or by sea on the south, has never been determined, but certain inscriptions point to the latter route. Settling among an earlier civilization, whose origin is unknown, the Khmers established themselves firmly on the land and grew strong and powerful : so strong and powerful that by the fourth century A.D. they carried out a successful rebellion against their overlords and set up their own kingdom, which was later to become the envy and admiration of all Eastern Asia.

Cambodian is the European name for the Khmers, which has its origin in the legend of the mythical King Kambu, who, exiled from India, wandered to the banks of the Mékong, where he met and loved the daughter of the Naga king. From this union sprang the "sons of Kambu"—Kambujans, or Cambodians. In his diary, Tcheou Ta Kouan, the Chinese who visited Angkor in the thirteenth century with the Mongol Ambassador, states that the Khmers had the firm conviction that the Naga queen, in the shape of a

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great nine-headed serpent, appeared each night to the king in the golden tower, changing into a beautiful and seductive woman. If for any reason this meeting was not consummated, then it meant that disaster would befall the kingdom or the death of the king. This would indicate that the legend held a deep significance for the Khmers, even at this late date.

The first kings mentioned in the inscriptions are Crutavarman and Crestavarman, who adopted the surname of "varman," meaning literally "a shield." These early rulers claimed descent from the daughter of the moon, and in consequence founded the mythical lunar dynasty. The kingdom prospered until the fourth century, when by a series of defeats the Khmers lost the territory gained from the surrounding tribes, with whom they waged continuous warfare. The opening decade of the fifth century, however, brought a new wave of immigration from India, and a fresh impetus was given to expansion. Following a war with Chen-La, as the Chinese called the province to the north of the Khmer kingdom, a new line was established, known as the solar dynasty, claiming as their founder King Kambu and the celestial Mera.

After this their development was swift. As early as A.D. 850 a Chinese describes it as a country with "mountains and valleys to the north; floods, a great lake and vast swamps to the south; as many as thirty cities, mostly adorned with magnificent edifices. Each town is inhabited by thousands of families." Again, with the strange pattern that was to pertain throughout the history of the Khmers, there came a period of ill-fortune. The king had numerous wives, and, in consequence, their sons fought over the right of succession, causing endless rebellions.

In the latter part of the eighth century Jayavarman II. began his reign and restored the prestige of the Khmers. This king came from a far-off southern country, Java, and brought with him the manners and customs of his country to enrich the already splendid traditions of the Khmers. Another wave of migration had swept from India to Java and built up a culture which paralleled that of the Khmers. Owing to the large quantities of volcanic stone on the island, many temples were erected, decorated with elaborate carvings. Departing from the Indian traditions, these monuments were pyramidal in form—often built around a hill. The best known of these is the great temple of Borobudur. The Khmers adopted this new material for their edifices, which were formerly constructed of wood, though in reality they were never stonemasons; the heavy slabs of sandstone were employed in the same manner as the more perishable material.

Always a turbulent nation, the Khmers were continually engaged in warfare, and were driven farther to the south-west as their enemies pressed down

upon them. Capitals were built only to be abandoned. This hardly won prestige continued until toward the beginning of the ninth century, when they were firmly established in the province of Siem Reap, in the region now known as Angkor.

While the Khmers' civilization and religion were drawn from India, they developed their commercial instincts from contact with the Chinese traders. Curiously enough, their art was but little influenced by this contact, being firmly grounded in Indian traditions, and also it escaped being engulfed in the Greco-Bactrian wave which swept across Northern India to China, although indirectly influenced by Gupta-Greco ideals.

The history of the Khmers is meagre. There are no tombs from which to learn the secrets of this ancient civilization. The Khmers burned their dead. In place of the desert sands which have preserved the records of Khotan, the tropic damp of the Cambodian jungle and the voracious white ants have destroyed everything perishable. The books written with white paint on deerskin have long since rotted; of the wood, carved and painted, that formed so large a part of the interior of the buildings, only a fragment here and there in protected spots shows its beauty. The wooden houses of the populace, thatched with straw, shared the same fate. Inscriptions on the stelæ found in the temples and the surrounding underbrush have furnished valuable information. References are made to the Khmers by a number of Chinese writers, also by Arabs, who from the ninth century travelled through these parts, certainly visiting Angkor. Contemporary history gives but little beyond the fact that battles were fought against the Khmers.

When Kublai Khan dominated China during the latter part of the thirteenth century, he adopted the tradition of a world kingdom and accordingly sent envoys to all the known countries. He did not overlook the powerful Khmers. His successor evidently upheld this tradition, for in 1295 the Mongol Ambassador to Angkor, accompanied by a Chinese, Tcheou Ta Kouan, came from the court of the great Khan at Peking to collect the tardy tribute. As the Mongols were more or less uneducated, it is supposed that the Chinese acted as his secretary. During the two years of his stay he kept a diary, the most complete document existing from which to recreate the life of the Khmers. This diary, "Memoirs on the Customs of Cambodia," consisting of forty paragraphs, included in the Imperial Catalogue of Chien Lung, was translated by the noted French savant Professor Paul Pelliot of the Collège de France in Paris. It contains much valuable information as to the people and their customs, both secular and religious. There was evidently a well-organized priesthood, and, judging from Tcheou Ta Kouan's description of the various insignia of rank, a definitely established nobility with strict regard of precedence. At this time Sivaism and Buddhism flourished equally,

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the temples being used impartially by the worshippers of either sect. The ceremonials were characterized by splendid pageantry of colour and magnificence of vestments. Unfortunately the Chinese recorder could not penetrate the inner apartments of the palace—a fact which he mentions with regret, for little escaped his observant eye—nor is it probable that he was allowed in the sanctuaries of the temples.

The entire region north-east of Angkor is dotted with Khmer ruins, in a greater or less advanced state of decay : temples, palaces, bridges, relics of former capitals. Many of these are already known ; others not yet excavated undoubtedly contain inscriptions, but until the last of these is discovered and deciphered we shall not be in possession of the final evidence around which to construct the history of the Khmers.

Under the direction of Jayavarman II. splendid capitals arose, which were occupied for a period, then deserted, for the Khmers were still nomads and, like the Mayans, moved from one city to build another. They did not employ stone for their domestic architecture, cherishing it as something too precious for ordinary use—suitable only for the habitations of the gods.

To assert his authority and independence from Java, Jayavarman founded the cult of the “Deva-raja,” or “god-king”—symbolized by a linga or phallus, which was placed in the chief sanctuary by priests consecrated to this service reserved for the royal family ; it was the deification of the imperial strain. The outgrowth of this new cult was the strange custom of identifying the dead king and his family with the divinities. By this means the kings retained a superhuman power over their subjects for many centuries.

Then came another king, Jayavarman III., of whom little is known, followed by Indravarman, who ascended the throne in 877, beginning a new line. Indravarman built his capital, Hariharalaya, now identified with Roluos, a short distance from Angkor, where he constructed a pyramidal temple square at the base, with decreasing stages, and with stairways up to the central sanctuary. The plan of this temple was used by the Khmers in their later construction—forming the base of their architectural arrangements in Angkor. Among the other monuments built by Indravarman were six brick and stone towers, dedicated to his ancestors, who according to custom had been raised to the rank of gods. These towers are decorated with exquisite carvings, the designs of which are more reminiscent of wood than of stone. This style is referred to sometimes by the archæologists as the “art of Indravarman.”

One of the greatest of the Khmer kings, Yaçovarman, who ascended the throne in the latter part of the ninth century, dreamed of a permanent capital for his people in place of the ever-shifting cities used by his predecessors. Bringing the enthusiasm of youth to the task, for he was only twenty years of

age at the time of his coronation, he set out to found a city "such as a king should build"—wisely selecting his site on the shores of Tonlé Sap, for the two great necessities of life to the Khmers were rice and fish. From his capital he could look in every direction across a land whose fertility could easily supply the needs of his subjects, while the waters of the lake teemed with fish. During the time that this splendid new city, which he called Yaçodharapura, was under construction, he still remained surrounded by his court at Hariharalaya—his father's capital. Unfortunately, there are no records surviving of the royal entry into Yaçodharapura.

Until recent years Yaçovarman's capital has been identified with Angkor Thom, but a theory proposed by M. Philippe Stern upset this conclusion and advanced the date of the city and the outlying temples of Prah Khan, Ta Prohm and Banteai Kedei to a much later date. Long-neglected inscriptions on the little temples at the corners of the city walls deciphered by M. Georges Cœdès, however, more or less definitely establish the fact that the Bayon, the city walls and gates, and the allied temples, were built by Jayavarman VII. in the latter part of the twelfth century, thus clearing up the confusing contradictions of Khmer architecture. This in no way dims the glory of Yaçovarman.

While the city of Yaçodharapura was not so large nor so magnificent as the great capital city of Angkor Thom, in which it was later incorporated, it was imposing and did credit to the genius of Yaçovarman. With the exception of a few brief years this ancient city remained the royal residence of the Khmer kings. Built in a rectangular shape, lying east-west, the strong double walls were of stone. Within these walls, of which only the foundations can be traced today, were arranged the palaces, the women's apartments, the theatres, dressing-rooms for the actresses, all the various buildings necessary for the complex requirements of a royal residence.

The temple of Ph'meanakas, the celestial abode, was the only building for which stone was used exclusively, the other buildings being made partially of wood. Erected in pyramidal shape, this early temple was composed of three terraces of decreasing size, approached on each of the four sides by ladder-like stairs. The upper terrace contained the chapel, which at the time of Tcheou Ta Kouan, the Chinese traveller, was crowned with a tower of copper. From this vantage-point the king could look down the long vista across the Eastern Baray, a vast lake, to his rich and fertile kingdom.

In front of the Royal Palace was laid out a great public square, on which the armies could be deployed and where the numerous fêtes could be held. Tcheou Ta Kouan describes one for each month. When Jayavarman VII. began his campaign of feverish building some centuries later, he had the wall

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of the royal terrace replaced by another on which is carved the bas-relief of the hunting elephants, a long line stretching hundreds of feet—a tremendous achievement.

Fortunately, Tcheou Ta Kouan was both curious and meticulous, and set down in detail all he witnessed in Angkor. From his description of the going forth of the king, it was truly a magnificent spectacle. "When the king goes forth there is cavalry at the head of his escort . . . musicians and banners . . . women of the palace to the number of several hundred, dressed in gorgeous brocades, with head-dresses of flowers, bearing great candles, even in daylight . . . gilded chariots drawn by goats and horses . . . princes and high officials mounted on elephants . . . then the king himself, bearing the Sacred Sword, standing on a royal elephant, whose tusks are ringed with gold . . . bearers in uniform hold over him white parasols, with golden handles . . . around him are troops of elephants forming a guard. . . . Each day when the king holds audience in the council chamber, for he gives judgment twice a day . . . his coming is heralded by music . . . the king is borne in a golden litter . . . when the conch shells are blown, the golden curtains are drawn aside by two girls . . . holding the Sacred Sword he shows himself to his people behind a golden window . . . his skirt is of jewelled cloth, embroidered in a floral design reserved especially for the royal garments . . . on his head is a golden fillet entwined with jasmine flowers . . . great ropes of pearls encircle his neck, while on his wrists and ankles he wears gold bracelets . . . on his fingers are rings set with cat's-eyes . . . the soles of his feet and the palms of his hands are tinted red. . . ." So it was the mighty king of the Khmers showed his riches and power.

Yaçovarman's reign was marked by a long series of wars and conquests, from which he brought back thousands of captives to embellish his city. Like all the Khmer rulers, he favoured the arts and sciences; the rare interludes between foreign wars were marked by the erection of numerous temples and monasteries. A great statesman, he contracted many foreign alliances, which added materially to the importance of the Khmers. By this time the royal state was firmly established, upheld by a strong political organization, amply protected by a powerful army, and enjoying almost fabulous riches and luxury. At the close of his eventful reign in 910, his kingdom included the southern part of present Siam, Cambodia, Cochin China and all of Laos.

Jayavarman IV., one of his successors (928-942), who, according to M. Commaille, was the brother-in-law of King Yaçovarman, for some reason moved his court to Koh-Ker, sixty-five miles north-east of Angkor, where it remained for some sixteen years. Following the short reign of Harshavarman

II., the capital was moved back to Angkor by Rajendravarman (944-968). The Royal Palace was enriched by new edifices. Rajendravarman was succeeded by his son, Jayavarman V. (969-1001), whose throne was snatched by a usurper, upon whose heels vengeance followed quickly, as another, more powerful than he, took possession of his crown. This was Suryavarman I., of the solar dynasty, who reigned for half a century, building great temples outside Angkor. Suryavarman I. was followed by Udyadityavarman in 1050, who erected the Baphuon, a huge pyramidal temple dedicated to Śiva—as large as the great pyramid of Gizeh—within the confines of the city of Yaçovarman. In his brief reign occurred various uprisings under rebel leaders, significant of the growing unrest that was later to culminate in the revolt of the powerful province of Siam. Then followed several kings of more or less importance, until the reign of Suryavarman II. (1112), who built the most magnificent of all temples, Angkor Vat, which marks the Golden Age of Khmer art.

Covering an area of three and a half square miles, this vast monument, overpowering in size and exquisite in design, is surrounded by a moat 700 feet wide. Three concentric squares form decreasing terraces, elevated one above another, with long galleries of repeated columns crowned by the final towers, which soar up to the sky in one splendid sweep of graceful symmetry. The long causeway, some 40 feet in width, passes through the western entrance, straight down to the gateway of the second terrace, bordered with the most dramatic architectural motifs of the Khmers—the Naga. The body of the serpent forms the rail and the upreared sevenfold head guards the temple entrance.

Along the walls of the galleries are the bas-reliefs—kings and soldiers and priestly processions, interspersed with representations of legendary incidents from the Hindu epics. Hundreds of Tevadas and Apsaras smile gaily from the walls and each stone of the mighty towers carries its burden of carved beauty. The gateways and accompanying stairways are placed at the four cardinal points, finally converging under the central tower in a tiny cell-like chapel, where it is supposed that the king rendered his accounts to heaven. Had the Khmers left but this single monument it would have placed them among the great artists of the world, so perfect is its architecture and so rare its art.

From Suryavarman I. (1002-1049) to Suryavarman II. (1112-1152) the kings continued to follow the policies of Yaçovarman: commercial relations were sustained with China, India, Ceylon and the Malay archipelago. In spite of internecine strife and serious foreign wars, the kingdom prospered, and the great treasures and magnificence of the Khmers were vaunted abroad.

Angkor: A Royal Romance

The period immediately following the death of Suryavarman II. is one of chaotic obscurity. The power and glory of the Khmers declined. Their neighbours, the Chams, encouraged by their evident deterioration, grew bolder and pressed farther into the country upon which they had always cast jealous eyes. Coming to the very shores of Tonlé Sap, they terrified the inhabitants of Angkor and ravaged the city, carrying off much valuable loot. This disaster occurred in 1177, but the Khmers rallied under the leadership of a great man, Jayavarman VII., and turned against the Chams with such vigour that during the last years of the twelfth century the final blow fell and the Khmers emerged triumphant.

Following this successful campaign against the Chams there seems to have been a renaissance of Khmer art. Jayavarman VII., like his predecessor, burned with a passionate love for his capital and longed to embellish the city, so he built in feverish haste temples and monasteries of gigantic proportions and impressive designs, setting the greatest of them all, the Bayon, in the centre of the city.

A devout Buddhist, he favoured the beneficent Bodhisattva Lokeçvara, and used that tolerant, smiling face with which to ornament his monuments. On each of the fifty-four towers of the Bayon, or city temple, are carved four gigantic faces, and the effect at certain hours of the day is very impressive. This decoration was used on the five gateways of Angkor Thom and also on the gates of the allied temples. Tcheou Ta Kouan says that they were crowned by a fifth head of gold.

The approach to the city is by bridges over the moat, guarded by Naga railings—the body in this case upheld by giants on one side and demons on the other. This motif was also repeated at Ta Prohm and Prah Khan. The carvings on the Bayon differ from those of Angkor Vat in that the bas-reliefs of the first terrace depict incidents in the daily life of the people, on the second terrace they are religious in character, while the third terrace is dominated by the great faces.

No other single monument embodies so completely the art and soul of a people as this temple of the Bayon. Not so large as Angkor Vat, it is a mountain of sculpture, and around it hangs a sense of almost sinister mystery. The epic of Angkor has not yet been written, but when it is I feel that the final scenes will be staged on the third terrace of the Bayon.

The plans of the outlying temples follow the same outlines, with the moats crossed by the Naga railings. Built hastily and impatiently, they yet have their quota of carvings, and today at every turn the smiling faces of the Tevadas look out from the tropic growth which adds so much to their beauty. Prah Khan has been greatly restored in the past three years, but Ta Prohm

is still guarded by the giant wild fig-trees, whose roots sometimes run along the ground for 100 feet or more.

The jewel in the lotus is the little temple of Neak Pean, which is entirely possessed by a gigantic fig-tree. Set on a lotus-shaped island in the middle of a square pool, flanked by four corresponding pools, this tiny edifice is dedicated to Lokeçvara. Some suppose that it is the entrance temple to the far greater Prah Khan about four miles away, but whatever its purpose it is wrapped in legend.

Jayavarman loved his subjects and consequently strove to ameliorate their sufferings. He built the great monastery-hospitals of Prah Khan and Ta Prohm and Banteai Kedei, and the records on the stelæ show how great numbers came for treatment, both of soul and body. Then he enclosed the capital city with a great wall pierced by five gates, surrounded by a moat, as if he was fearful of another revolt. This is the city of Angkor Thom. A great leader, a great king, he stamped his personality on the monuments which he left.

It was a period of deceptive prosperity, for while the Khmers were indulging in a riot of building, the Siamese had been growing stronger and more powerful, and toward the middle of the thirteenth century they rebelled against their overlords, the Khmers. The great nation rallied to withstand the onslaughts of this fresh invasion. Beleaguered, but not impoverished, possibly inspired to resistance by the added strength of the walled city, the dazzling court life unaltered, the civilization of the Khmers burned with undimmed brilliancy for another hundred years.

A Chinese Inspector of Foreign Trade at Fukien, Chau Ju-Kua, wrote a book in 1250, *Descriptions of Barbarous Peoples*, translated by Hirth and Rockhill, in which he says that the king lived in a palace of hewn stone, in the midst of a great lotus pond, with golden bridges 300 feet long. The interior of the palace was correspondingly magnificent. Also, he speaks of the vast number of elephants for use in warfare.

Tcheou Ta Kouan's descriptions verify the rumoured grandeur of the Khmer court and the pomp and circumstance of the king even during this final period, as also the strength and numbers of the army. In the palace were nearly 5,000 women, including the concubines and dancing girls; about 2,000 of them were serving women, occupied in different capacities. Many of the latter were married, and passed in and out of the palace freely. It was a country with "waving fields of grain as far as the eye can see" and numerous cities whose inhabitants numbered many thousands. Another significant fact he mentions is "a recent defeat of the Khmers at the hands of the Thai," or Siamese. From that time the decline was rapid. The social and political

Angkor : A Royal Romance

fabric fell into decay, and after two centuries more of light Angkor was plunged into the darkness of oblivion. The Thai, pouring in from the north, invaded the kingdom, and the Khmers, enervated by luxury and excesses (Tcheou Ta Kouan describes the life as easy and the men effeminate), went down before the onslaught of their more vigorous neighbours. The power has departed from Angkor—but not the glory !

Two questions remain unanswered : What was the end of this marvellous race of the Khmers ? Famine, pestilence, massacre ? The pages of history are silent. And for what reason was this splendid city abandoned by the conquerors ? The Khmers, driven to the east, established themselves first on the borders of Tonlé Sap, then, moving from one place to another, in the sixteenth century, according to Father Antonio, they settled at Srei Chor, a city of 50,000 inhabitants, about twenty-five miles north-west of Phnom Penh. Finally, passing down the Mekong, the Cambodian capital was founded in Phnom Penh during the nineteenth century.

M. Mouhot, in his travels through the countries of Indo-China, in 1861, found a tribe of people beyond Angkor who were more refined and courteous than any of the surrounding tribes, whose faces strongly resembled those on the bas-reliefs of the temples. These people also used the same weapons and musical instruments as the Khmers. Owing to their nomad life, all traditions had been lost. They had no knowledge of writing.

From the twilight of the fourteenth century Angkor was deserted, wrapped in oblivion. From time to time came rumours of a city buried in the jungle. Three centuries after Tcheou Ta Kouan had visited Angkor, Father Ribadeneyra and Father Gabriel de San Antonio, Catholic missionaries, reported a ruined city to the north. From the arrangement of the courts and buildings they considered it the work of Romans.

Other missionaries, during the centuries following, mentioned vaguely having come across pagan temples, but not until January, 1861, was the real discovery made, when M. Henri Mouhot, a distinguished French naturalist, came unexpectedly upon the temple of Angkor Vat. It is not strange to those who have seen this edifice that, when his astonished eyes beheld the five lacy towers etched against the sunrise, he should have thought his brain possessed of strange phantasies of jungle fever. As he expressed it, he was "suddenly, as if by enchantment, transported from barbarism to civilization."

When M. Mouhot's discovery was reported in detail to Paris it aroused immediate enthusiasm. France, always sensitive to the æsthetic, recognized that this was an event of prime importance in the world of art. Several missions were sent out to make explorations and to study the ruins scientifically. France had in 1864 established a protectorate in Cambodia, but not

until the Franco-Siamese treaty in March, 1907, was the province of Battambang, containing important Khmer ruins, returned to Cambodia. After this the office of *Conservateur* was created at Angkor, held at the present time by M. Marchal, author of the *Guide Archéologique aux Temples d'Angkor*. Under l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient which was already founded at Hanoi, systematic excavations were commenced and the restoration of the temples was carried out.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the French archæologists under whose wise direction this work has been carried out. The task has required courage and patience, for during the period of the rains, from May until December, the jungle, ever rapacious, strives to reclaim that which the archæologists have uncovered in their work in the dry season. Year after year the struggle continues. Wherever the tropic growth does not interfere with the construction of the building it is left untouched. It is this union of masonry and nature that gives to the ruins of Angkor a charm unequalled in the world. With the exception of the Bayon and Angkor Vat, the temples must be approached through the jungles, so that they retain an air of mystery. Where it is possible a stone is replaced, but no new material is used ; the contrast of the truncated towers of the western entrance of the Vat with the perfection of the central towers greatly accentuates the beauty of the architecture.

Standing in the late afternoon sunlight on the temple-crowned Phnom Bakheng, a little to the south of the city, one looks across to where Angkor Vat floats like a fairy island in a sea of green, and wonders how long it will be before the jungle tide sweeps over the ruins and Angkor be lost to the world for ever.

NOTE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF SOUTH PERSIA IN ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH

PROFESSOR LANGDON'S and Mr. Woolley's writings have already emphasized the necessity of co-operation between Indian and Middle Eastern archæologists. Sir John Marshall's wonderful monograph, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, as well as researches of other scholars in Western Asia, have made it at least probable that there is a connection between the pre-historic (chalcolithic and earlier) civilizations of Western India and those of Mesopotamia. The find of Indus valley seals, etc., of Mohenjo-daro "make" by Mr. H. Frankfort at Tell Asmar in Iraq has changed this surmise into a fact beyond any possible doubt. Mr. Frankfort has published a preliminary note on this find in *The Times* of March 26, 1932, p. 15.

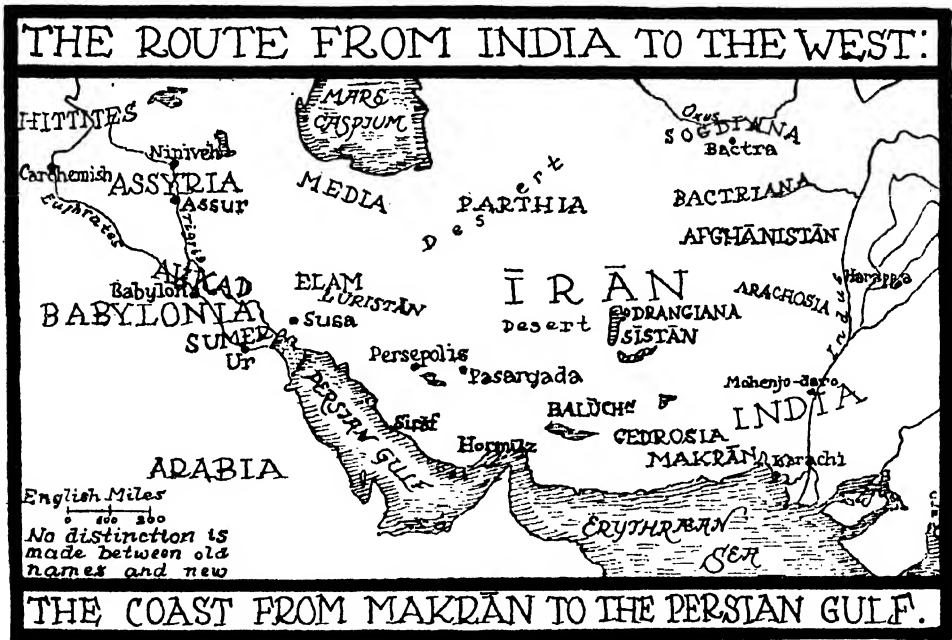
Now the distance—as the crow flies—between Tell Asmar and Mohenjo-daro is about a thousand and three hundred miles, and comparisons are made extremely difficult without connecting data from this vast area. Finds in Sīstān, Indian Balūchistān, and in Lūristān have brought the two ends nearer: the reader can find references to some of these finds in two papers which I have contributed to the Introduction of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the Year 1929* (Kern Institute, Leyden). Mr. Hargreaves' excavations in Indian Balūchistān and Professor Herzfeld's visit to Lūristān are compared there and a few points of resemblance mentioned. The most important step, however, towards the elucidation of these links was Sir Aurel Stein's two winters' work in Indian Balūchistān, and his *Memoirs*, published by the Archæological Survey of India, are now well known to all concerned.

Not content, however, with his admirable results (for few explorers could have visited as many sites as he did in such a brief time), Sir Aurel aimed at going farther afield towards Mesopotamia. Last winter, thanks to the permission and active support of H.M. Rizā Shāh's Government, he conducted a tour of archæological exploration into Persian Balūchistān on behalf of Harvard University and the British Museum. I had the great privilege to take part in this winter's work, but it is only too natural that I cannot write here regarding the scientific results of this expedition, as these must be published first by Sir Aurel Stein himself. Readers of *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS* can, however, rest assured that the results are as satisfactory as one expects from a tour by this experienced explorer. Next year Sir Aurel intends to visit places on and near the coast of the Persian Gulf.

South Persia in Archaeological Research

The importance of these latter areas is obvious to anyone who has read Sir Arnold Wilson's exhaustive treatise on the Persian Gulf. We have ample evidence, historic and other, that navigation along the Persian coast from the West to India (and even to China) was known in antiquity. There exists the clearest possible evidence that, prior to the "discovery" of the "new route" to India by the Greek navigators, extensive commerce was carried on these seas, and merchandise reached Mesopotamia from the Indian side. Caravan routes were in use across Sistān and Balūchistān, and Sir Aurel Stein may tell us more about them. But there are no written records whatsoever to prove that such routes existed in prehistoric times.

It is quite different with the sea trade. It is definitely recorded that seafaring traders sailed south-east of Mesopotamia. And where there is navigation there must needs be seaports. One can thus predict with safety that Sir Aurel Stein's next year's work will be very fruitful.



I have collected a certain amount of evidence relating to the route from India to the West in a paper contributed to the *Études d'Orientalisme Linossier* under the title "Mesopotamian and Early Indian Art: Comparisons." I publish here the sketch map of that paper with a few additional names. A glance at this map will make it evident that it is from Southern Persia we may expect that new light may be thrown on the early civilizations of the Near East.

DR. C. L. FÁBRI.

HINDU LITERATURE IN JAVA

BY PROF. DR. C. C. BERG

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I

THERE has been a steadily growing interest on the part of students of Indian art and letters in the influence which Hinduism has exercised on the Malay Archipelago. Particularly has this been the case with modern Hindu scholars, who are thus turning their scientific attention to these territories which were once colonized by their ancestors. Some recent examples of that newly-awakened interest may be cited. The editor of the new Poona text of the *Wirāṭaparwa*,¹ N. B. Utgikar, did not miss the opportunity² of making use of the Sanscrit *çlokas* of the Old-Javanese *Wirāṭaparwa* text, available in Juynboll's edition in Latin characters of 1912.³ Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, made a trip through Java and Bali in 1927 in order to become personally acquainted with the relics and remnants of local Hinduism, and Dr. S. K. Chatterji, who accompanied him, discussed the influence of the Austric (here practically=Indonesian) element on the development of Hindu culture, when lecturing before the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Letters in September, 1927.⁴ Some months ago I found in an Indian popular scientific magazine which I happened to come across an elaborate description of the work which the Kirtya Liefcrinck-v.d. Tuuk is performing in Bali in order to collect and safeguard the wealth of unknown Hindu-Javanese literature which is still to be found in the palm-leaf collections of Balinese literates. And to mention another very satisfactory result of these renewed relations between India and Indonesia—this year, for the first time, as far as I know, a young Hindu Sanscritist and archæologist, Mr. Bahadur Chand Shastri, has begun to devote himself to the study of the old culture of Java, its language, its literature, and its archæology, at the University of Leyden.

For the Indian scholar it is far from easy to include the Malay Archipelago in his studies, as by far the greater part of what has been published on Javanese and Balinese⁵ archæology, religious systems, music, literature, etc., has been written in Dutch. After having acquired, at the expense of much time and trouble, an adequate knowledge of the Dutch language, he will by reading only a few articles in periodicals on Indonesian culture become

convinced of the necessity of learning one or more Indonesian languages and studying the ethnology of Indonesian peoples, because the lack of a consensus of opinions in every field requires the student's ability to form his own ideas on the many problems and peculiarities of Javanese Hinduism by borrowing from the original sources. He will, perhaps, at times be inclined to heave a sigh in weariness and to say that a good Javanese grammar, a not too mysterious dictionary, and a survey only of the Javanese literature would not be entirely superfluous. But then he may enjoy the Dutchman's comfort that the other workers in the same field meet with the same difficulties, while in other fields the trouble is that people already know all about it, and he will appreciate the more the two existing standard works, Krom's *Introduction to Hindu-Javanese Art* and the *Hindu-Javanese History* of the same author, both of recent date.⁶

As a matter of fact, the time is not yet ripe for writing an Old-Javanese grammar and dictionary and a history of Javanese literature. These branches of knowledge only arose in the second half of the nineteenth century, and have always been checked in their development by the small number of students. In spite of hundreds of Javanese and Balinese manuscripts, which have been compiled in the course of the last century, only some fifteen expert scholars of the subject can be found. Of the large manuscript collections only the one of Leyden University Library has been catalogued, as well as possible; a catalogue of the manuscripts of the Royal Society of Arts and Letters of Batavia is in course of preparation, whereas the Javanese and Balinese manuscripts in Bali, the greater part of which are in native possession, are still only being traced out and listed.⁷ The collection of Leyden University Library consists of about 350 different Old-Javanese works. The texts of some twenty-five works have been edited, thirteen works, to my knowledge, have been completely translated (into Dutch), and four works partly so. For the rest the student has, for the time being, to content himself with the summaries of the manuscript catalogues, and to realize that their value is, of course, sometimes rather hazardous, as it is necessarily restricted by the conditions under which their authors were obliged to work.

How much our knowledge of the Old-Javanese literature is limited, and for the present will remain limited, by the lack of a sufficient number of suitable text editions and of preparatory studies in the field of grammar and lexicology, has hardly to be demonstrated to those who remember this state of affairs from the early years of Sanscrit philology, though even then it has to be remarked that Javanese philology misses the great advantage of the interest of the international scientific world which Sanscrit philology enjoyed from the very beginning. Neither need it be argued at length that, in the present circum-

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stances, even the place in Javanese literature of the works which have already been edited and translated can be fixed only approximately. On account of the lack of sufficient fixed data the reconstruction of the framework of Javanese literature can have only a provisional character, and that is a fact which should never be lost sight of. Further investigations, perhaps, will prove the necessity of changing our framework, and even doing so in a radical way. But although we should not lose sight of the provisional nature of the framework which we are constructing, we must not be blind to the necessity of there being some such framework to enable us to get a provisional idea, and thus in course of time obtain a definite idea; in a hypothesis mistakes too have their value, provided only that they are made with care!

The above remarks may serve to accentuate the relative value of what will follow while excusing the author in advance, when his views may prove to be untenable.

II

Whoever, after having studied Indian literature, begins to occupy himself with Javanese literature, and surveys its history from ancient times to the present day, will presumably not obtain the impression of gradual growth, but rather of gradual degeneration, in the same way as would be the case if he made the acquaintance of Javanese architecture and Javanese sculpture. Ethnology, however, teaches that there can be no question of degeneration—unless we have *a priori* a preference for Hindu culture over Javanese culture—but rather of a gradual coalescence of two heterogeneous civilizations. Just as the history of architecture and sculpture, so also the history of Javanese literature shows a slow process of “Javanization” of imported Indian literature, and on the other hand, of the application of Indian forms to the original indigenous literature, and lastly, an intimate combination of the two currents Indian and Javanese, in one literary life which for a long time has been characterized by strong vitality and great fertility, and which has become one of the most interesting phenomena of world literature as seen from a scientific point of view.

Presumably the oldest condition of literary life in Java after the beginning of Hindu colonization was that the imported Indian literature and the indigenous Javanese literature both had their own existence, quite separate from one another, each living in its own milieu. Indian literature was the spiritual property of the Hindus who settled in Java in ancient times. What their social position in their new country was is not quite clear, but the course of history shows that Indian influence made itself perceptible in the first place at the court. In the political history of Java we first see Central Java coming to the front—after the disappearance of a kingdom in West Java,

which seems to be of no importance to us here—and maintaining its position as the principal power in Java from the seventh century until about A.D. 928. In the next period, from about 928 to the end of the fifteenth century, East Java played the leading part. Then, after a somewhat obscure period which embraced the whole sixteenth century, Central Java again took the lead, but under entirely different circumstances, as a result of the fact that Islām and Europe had in the meanwhile begun to exercise their influence on Hindu-Javanese society. Somewhat similar to the political history is that of Javanese culture. Here, too, we have to distinguish an old Central Javanese period, an East Javanese period, these two forming together the Hindu, or rather the Hindu-Javanese period, and a second Central Javanese period; in the latter Islām begins to exercise an influence as well as to undergo a process of “Javanization” in the same way as Hinduism had done before.

Java twice experienced the fate that a political power almost completely disappeared without being replaced by another power of a similar type and the same geographical position: for the first time in Central Java, in the tenth century, or in the beginning of the eleventh century, when the dynasty of the builders of Barabudur and Caṇḍi Mendut was eclipsed, and for the second time in East Java, when the once mighty kingdom of Maja-Pahit became dissolved. In both cases the ruin of the political power was followed by the decay of literary life. The East Javanese literature, however, was for a good part saved to posterity owing to the circumstance that (α) at the time when Maja-Pahit attained its highest prosperity, about A.D. 1350, it was transplanted to Bali, then a vassal kingdom of Maja-Pahit, and there the court circle was for a long time entirely, or at least for the greater part, Javanese, and that (β) the homogeneity of the political and cultural development of Bali guaranteed the existence and continuation of this imported Hindu-Javanese literature until the first quarter of this century. The old literature of Central Java, on the other hand, which certainly must have existed and must have had a value equal to the more durable expressions of cultural life in the domain of architecture and sculpture—Barabudur, Caṇḍi Mendut, Caṇḍi Sewu, etc.—vanished almost completely; in the case of only a few works, like the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa and the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan, we may, perhaps, assume old Central Javanese origin.

When Central Java, more than 650 years later, came into the foreground again, a new literary life developed, but it was of another kind. The breakdown of the literary tradition as a result of a long period of political decay caused Central Javanese literature to be much more “Javanized” than the literature of East Java and Bali. In the literary life of the second Central Javanese period the *wayang* played a preponderant part; the Hindu epic tales

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became a part of the Javanese historical traditions, in which they now have a fixed place ; the Javanese genius had, indeed, transposed the literature of Hindu origin into a new sphere, given it new motives, and often even totally changed its character, whereas purely indigenous elements were given a Hindu touch in order to smuggle them into the Hindu-Javanese court literature.

It is clear that the idea of the Javanese themselves, who consider the literature of the second Central Javanese period to be the continuation of the literature of Maja-Pahit, cannot be right, with the exception of those works which probably were introduced from East Java at the time of Maja-Pahit's greatest expansion (fourteenth century), and which since were recast into Central Javanese versions, such as the *Bratayuda*, the *Rama*, the *Arjuna Sasrabahu* and the *Wiwaha* (*Mintaraga*), modern versions of the Old-Javanese *Bhāratayuddha*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Arjunawijaya* and *Arjunawiwāha*. Neither the influence of Islām, which in the course of the sixteenth century began to spread all over Java, nor the political confusion of that same century, can sufficiently account for the essential difference between the East Javanese and the Central Javanese literature. This can only be explained by their increasing divergence through many centuries—*i.e.*, from the circumstance that East Java, in spite of the “Javanization” which it, too, underwent, had a better chance of maintaining relations with India than Central Java, which was powerless politically, and less attractive to strangers. East Java, therefore, was able to preserve the Hindu elements of its culture, at times reinforced by new Hindu settlers, in a purer form than was the case with Central Java.

Hence it is clear that, when treating the history of Javanese literature in general and particularly the influence of Hinduism on Javanese literature, we have to distinguish between East Java and Central Java, and as the presupposed old literature of Central Java has practically disappeared, it is evident that this distinction coincides with the distinction between old and new literature. Old-Javanese literature is practically identical with East Javanese literature ; it finds its continuation in Bali and only for a small part in Central Java. The greater part of the newer Central Javanese literature, on the other hand, may be supposed to be the “Javanized” descendant of an ancient Hindu or Hindu-Javanese literature, the older parts of which have perished, or perhaps found their way to the East Javanese literature. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Central Java again became the principal centre of literary life ; this new Central Javanese literature, however, soon began to spread all over Java as a consequence of the dominating position of the Central Javanese court, in the same way as East Javanese literature had expanded as a consequence of the hegemony of Maja-Pahit. Only in recent times has the aspect of literary life and literary activity begun to change

again, since the colonial government is interested in the spiritual development of the Javanese people, and Western influence is penetrating through the schools and the printing press.

• Having now drawn the main outlines of the history of Javanese literature, I should add that a kind of popular religious literature has always occupied a special position, and has developed along lines which intersect the outlines drawn above. Just as our Middle Ages had in their monasteries and nunneries, and India had in its āśramas, important centres of literary activity, so Java also possessed spiritual communities having their own literary traditions. These communities, called *maṇḍala* ("circle") in Old-Java and *pēsantren* ("abode of santris"; *santri* seems to be derived of Sanscrit *çāstrī*, about the same as *pundit*) in later times, seem to have formed a kind of link between Hinduism and the indigenous culture. Though accepting protection from the king or the nobleman in whose territory they were situated, they enjoyed many privileges, and often were practically small free states under the rule of their *dewaguru* ("prior"). It goes without saying that this situation brought with it a fairly large degree of independence of the *maṇḍalas'* literary life from the ups and downs of court history, and at the same time the *santris'* habit of wandering from one *maṇḍala* to another may have helped to abolish, or at least to diminish, the local differences between the *maṇḍalas*, and to establish a kind of uniformity of their literary tradition.

The spread of Islām did not change this situation very much. The *pēsantrens* of the Muhammadan period remind us in many respects of the former *maṇḍalas* in their relation to king or nobleman as well as in their internal organization and in the manner of life of their inhabitants, the *santris*, who, as we saw above, seem to preserve even in their name the memory of their Hindu origin. Nor did the literary traditions undergo a sudden change. As a matter of fact, it may be stated that as late as the eighteenth century there was a lively interest among leading Muslim figures in Hindu-Javanese religious literature, and sometimes it is absolutely impossible to distinguish from one another the religious ideas of *maṇḍala* literature and of *pēsantren* books; in this field the most remarkable phenomena of the typical Javanese syncretism are certainly to be found.

Accordingly we have to discuss, besides the two court literatures mentioned above, a third category, popular religious literature, possessed of its own history and peculiarities.

III

Among the different kinds of Indian literature which found their way into the Malay Archipelago, epic literature occupies a prominent place, and of

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the two great Sanscrit epic poems, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, the latter ranks foremost in Java. In the older East Javanese literature the Mahābhārata is represented in two different forms: in a prose version, and in the so-called kakawins. The main difference between the prose version and the kakawins is, apart from the form, that the former has substantially the same subdivision and the same connection of the tales as in the Sanscrit version; the kakawins, on the other hand, are fresh versions of various shorter or longer episodes, often without any connection with the main story. The question whether or not the whole Mahābhārata was known in Java cannot be answered with certainty in the affirmative, but there is a chance that such indeed was the case. At any rate, it was well known in Java in olden times that the Mahābhārata consisted of eighteen books, and Aṣṭadaçaparwa, "The Eighteen Parts," is the name which the Mahābhārata is usually given, notwithstanding the fact that the latter name is mentioned in the introductory part of the Ādiparwa, the first book.

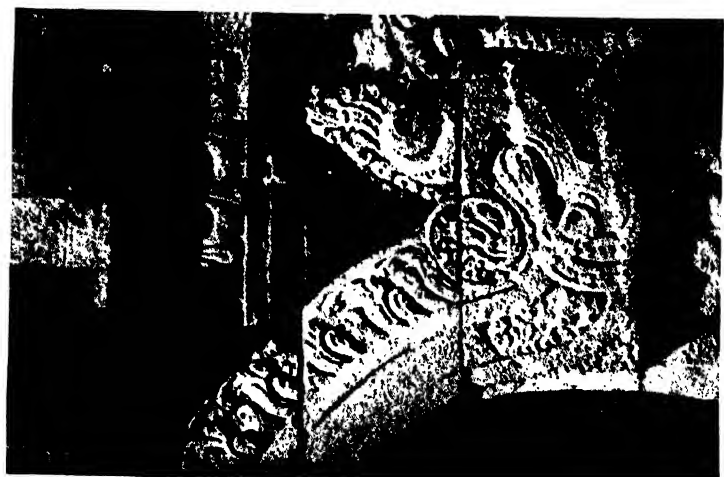
The prose version is not a translation of the Sanscrit text, but an abridged paraphrase. In simple style and language the author tells the stories of the original text with which he keeps, in a sense, in regular touch by at times citing a çloka or a part of a çloka, or even only a single characteristic word. It is not quite clear how we should regard these numerous quotations. Almost in every case they are followed by an Old-Javanese translation. It has been suggested⁸ that these scraps of çlokas were the last phase in a gradual transition from Javanese translations of Sanscrit texts to independent Javanese versions, a phase which would have been preceded by that of literal translations and a following phase of general explanations, in each case of a cited Sanscrit text. The fact that this development is acceptable in other sections of Old-Javanese literature may be a strong argument in support of this theory. On others, however, the Sanscrit quotations made the same impression which the clergyman makes on his congregation by inserting Latin phrases in the text of his sermon.⁹ According to them the author of the Old-Javanese text ventilated his knowledge of the sacred language of India, whereas the readers of his work and those who had it recited liked to undergo the edifying influence of his incomprehensible quotations.—The scraps of Sanscrit do not occur everywhere in the text with the same frequency. Sometimes quotations are numerous, but elsewhere one can quietly read through a whole story without being disturbed constantly by corrupted Sanscrit çlokas. It may be that this peculiarity can be explained by assuming that several authors were engaged in composing our text, or that the text which has come down to us actually was the work of only one single author, who, however, availed himself



*Fig. 1. Archway of the temple of
(a) HANIN SKUL.*



*Fig. 2. Archway of the temple of
(b) HANIN SKUL.*



*Fig. 3. Archway of the temple of
(c) HANIN SKUL.*



Photo L. Chabasiau from Orient.

(a) MONUMENT BEHIND THE NORTHERN KIÂN.



Photo, Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.

(b) TÀ RÊO.



Fig. 1. *Pravoslavskaya, 1900*

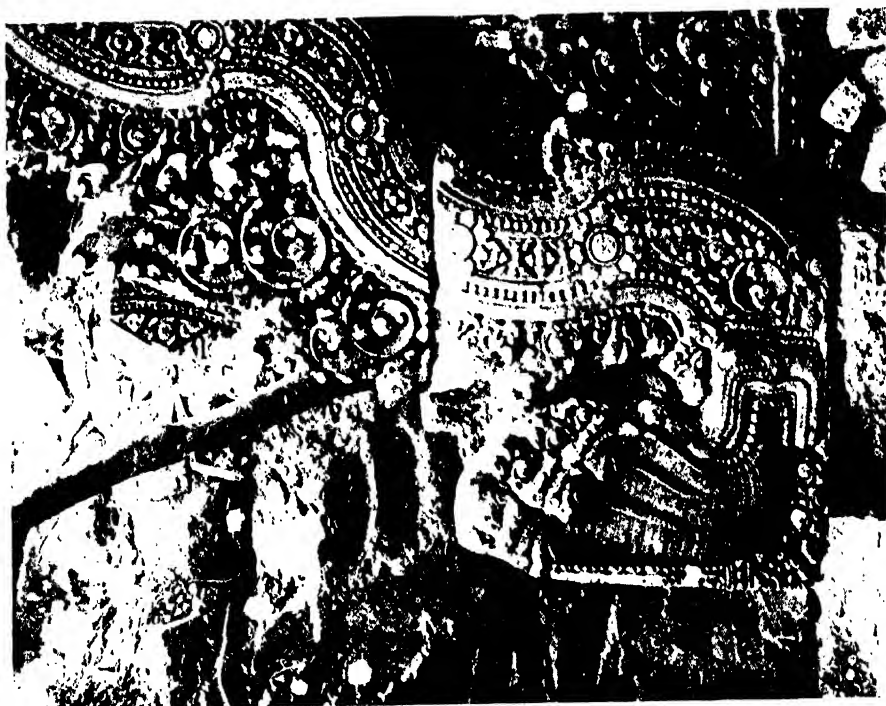
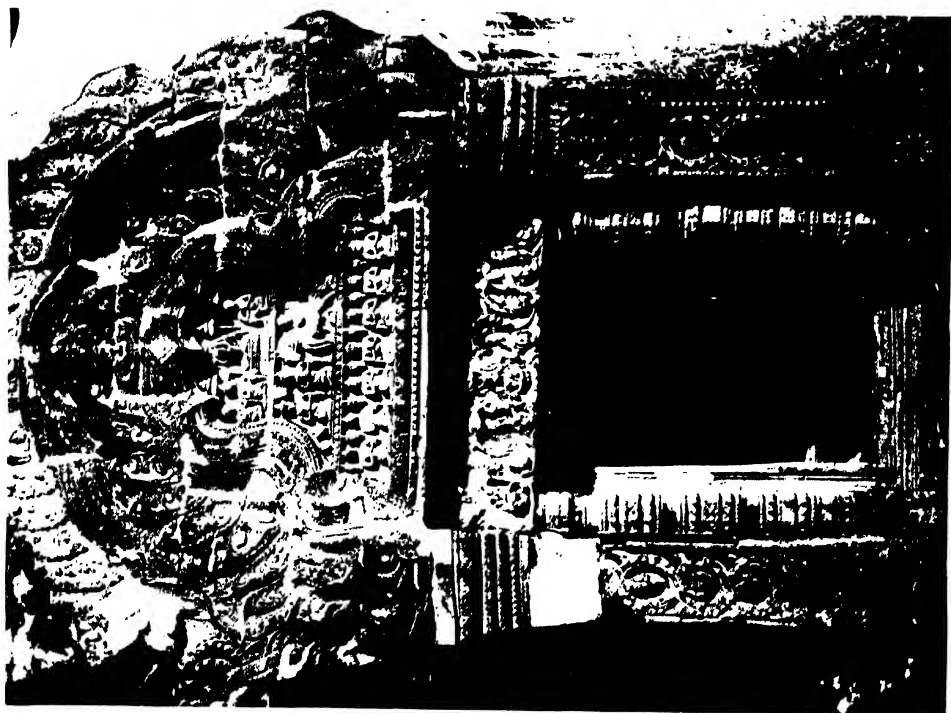


Fig. 2. *Pravoslavskaya, 1900*

(1) *Pravoslavskaya, 1900*



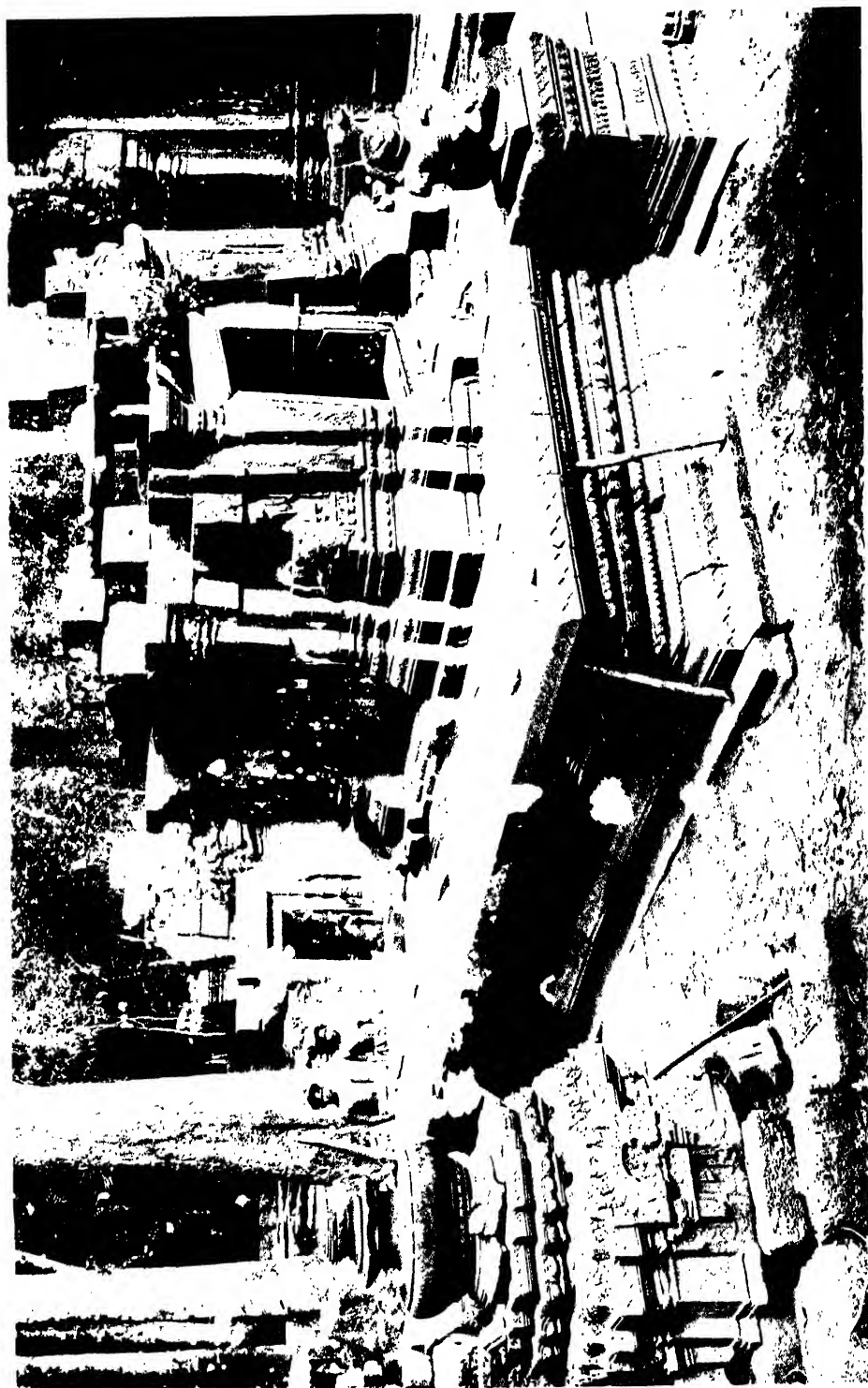


TWO FIGURES PLACED BELOW THE BOODHISATTVAS ON THE RIGHT LATERAL WALL OF THE NICHE OF THE CODDIA OF THE THREE ALTARS, BAMYAN.



FIGURE 1. THE TUGHRA-UD-DIN YAHİ KHAN'S TOMB IN FARDANA.

THE SOURCE OF THE PHOTOGRAPH IS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE IRANIAN MINISTRY OF CULTURE.



PLANTY - KAI

1. Southern Laos: Seen from the southeast, showing displacements and fissures (January, 1931).
Copyrighted material. E. A. Fournier, J. Fournier, J. Fournier.



(Signature)

is: *author* *is* *Sanctuary*: *losing down* and *piecing the same* in order.

1900

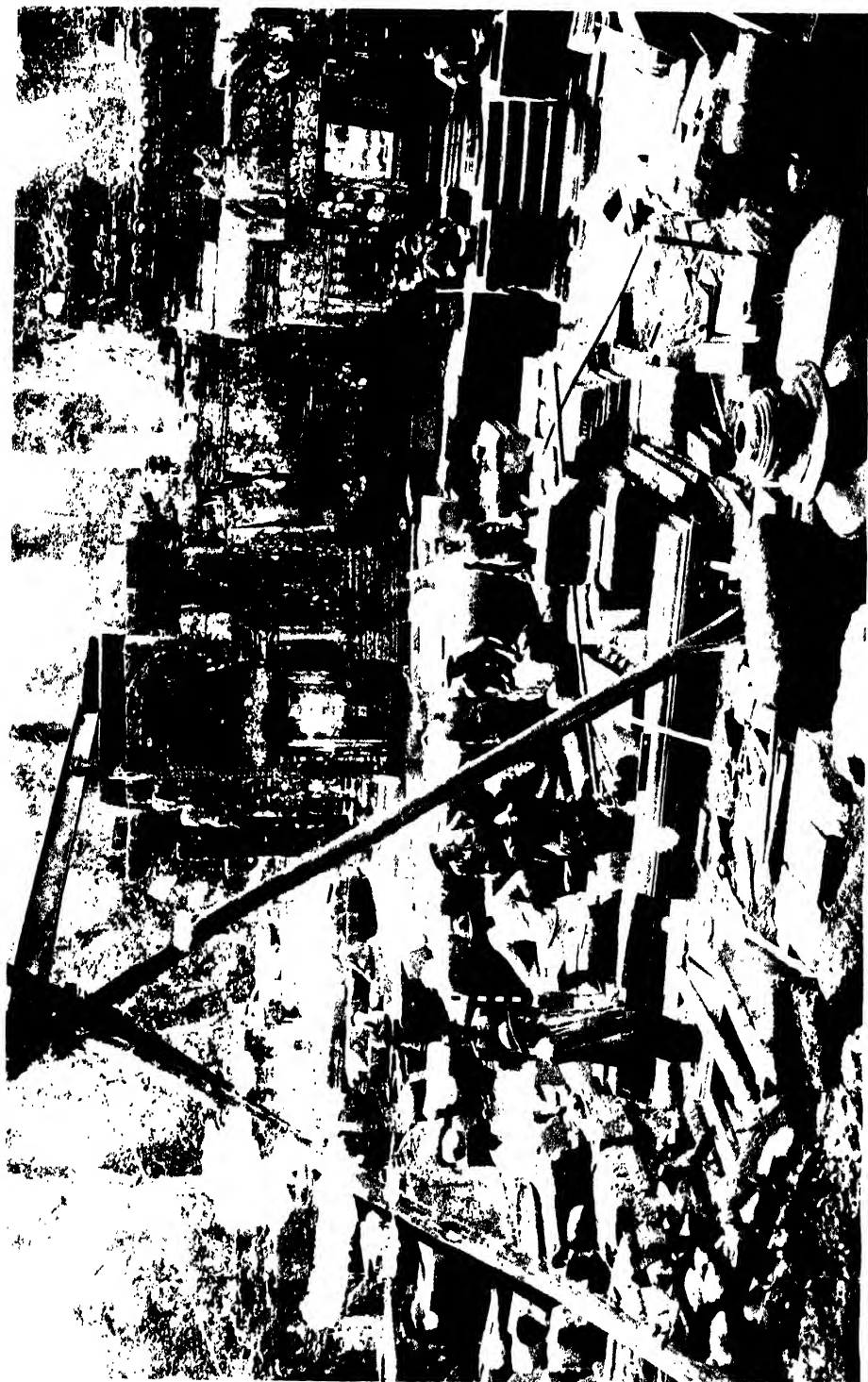


PLATE 10. SRP.

3. South of San Francisco: Rescuing the base of ruins on a concrete foundation.

Copyright reserved. José María de los Angeles.

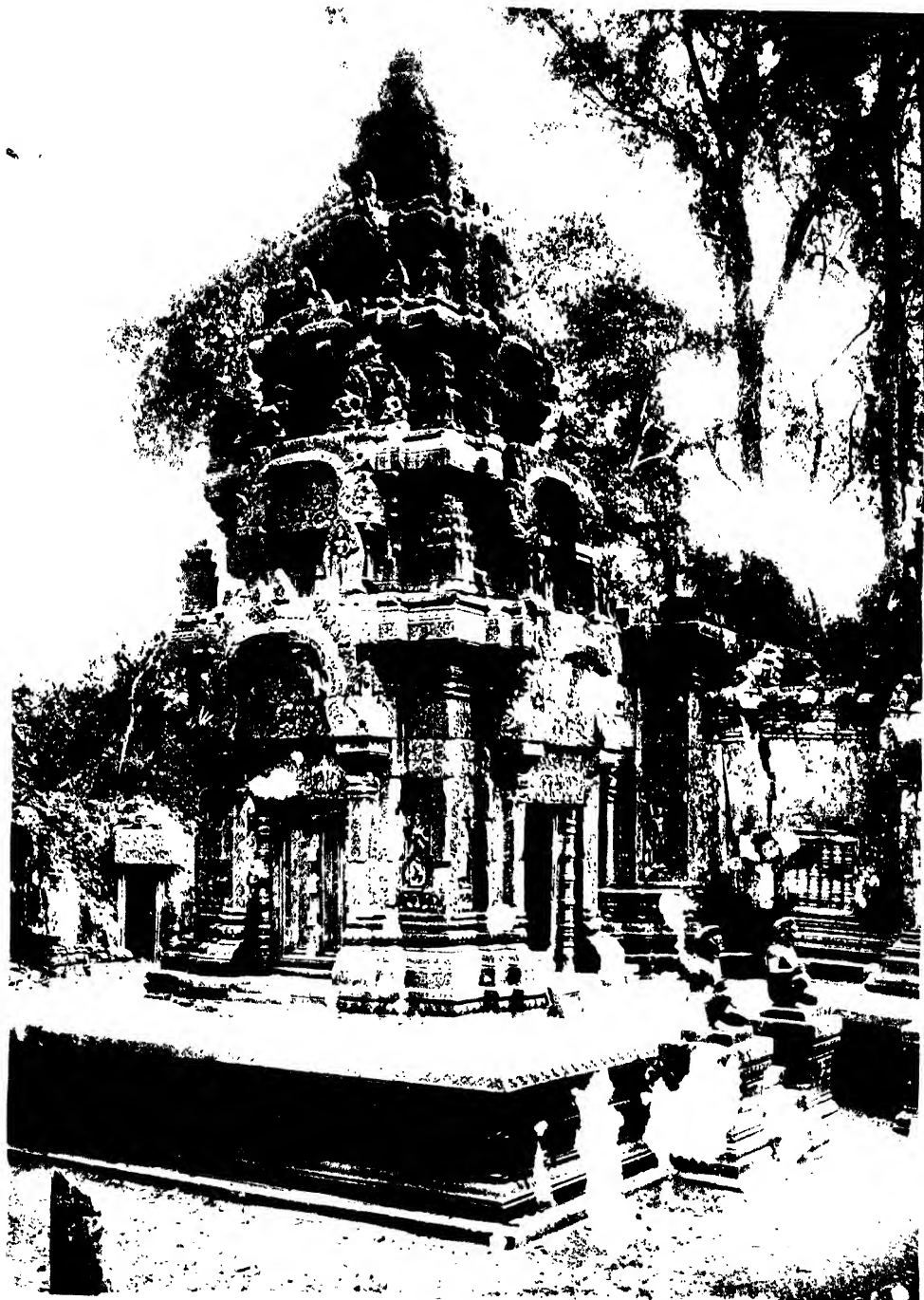
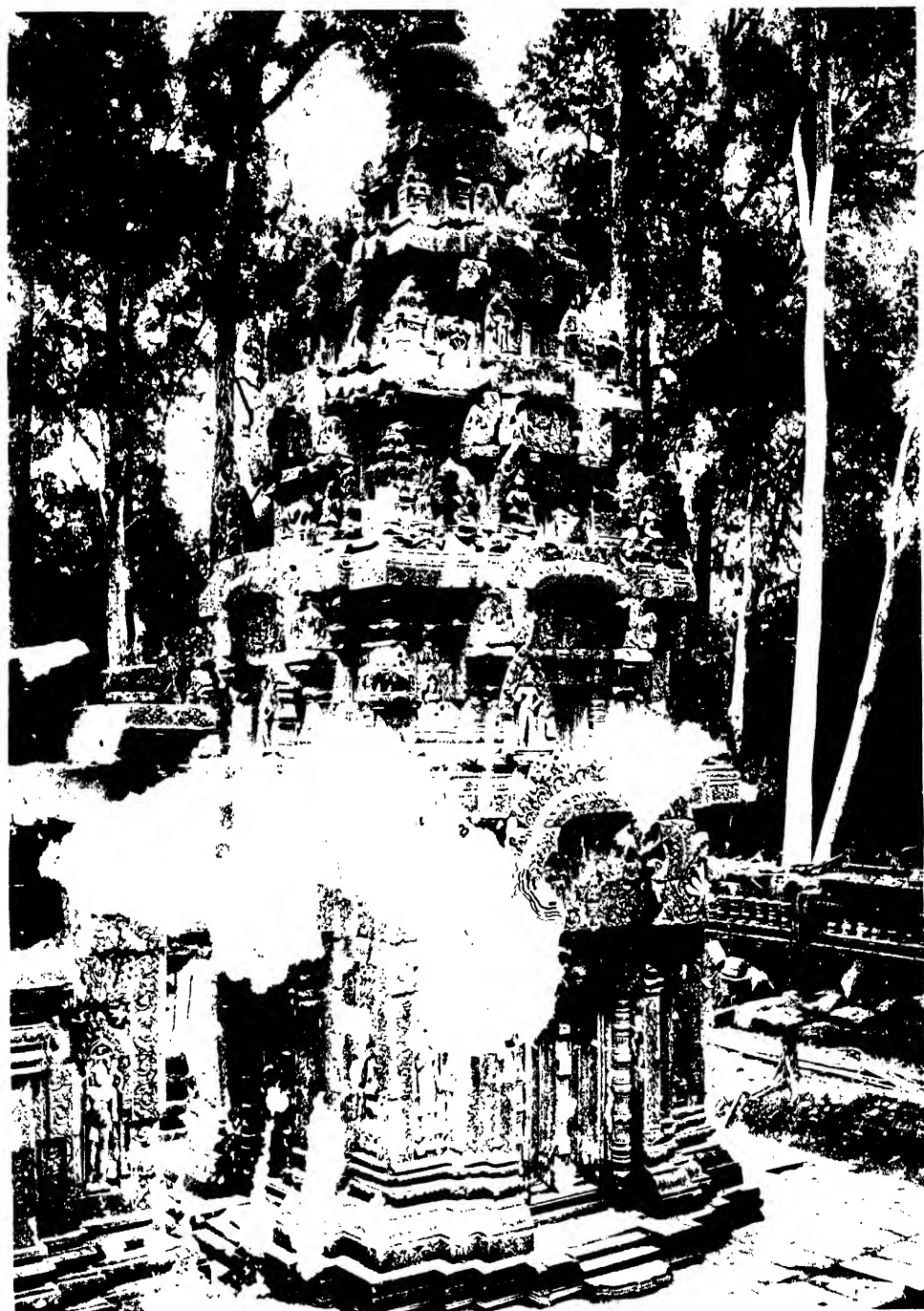


PLATE XLVI. SRII

1. Southern Sanctuary, reconstructed. Seen from south-east.

Copyright reserved by the French Government



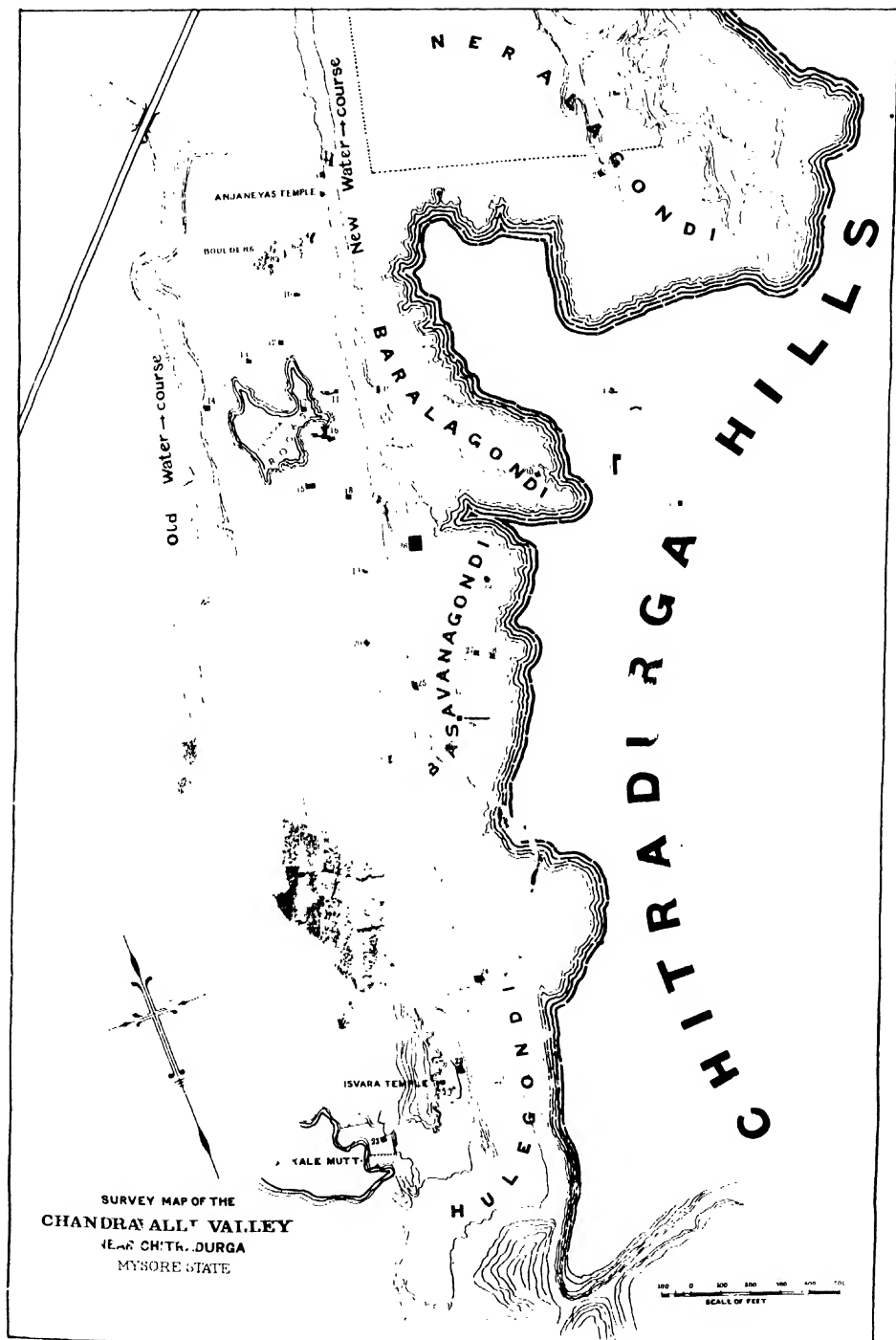
BAN LAY-SRI

Southern Sanctuary as reconstructed: Seen from north-west.

Copyright reserved - *Exotic France and Extreme Orient*.



Figure 1. The rock face at the base of the cliff.



SURVEY PLAN OF THE CHANDRAVALI VALLEY.

Copyright 1900.

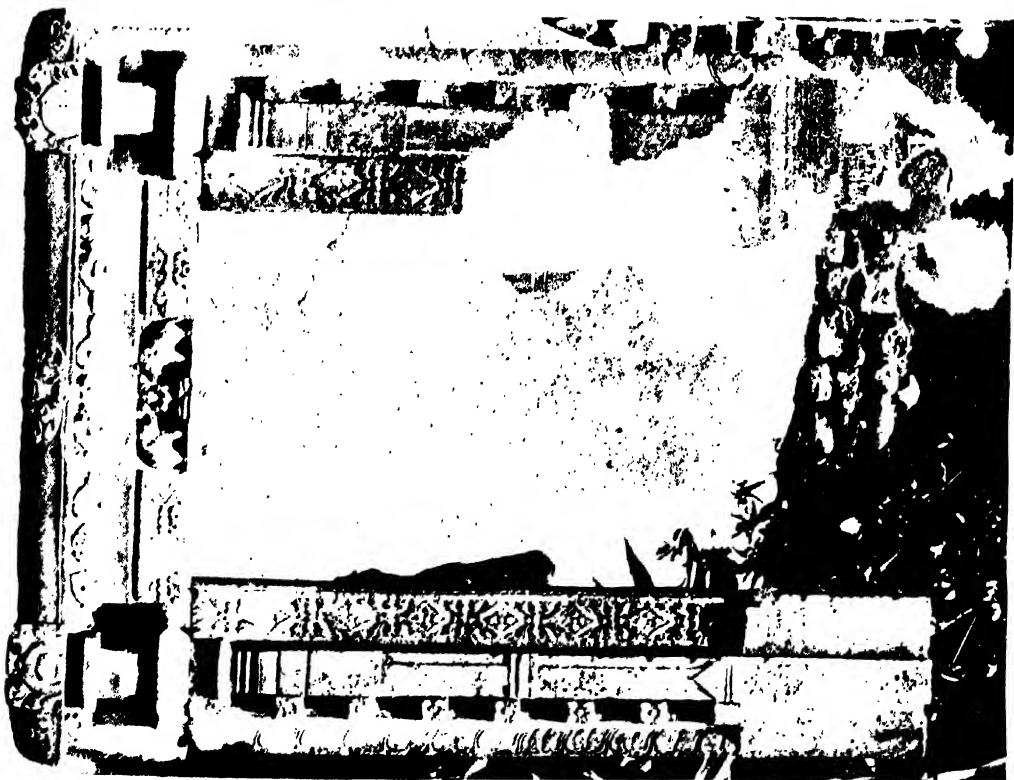


FIG. 2. TOMB WITH VARIOUS POTTERY FOUND NEAR THE CENTRAL ROCKS
Copyright 1900.



FIG. 1. PULSED PLASMA IN VACUUM OF THE AV^2 TYPE (A) AND

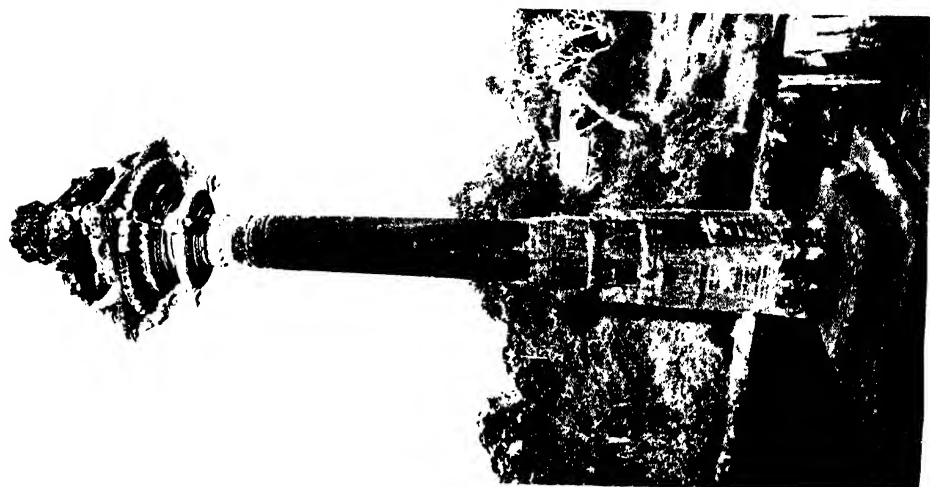


FIG. 2.—JAINA VANASTAMPIA AT MELOL.

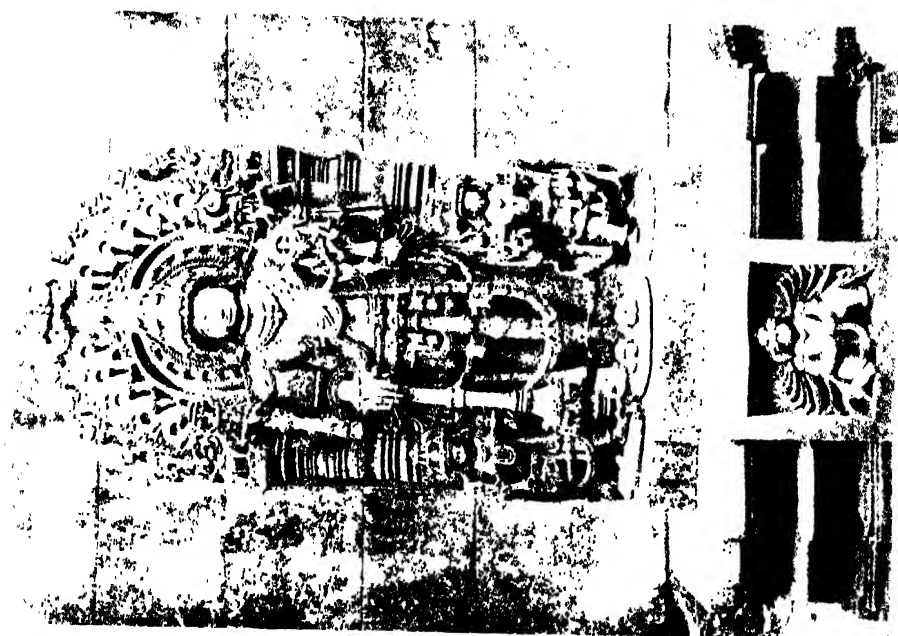


FIG. 2.—FRONT OF VESANT, IN THE KI-SAVA TEMPLE,
AT ANGABE.

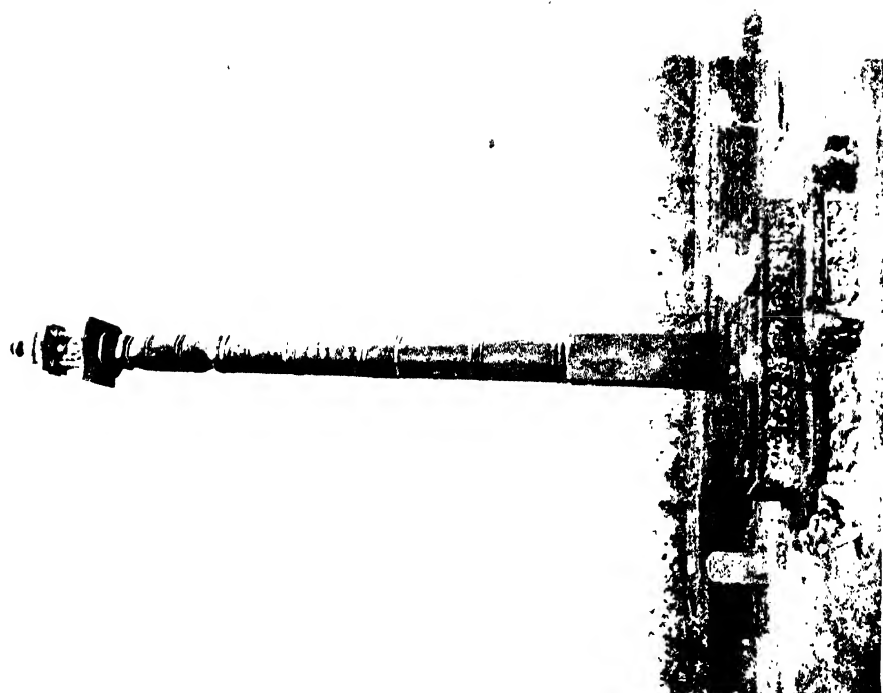


FIG. 3.—STUPA VASANTARAJA AT THYATHA,
IN THE KI-SAVA TEMPLE.

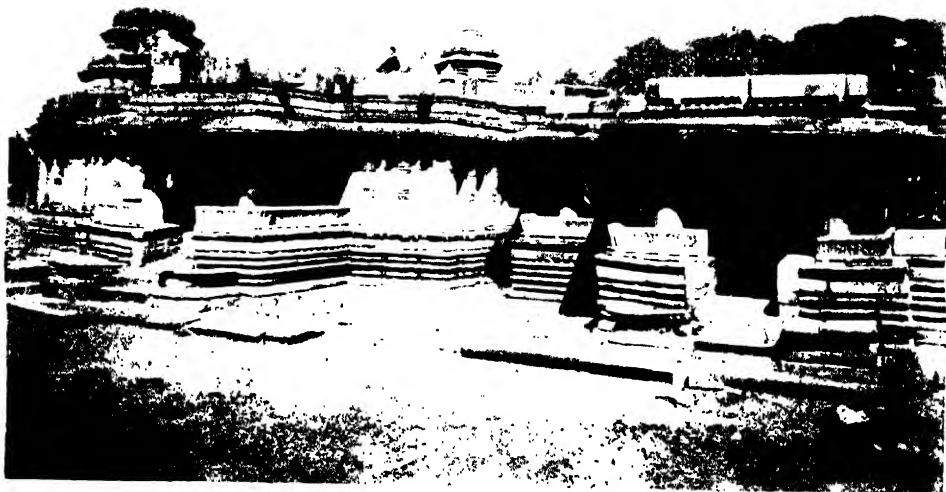


FIG. 1. —BELLESVARA TEMPLE AT AGRAHARA BELGUTI

Copyright reserved.



FIG. 2. —BELLESVARA TEMPLE AT AGRAHARA BELGUTI: ANOTHER VIEW.

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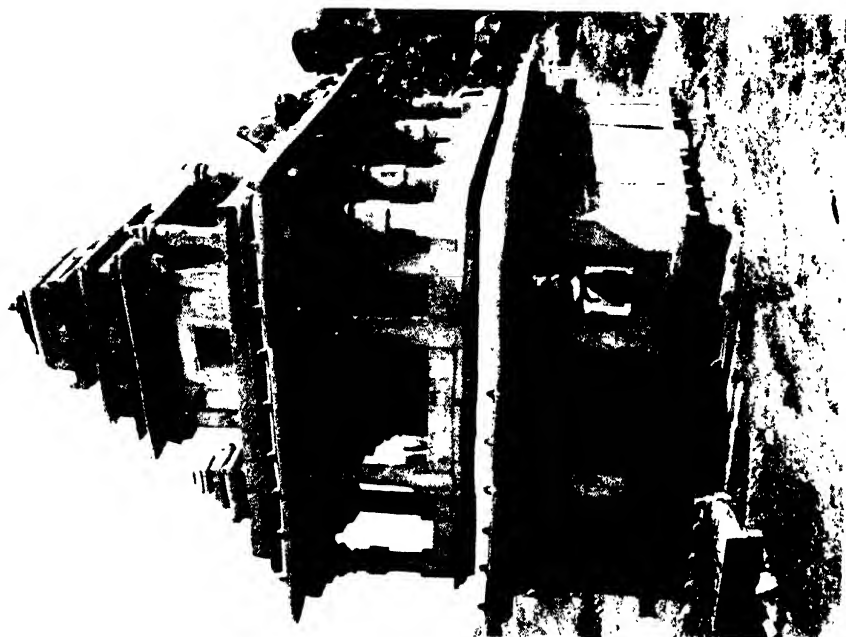
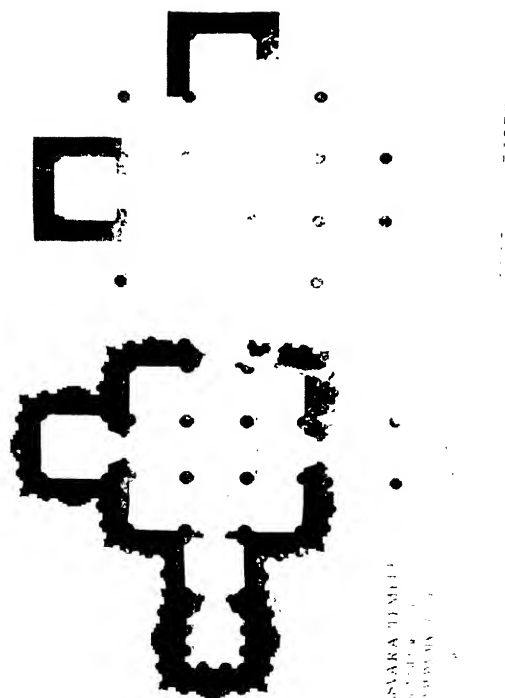
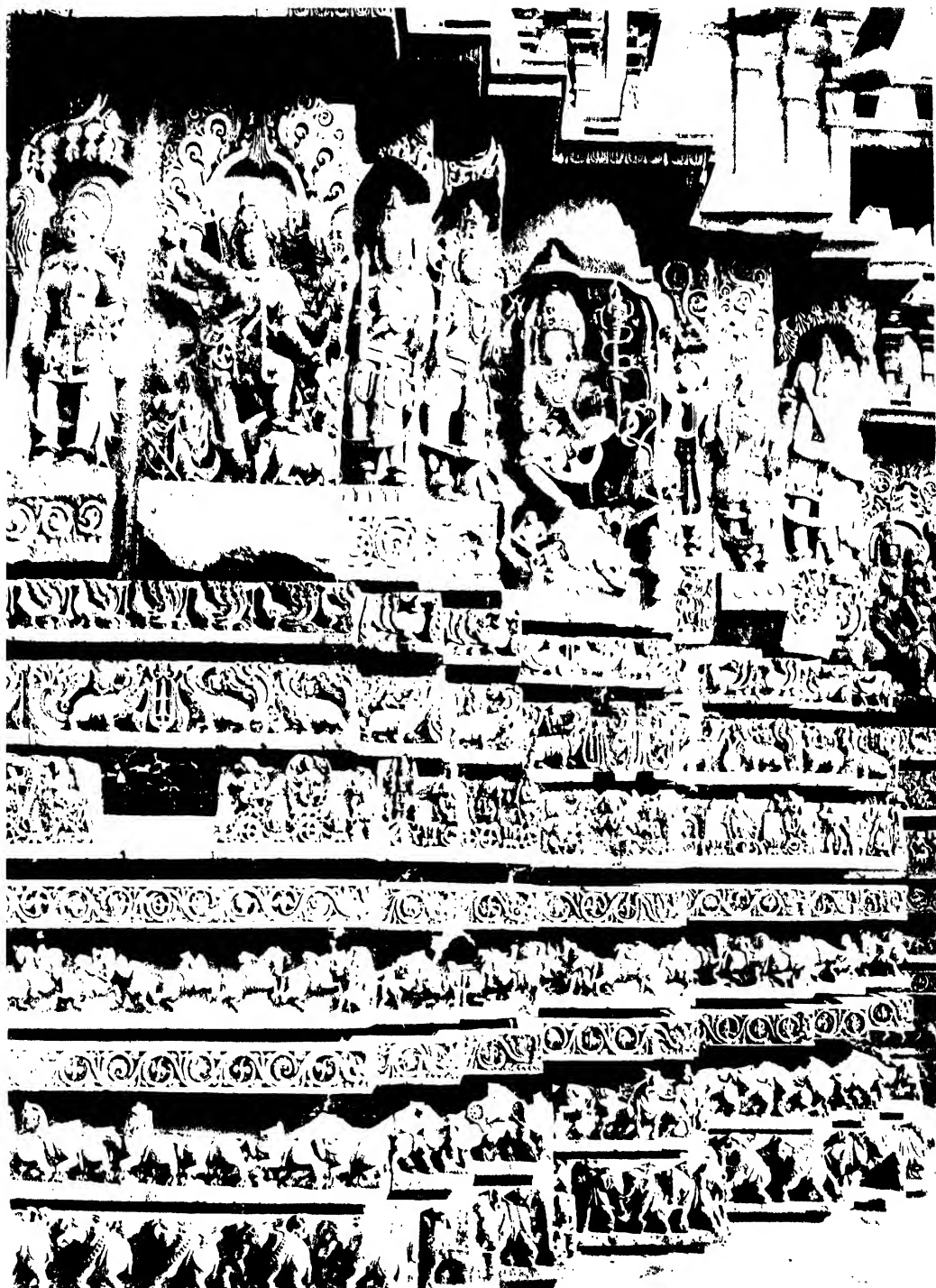


FIG. 2. EXTERIOR OF THE BETTSARA TEMPLE AT CHITAMPUR.



BETTSARA TEMPLE
INTERIOR VIEW.

FIG. 3. PLAN OF THE BETTSARA TEMPLE.



VIEW OF PORTION OF HOYSALESVARA TEMPLE AT HALEBID.

of Old-Javanese versions of Mahābhārata tales already in existence in his days. In this connection it is, perhaps, worth while to remark that when reading the Old-Javanese parwas one sometimes gets the impression of passing from one style and one form of language into another, but our knowledge of the Old-Javanese is still too limited to allow of a positive distinction between older and more recent parts of the prose version.

In the case of a number of Sanscrit quotations it has been possible to show out of which words of the Sanscrit text they have originated,¹⁰ but many others seem to be absolutely unrecognizable. It goes without saying that these quotations are in the first place of interest to the Sanscritists, as possibly with their aid light may be thrown on some still unsolved problems raised by Mahābhārata research, for here one has to do with Sanscrit texts, even though in small pieces, of which we positively know they were current in Java before the year 1000 of our era. But prudence is necessary. There are three difficulties to be solved before we can attach to the Javanese texts a positive value for Mahābhārata research. First of all we have to pay attention to the fact that up to the present day not even a trace of a pure Sanscrit text of the Mahābhārata or parts of it has been found in Java, and we therefore have to consider the possibility that the author or authors of the Old-Javanese parwas cited a Sanscrit text, or even different Sanscrit texts, which they only knew from oral tradition. If this is true, the gradual "Javanizing" of the importers of Mahābhārata literature and especially the fact that they became estranged from their own language in course of time and soon began to speak Javanese, may have exercised a detrimental influence on the purity of the quoted Sanscrit long before the first Javanese syllable was scratched into palm leaf.¹¹ The second difficulty is that it is not at all impossible that the Old-Javanese author translated Javanese expressions into Sanscrit himself, in the same way as the clergyman may produce his own variety of Latin into his sermons. Though excellent Sanscrit has been written in the Malay Archipelago, as appears from the text of more than one Old-Javanese inscription, not every scholar could have been clever enough to avoid mistakes, and the Sanscrit "made in Indonesia" would not have grown more perfect with the march of time. In the third place, the parwa texts are now almost 1,000 years old and have been copied from generation to generation, for palm leaf usually has a short existence in a country of greedy white ants and negligent people. Besides, the work of copying had often to be done by unskilled workers, who did not understand Sanscrit and who were inclined to neglect peculiarities of Sanscrit which did not occur in their own language, such as the length of vowels, the use of different sibilants and aspirated consonants, etc. So we must not be astonished if most of the manuscripts show numerous mutual

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deviations and contain a kind of *çlokas* in which only the number of the syllables has remained intact. Even the Old-Javanese, a dead language for a long time, in Java as well as in Bali, is often grossly mutilated, though, of course, not to the extent that Sanscrit fragments are.

It appears to me that the three difficulties mentioned above, almost undefinable in their significance, as a consequence of the lack of historical data, justify a certain reserve with regard to the existing theories about the origin of the Old-Javanese prose versions of the *Mahābhārata*, even though we can fully recognize the merits of these theories. According to Hazeu,¹² whose opinion, as we shall see later, agrees to a certain extent with Stutterheim's view on the origin of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, the resemblance of the Old-Javanese *Ādiparwa* with Kṣemendra's *Ādiparwa* text, which existed about A.D. 1050 in Kashmir, points to North-West India as the native country of, at least, the Old-Javanese *Ādiparwa*. Wulff, on the other hand, who in his dissertation investigates the relation between the Old-Javanese *Wirāṭaparwa* and its Sanscrit original, comes to the conclusion¹³ that the Old-Javanese *Wirāṭaparwa* is in an isolated position and must be distinguished from the Northern as well as the Southern version of the *Mahābhārata*, whereas Utgikar¹⁴ holds to the opinion that the Old-Javanese *Wirāṭaparwa* belongs to the Southern version, and fairly emphatically rejects all other possibilities. Lastly, Sylvain Lévi discussed only recently the fact that the Old-Javanese *Ādiparwa* contains a verse from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa's *Wenīsaṃhāra* and herewith introduces the possibility of relationship between the Old-Javanese *parwas* and Bengal.¹⁵

I do not consider myself to be competent to judge of the merits of these various theories, nor is it my task here to discuss the question whether during the thirty years which have elapsed since the publication of Hazeu's contribution the progress of *Mahābhārata* research in India has supplied us with arguments for or against his thesis, or whether for *Ādiparwa* and *Wirāṭaparwa* different origins have to be assumed. It may be stressed, however, that Sanscritists should not stop short at being interested in the Sanscrit quotations of the Javanese *parwas*: the peculiar character of the Javanese *Mahābhārata* version can only be completely understood by studying the Javanese texts themselves, and the same applies to the peculiar Javanese forms of Hindu civilization of which the Javanese manuscripts give evidence.

As the study of Old-Javanese, notwithstanding the fact that it still is in its first stage of development, has been making steady progress in the course of this century, and as in this way a basis for a more complete and thorough discussion of Old-Javanese literature has been laid, we need no longer content ourselves with the acquisition of a general notion of the stories' contents. We

now possess sufficient material for comparison to be able to read the Old-Javanese parwas critically and to ascertain the value of every word. It need not be argued at length that text editions and translations of the first period of Old-Javanese studies¹⁶ cannot always stand the better textual criticism of the present and begin to reveal weak spots in places. I do not wish at all to belittle the merits of earlier scholars when I state that we shall have to do a good deal of the previous work all over again, but it is in the interest of science that Sanscritists should know how much interesting work is awaiting them in Java and that they need not overestimate the value of what has been published hitherto. For four years I have been reading the Old-Javanese *Ādiparwa* with my students, and as we are forced by mutual criticism to account for each detail, every time modifications of the printed text as to punctuation, separation and joining of words, etc., are obviously necessary; not seldom a hiatus in the text can be pointed out which has been overlooked by the editor in consequence of misunderstanding the text; the existing translations of *Ādiparwa* fragments have been proved to contain a number of mistakes. In the course of four years we were able to produce a careful translation of some twenty-five pages, which I intend to publish in the near future. Often the Old-Javanese text deviates in trifles from the text on which Jacobi based his German synopsis of the *Mahābhārata*,¹⁷ sometimes in the forms of the proper names, sometimes in a variation in arrangement of the material or a different degree of completeness. I think I may say that a complete English or German translation of the Old-Javanese parwas, provided with explanatory notes, ought to be the next step on the road of comparative *Mahābhārata* research, as far as Old-Javanese is concerned.

IV

Besides these versions of the *Mahābhārata* parwas in Old-Javanese prose, Old-Javanese literature possesses a fairly large number of *Mahābhārata* episodes in *kakawin* form. "*Kakawin*" means the same in Java and Bali as "*kāwya*" does in India; the derivation of the words from Sanscrit *kawi*, "poet," is analogous, and *kakawin* may easily be a conscious translation of Sanscrit *kāwya*. Just as the Indian poet, the author of an Old-Javanese *kakawin* clings to the rules which have been laid down in the so-called *Kāwya-darṣa*, "*The Poet's Mirror*," though what Professor Macdonell says of the *kāwya*¹⁸ does not apply to its full extent in the case of the Javanese *kakawins*. Formally the *kakawins* are to be distinguished from other Javanese poems by the use of Indian metres, though these, being based upon the difference in quantity of the syllables, do not really agree at all with the Javanese vowel system and the accent of the Javanese word and sentence. The result of this applica-

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tion was that a system of lengthening the vowels in Javanese words developed in which we cannot very well determine the proportion of what is natural and artificial, whereas, on the other hand, the poet was practically forced to avail himself of an extravagant number of Sanscrit words. These Sanscrit words are for the greater part nouns and adjectives, borrowed from Sanscrit as root-words, but instead of the declination or conjugation of the Sanscrit grammar, the Old-Javanese texts use Javanese affixes which modify the significance of the borrowed Sanscrit words in the same way as is the case with original Javanese words. If this extravagant use of Sanscrit words renders such a kakawin already difficult of understanding by the mass of the people, the complicated construction of the sentences, the artificial diction and the juggling with ambiguous words must have puzzled even the experts, as no doubt the poet intended. For though Javanese literature cannot glory in the possession of a Rāghawapāṇḍawīya, the most striking example of Sanscrit artificial poetry, as far as I know, of which every word is ambiguous,¹⁰ the quibbling and tricks mentioned by Professor Macdonell in connection with the kāwya poetry can all be found in Old-Javanese kakawins.

It goes without saying that one poet is more skilled in constructing complicated and ambiguous verses than another, and that, therefore, there still are kakawins which are more easily understood. Moreover, as Old-Javanese literature was only a distant offshoot of Sanscrit literature, it did not profit by the same regular flow of new vitality as Indian literature, and so it had to feed on tradition to a much greater extent than Sanscrit literature. As a matter of fact, tradition is almost all-powerful in later Old-Javanese literature, and next to the gradual "Javanization" the gradual fixation of language, style and diction into the stereotyped "kawi" or poetical Javanese is the most striking characteristic of Javanese literature.

One of the oldest and most characteristic works of the kakawin literature is the Arjunawiwāha, "Arjuna's Marriage." The work was written by a certain Mpu Kaṇwa in the reign of King Air-Langga, about A.D. 1030. The existence of several Balinese translations and of versions of more recent date in Javanese and Balinese, and the fact that it has often been represented on temple reliefs and in paintings and drawings, prove how highly later generations estimated the value of this poem. In thirty-six cantos the Arjunawiwāha contains the story of Arjuna on Mount Kailāsa, which is told in ch. 42 *sqq.* of the Wana-parwa; of the unsuccessful attempts of the three nymphs to seduce him according to Indra's command, and of his meeting with Īiwa in the guise of a Kirāṭa hunter. Īiwa on that occasion gave him as a mark of his favour wonderful weapons which would be useful later at the time of the Bhāratayuddha. Purified and strengthened by becoming proof against all worldly

temptation, Arjuna then²⁰ defeated, at the request of the gods, the demon Niwātakawaca, the unconquerable, who had been threatening the gods with defeat and ruin, but whose fortune took a new turn at the moment that the beautiful Suprabhā, together with Arjuna, purloined the secret of his invulnerability. After the victory Arjuna enjoyed in Indra's heaven the company of the nymphs which he had denied himself before, on the occasion of the temptation on Mount Kailāsa.

The first part of the Arjunawiwāha thus has the same theme as Bhāravi's Kirāṭārjuniya,²¹ with which it has, for the rest, in style only little in common. The deviations in details from the story of the Wanaparwa are so important that we either must assume with Poerbatjaraka²² that the poet has taken the liberty of changing the original story to suit his own convenience and to form a new complete set of it, or that the subject-matter has not been borrowed from the Wanaparwa, but from another, though related, Indian source.

The text of the Arjunawiwāha has been published as early as 1850 by R. Friederich.²³ In 1871 Kern translated and annotated the first two cantos, one of the earliest important achievements in the field of Old-Javanese philology.²⁴ Dr. Poerbatjaraka's second edition of the text in Latin characters of 1926²⁵ is somewhat faulty, and the same applies to his translation. It is, however, the fact that the Arjunawiwāha is often untranslatable. When I was reading the text with my students, our experience was that almost every stanza allows of different translations, each of which can be defended by solid arguments, and this could not but lead to the conclusion that the poet had intentionally chosen such words that an authentic explanation would be an impossibility. To the Old-Javanese Arjunawiwāha is, therefore, fully applicable what Nobel wrote, some years ago, in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*:²⁶ "It will always be a difficult and ungrateful task to translate an Indian poem into a European language. The impression which the original text makes upon the reader can only be quite different from what a translation is able to afford. The Indian artificial poetry, the *kāwya*, presupposes too much, and can, therefore, only reach its effect when the reader is familiar with the Indian poet's conceptions and his manners of expression. It is not the story of a poem that is essential, but the form into which the poet moulds it. This is the reason why every translation of an Indian poem, be it literal or free, will, after all, only disappoint the layman reader."

It is not easy to determine the place of the Arjunawiwāha in Javanese literature. It belongs to the oldest works and presumably is the oldest among the artificial poems, if we exclude for a moment the Rāmāyaṇa, which seems to occupy a peculiar place in Javanese literature. The skilfulness in the use of the language, however, makes one suppose that the poem can only be the

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result of a fully developed literary tradition. Have all the older kakawins become lost, in the same way as so much older literature must have been lost in later times? Are there, perhaps, among the many undatable Old-Javanese works kakawins which are older than the *Arjunawiwāha*? Or have we to assume that some still existing poems are only known to us in their most recent form, and that they can be traced back to much older prototypes? Did the Javanese kakawin style, as we became acquainted with it from the *Arjunawiwāha*, develop independently in East Java, or is the East Javanese literary art a continuation of the tradition of Central Java, where Hinduism flourished earlier? If the latter be the case, how can the remarkable difference in style between *Arjunawiwāha* and *Rāmāyaṇa* be explained? At the present stage of scientific research no answer—and certainly no satisfactory answer—can be given to all these questions.

We may, however, regard as very important the fact that, according to the *Arjunawiwāha* itself (V. 9), the “wayang” or puppet show, so popular in Java today, existed in East Java as early as the first half of the eleventh century, and that it was played in exactly the same way at that time as it is now—viz., by a *ḍalang*, who has the shadows of leather-cut puppets thrown on a white screen, which is faintly illuminated by a hanging oil-lamp. The “*ḍalang*” or show-master, without any doubt the successor of pre-Hinduistic priests, not only moves the puppets, but also speaks in their place, tells their story between their conversation, and conducts the orchestra. The whole action of the *ḍalang*, which takes up a whole night, is called “lakon” in Central Java, a word which means exactly the same and has etymologically the same construction as the Greek “drama.” Now the construction of a lakon is for the greater part defined by the character of the performance, just as the latter is defined by a tradition of many centuries. Small wonder that the oral tradition of the lakon has exercised an enormous influence on the style of the written literature, especially as often the same persons acted as poets and as *ḍalangs*. Brandes has demonstrated this,²⁷ especially for the later Central Javanese literature, but it is not at all impossible that we may have to assume such a course of events for East Java too, and Poerbatjaraka’s opinion²³ that the structure of the *Arjunawiwāha* is essentially that of a Javanese lakon—in other words, that the text, however much its form may be influenced in many respects by the rules of the *Kāwyaḍarṣa*, is really a lakon text—this opinion deserves careful consideration.

Another masterpiece of the kakawin literature, which also has been re-arranged several times into more recent Javanese and Balinese versions and represented on cloth and paper, is the *Bhāratayuddha*, “The Struggle of the Bhāratas,” begun in A.D. 1157 in the reign of King Jayabhaya of Kaḍiri by

Mpu Sēḍah. The epic central theme of the Sanscrit Mahābhārata, the part which describes the struggle between the Kaurawas and the Pāṇḍawas, received so many additions, as is generally known, in course of time that it at last formed only a fifth of the total text: the knights' epos had developed into an encyclopædia of Brahman learning. From this conglomeration of treatises the Javanese poet extracted the epic theme once more. He begins his poem at the moment when Kṛṣṇa as the plenipotentiary of the Pāṇḍawas begins his visit to Hāstinapura, the town of the Kaurawas, where they have to decide on peace and war, as we also read in chapter 83 *sqq.* of the Sanscrit Udyogaparwa. In fifty-two cantos the Bhāratayuddha sings the story of the heroic eighteen days' struggle, in the main in accordance with the text of the sixth to the tenth book of the Sanscrit original, but deviating from it in so many details that again we have to come to the conclusion that either Indian tales from other sources are the original of the Javanese poem or that it was the Javanese native genius which moulded the whole while leaving its traces in the details, or, at last, that foreign influences and indigenous peculiarities combined in producing this work of skill and beauty.

The subject-matter of Mpu Sēḍah's poem naturally lent itself better to epic treatment than the Arjunawiwāha. Compared with the latter, the Bhāratayuddha, as a matter of fact, has less the character of an artificial poem; it is far less complicated, and when reading through it, we get the impression that the language too offers less difficulties than is the case with Arjunawiwāha. If we can refrain from growing weary of the long series of descriptions of fights, always varying yet always the same, we shall find in the Bhāratayuddha many beautiful scenes which quite justify the popularity which the poem enjoys amongst the Javanese. The description of Čalya taking leave from his wife, Satyawatī, in Canto XXXVIII., for example, is rightly praised as one of the finest examples of Old-Javanese literature.

A printed edition of the Bhāratayuddha was published in 1903 by Gunning.²⁹ A complete translation has not yet appeared, and for the time being we have to content ourselves with the specimens of translation given by Kern and Gunning.³⁰ A more recent Central Javanese Bhāratayuddha text, however, which goes back to the creation of Mpu Sēḍah, was edited, translated and annotated by Cohen Stuart;³¹ this version, in Javanese or so-called small metres, closely follows the old kakawin and thus gives a fairly good impression of its construction and contents.

V

Besides the Arjunawiwāha and the Bhāratayuddha quite a number of kakawins has been derived from the Mahābhārata. They are, however, not

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yet available in printed editions and we do not know much more of them than their titles. It is of little use to enumerate the names here, and I prefer to conclude this article with some small fragments of Old-Javanese Mahābhārata in text and translation in order to give the reader an idea of the language and style of the two kinds of Old-Javanese literature dealt with above.

The following prose fragment has been taken out of the story of *Mr. and Mrs. Jaratkāru*, well-known to Sanscritists, as it is inserted in Böhtlingk's "Sanskrit-Chresthomathie." The story occurs twice in the Sanscrit text of the Ādiparwa, viz., in chapters 13-15 and in chapters 45-48; the Old-Javanese text is to be found on pages 23, ²³29, ⁵ of Juynboll's edition, and the following quotation on pages 25, ²⁶26, ¹³.

The Brāhman Jaratkāru meets the souls of his ancestors, hanging above a precipice with their heads downwards and clinging to a bamboo stalk which is being gnawed through by a mouse. He expresses his pity and offers his aid:

Karēngċ³² ta ujarnira de ning pitara. Sumahur ta sira—maatis kadi siniram ning amṛta manahnira—:

"Tawawṛtaḥ (lege: tapawrata)³³ karma wayam. Sang ulun tinañanta, ya k awarah krama ning ulun kabeh. Umarambakṛtakarmaçaantaniprekṣayetrāte (lege: umarambham kṛtam karma santānam prekṣayetrato).³⁴ Kunang tāpan pēgat wangçamami. Nahan ta hetumami n pēgat sangkēng pitrloka, magantungan pētung sawolih, kangkēn tibēng narakaloka. Tattwa nikang pētung sawulih: ana wangçamami sasiki, Jaratkāru ngarannya. Ndan mokṣa wih ta ya: mahyun luputēng sarwajanmabandhana, tatan pastri, ya ç u k l a b r a h m a ç ā r ī. Yatikāma-wakangku ikang wīraṇastamba, mapan ikang bratasamādhi ri sang grha-sthāçrama, yadin pēgatan (n)i wangçanya ikang kapangguh, phalanyānanāwitan ikang sukha kagawe demami, makādi niyama warabrata. Yatika wartamāna mangke ri tan pawangçamami. Naraḥ duṣkṛtino yātaḥ (lege: naraḥ duṣkṛtino yathā).³⁵ Tatan ana pahimami lawan ikang agawe pāpakarma, si mangiḍēp sangsāra. Kunang yan kita tuhw asih, ikang wiku Jaratkāru ngarannya pinta-kasihi ta ya, kon manaka, yatanyan kami muliha marēng pitrloka. Ya winarahakēnta: kami yan pangiḍēp sangsāra, yatanyan wēla-sāmbēknya!"

In translation:

The ancestors had heard his words. They answered—refreshed, as sprinkled with amṛta were their hearts—:

"Tawawṛtaḥ karma wayam. Let us, thy servants, questioned

by thee, give information about all our adventures. *U m a r a m b a k ṛ t a - k a r m m a ṣ a n t a n i p r e k ṣ a y e t r a t e*. The fact is that (the line of) our posterity is broken off. That is the reason why we are excluded from the heaven of the ancestors, having only one stalk to hang on and to be considered as (already) fallen into hell. The significance of that only bamboo stalk : there is (only) one descendant of ours, whose name is Jaratkāru. Now he is what you call a *m o k ṣ a* : he wishes to free himself of all human bands ;³⁶ he has no wife, he is *ṣ u k l a b r a h m a c ā r i*. That bamboo stalk (however) represents us, because the fruits of (performing) religious duties and concentration of thought of those who (once) kept the state of family-father, will be lost, when the breaking of (the line of) their posterity is what they experience ; (and the fruits, too, will be lost of) the joy caused by us and especially of self-control and excellent (performance of) religious duties. That is happening to us now because of the absence of (our) posterity. *N a r a ḥ d u s k ṛ t i n o y ā t a ḥ*. There is no difference at all between us and criminals, who have to bear a miserable fate. If thou truly hast mercy upon us : ask the *wiku*³⁷ whose name is Jaratkāru, to be benevolent and beseech him to beget a child, that we may duly come into the ancestors' heaven ! Be it told by thee that we are suffering a miserable fate, so that his heart be pitiful !"

The next fragment has been taken from Canto XVI., stanzas 8, 9 and 10, of the *Arjunawiwāha*.

Niwātakawaca—one person in the *Arjunawiwāha*—a *daitya* king, possesses a secret which renders him invincible. The beautiful *Suprabhā* is sent out together with *Arjuna* in order to endeavour to get the secret from *Niwātakawaca*. *Suprabhā* will do so by feigning to be desirous of being his bride, *Niwātakawaca* in vain having demanded her before. The couple is approaching *Niwātakawaca*'s stronghold. *Suprabhā* becomes uneasy, or at any rate pretends to, and when *Arjuna* remarks that he hears music from the town opposite and that the *daityas* seem to be gay and clamorous, she answers :

8. "Tuhu ling *nṛpātma*ja !
Niyata mamaṇḍi-maṇḍi tumēkāna wiwudhapati kapwa sanggraha,
amaayu sañjātāçraman ikang lēbuh alap-alapan mabherawa.
Tuhu mata yan pitung wēngi inernya lumuruga mareng kadewatān.
9. *Nṛpasuta*, yan katon bhaya niking pangutusira surendra durgama,
aputēk arēs twas ing pinatiwar sinurungakēn anambaheng musuh !
Syapa tan arēngw aewa mulate kagamēla tēkap ing durātma³⁸ka ?
Lēhēnga juga ng pējah saka ri pāpa ning anahēn irang lawan lara !
10. Kunēng apa ta n winch tēkap ikang Widhi winilētakēn twas ing 'ulun,
pinarikēdō marambatana tan sakawaça kayuhēn pakāçrayan ?

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Tēwas angēlih makānta ng angawe tawang, ataya, kēdō niniṣṭhura !"
Wuwus ikang apsari, tēhēr apet tangis angisēk-isēk gawe-gawe.³⁸

In translation :

8. "The prince's words are true !
They certainly lift high their lances, once and again,³⁹ as if to march against the Lord of Gods, and all are making preparations, are furbishing their weapons, fighting sham fights on the public road, and trying to defeat each other, terribly !
It is a fact, indeed, that they are waiting seven nights before they start in order to advance against the heaven !
9. My prince ! When to the mind appears the danger of this order of the King of Gods, not easily fulfilled, the heart grows sad and scared of me, who will be left alone and forced to render homage to the foe !
Who would not be annoyed and full of horror, when seeing one, who will be touched by wretched hands in vile design ?
To suffering the evil of such shame and sorrow I would prefer to die !
10. And how, in heaven's name, can God allow my heart to be (by sorrow) suffocated,
and at the same time force (His) servant-maid to grasp⁴⁰ herself what has no strength and does not serve for hold and refuge ?
At last I'm getting tired . . . and at the end I stretch my hand unto the air. . . . But air is nothing and it simply *must* be cruel⁴¹ . . . !"
Thus spoke the divine Lady. She began to weep, and sobbed and sobbed . . . , as though she really meant it.

NOTES

¹ In this article the common system of transcription for Sanscrit is followed, but instead of *v* I use the *w*, in accordance with the usual transcription of Old-Javanese. To use a *v* for Sanscrit words and a *w* for Old-Javanese words proved to be impossible.

² N. B. Utgikar, "The Virāṭaparvan of the Mahābhārata, critically edited with various readings, notes and introduction, etc.," Poona, 1923, p. xiii *sqq.* and Supplement II.

³ "Wirāṭaparwā, Oudjavaansch prozageschrift," uitgegeven door Dr. H. H. Juynboll, 's-Gravenhage, 1912.

⁴ "The Foundations of Civilisation in India," by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, etc., in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, etc., vol. lxxviii., 1928, p. 65 *sqq.*

⁵ Bali, where Islām failed to attain a foothold, is to be regarded in many respects as a continuation of Old-Java. It is for that reason that Java and Bali, Javanese and Balinese, are often mentioned in this article in one breath.

⁶ "Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst," door Dr. N. J. Krom, 2nd ed., 's-Gravenhage, 1923, 3 vols.--"Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis," door Dr. N. J. Krom, 2nd ed., s-Gravenhage, 1931.

Grammar. Chapters on Old-Javanese grammar have been written by Dr. H. Kern in *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* between 1898 and 1906, and collected under the title "*Bijdragen tot de Spraakkunst van*

het Oudjavaansch" in "Professor H. Kern. Verspreide Geschriften," vol. viii., pp. 137-323, vol. ix., pp. 1-25.—My introduction to Old-Javanese grammar published in "Kidung Sundāyana" ("Inleiding tot de studie van het Oud-Javaansch"), Soerakarta, 1928, proved to be defective in many respects; cf. Dr. S. J. Esser in *Djāwā*, vol. ix., 1929, p. 243 sqq.—*Dictionaries*: "Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek," door Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, 4 vols., Batavia, 1897-1912, very valuable, but unsuitable for beginners on account of its difficult arrangement.—"Oudjavaansch-Nederlandsche Woordenlijst," door Dr. H. H. Juynboll, Leiden, 1923, not recommended.—*Literature*: A somewhat imperfect survey of Old-Javanese literature in my "Kidung Sundāyana," mentioned above, pp. 34-165.

⁷ "Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek," door A. C. Vreede, Leiden, 1832.—"Supplement op den Catalogus der Jav. en Madoer. handschriften, etc.," door Dr. H. H. Juynboll, 2 vols., Leiden, 1907 and 1911.—"Supplement op den Catalogus van de Sundaneesche handschriften en Catalogus van de Balineesche en Sasaksche handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek," door Dr. H. H. Juynboll, Leiden, 1912.—The catalogue of the Javanese manuscripts of the Batavian collection is being prepared by R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka.—Lists of Old-Javanese and Balinese manuscripts in private collections in Bali in "Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefcrinck-van der Tuuk," 1-3, 1929-1931, and in "Bhāwanāgara," ed. by the Kirtya Liefcrinck-van der Tuuk, specimen-number, 1930.

⁸ Cf. R. Goris, "Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche theologie," Leiden, 1926, p. 69 sqq.

⁹ H. Kern, "Over de Oudjavaansche vertaling van 't Mahābhārata" (1877), to be found in "Professor H. Kern. Verspreide Geschriften," vol. ix., p. 224 sqq.

¹⁰ Cf. H. Kern in his treatise mentioned above; H. H. Juynboll in "Drie boeken van het Oudjavaansche Mahābhārata in Kawi-tekst en Nederlandsche vertaling, vergeleken met den Sanskrit-tekst," Leiden, 1893, and in the notes to his text editions; K. Wulff in the book mentioned in note 13 (below); Utgikar in his edition of the *Wirāṭaparwa*, Supplement II.

¹¹ Cf. C. Hooykaas, "Tantri, de Middel-Javaansche Pañcatantra-bewerking," Leiden, 1929, p. 118, where he deals with the Sanscrit śloka in the Tantri Kāmandaka, the Old-Javanese Pañcatantra version. In note 1 on p. 118 the author cites a part of a letter received from Professor Hertel in Leipsic, in which the latter points to the fact that in India the Pañcatantra śloka have degenerated in the same way; cf. his "Indische Erzähler," vol. v., p. 188 sqq., Leipsic, 1922.—Dr. Gonda draws my attention to the fact that another opinion about the handing down of Sanscrit verses is defended by Professor W. Kirtel in "Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa," Bonn, 1927, p. xlix; Professor Kirtel is rather sceptical about the significance of oral tradition.—This is not a good opportunity to discuss the merits of all these theories; I only desire to point to the fact that there are several possibilities which have to be taken into account.

¹² "Het Oud-Javaansche Ādiparwa en zijn Sanskrit-origineel," by Dr. G. A. J. Hazeu, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, vol. xlv. (1901), p. 289 sqq.; conclusions on pp. 353-357.

¹³ According to my friend Dr. J. Gonda. I am unable to read this Danish book (K. Wulff, "Den Oldjavanske Wirāṭaparwa og dens Sanskrit-original. Bidrag til Mahābhārata-forskningen," Copenhagen, 1917) myself; cf. pp. 20 and 99 sqq.

¹⁴ Cf. his *Virāṭaparwa*, p. xiii, where he refers the reader to an article in "Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute," vol. ii., p. 167 sqq., which I could not yet lay hands on.

¹⁵ A synopsis of his lecture appeared under the title "Sur les stances sanscrites du Mahābhārata javanais" in *Actes du XVIII^e congrès international des orientalistes*, Leyden, 1932 pp. 130-131.

¹⁶ The Ādiparwa was published in 1906 by Dr. H. H. Juynboll. To be mentioned are the following translations: 8, 19-18, 3 (*Posyacarita* = *Pausyaparwa*) by H. Kern, in the article mentioned in note 9, "Verspreide Geschriften," pp. 233-243; 31, 9-35, 10 (the story of the churning of the ocean) by Dr. H. H. Juynboll, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, zesde volgreeks, eerste deel (= vol. 45) (1895), pp. 79-87; 36, 19-45, 30 (the story of Garuḍa) by Dr. H. H. Juynboll, in *Gedenkschrift 75-jarig bestaan*, etc. (publication of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië), pp. 157-168; 48, 27-53, 27 (the story of Parikṣit's death), by Dr. G. A. J. Hazeu, in *Bijdragen*, etc., 6, V (= vol. 49) (1898), pp. 191-197; 65, 14-72, 16 (the story of Čakuntalā), by D. van Hinlopen Lubberton in "The Mahābhārata in Mediaeval Javanese" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic*

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Society for 1913, pp. 1-22; English translation of the Old-Javanese text on pp. 11-19; 125, 14-128, 28 (the story of Drona's first appearance), by Poerbatjaraka, "Agastya in den Archipel," Leiden, 1926, pp. 25-27.—For the Wirāṭaparwa see note 3; no translations have as yet appeared to my knowledge.—The Udyogaparwa has been dealt with by Dr. H. H. Juynboll in his treatise "De verhouding van het Oudjavaansche Udyogaparwa tot zijn Sanskr̥t-origineel" in *Bijdragen*, etc., vol. 69 (1914), pp. 219-296.—The Ācramawasanaparwa, the Mausalaparwa, and the Prasthānikaparwa have been edited and translated by Dr. H. H. Juynboll in "Drie boeken," etc.—The Sabhāparwa, the Bhīṣmaparwa, and the Swargārohaṇaparwa are still only available in manuscript.

¹⁷ Hermann Jacobi, "Mahābhārata. Inhaltsangabe, Index und Concordanz der Calcuttaer und Bombayer Ausgaben," Bonn, 1903.

¹⁸ A. A. Macdonell, "A History of Sanskrit Literature," London, 1917, pp. 325-326.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 331.

²⁰ This is in the Sanskrit text told in another part of the Wanaparwa—viz., in ch. 165 *sqq.*

²¹ Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 329. Translation by C. Cappeller, *Harv. Or. Series*, vol. xv.

²² *Bijdragen*, etc., vol. 82 (1926), p. 183 *sq.*

²³ In *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, vol. 23 (1850), under the title: "Ardjoena-Wiwaha, een oorspronkelijk Kawi-werk, volgens een Balineesch Manuscript met interlinearen commentarius, uitgegeven door R. Friederich."

²⁴ Dr. H. Kern, "Kawi-studiën. Arjuna-wiwāha, Zang I en II in tekst en vertaling met aantekeningen en inleiding," 's-Gravenhage, 1871.

²⁵ In *Bijdragen*, etc., vol. 82 (1926), pp. 181-305.

²⁶ The issue of March 22, 1930, p. 541. I translated the quotation into English.

²⁷ Dr. J. L. A. Brandes, "Pararaton (Ken Arok) of Het Boek der Koningen van Tumapël en van Majapahit," second augmented edition, in *Verhand. Bat. Gen.*, vol. 62 (1920), p. 202 *sqq.*, and especially p. 210.

²⁸ In *Bijdragen*, etc., vol. 82 (1926), p. 184.

²⁹ Dr. J. G. H. Gunning, "Bhārata-Yuddha. Oudjavaansch heldendicht," 's-Gravenhage, 1903.

³⁰ Kern, "Zang XI van het Bhārata-yuddha in Kawi" (1873), entered in "Verspreide Geschriften," vol. ix., p. 41 *sqq.*—Gunning, "De dood van Abhimanyu," in "Album-Kern," p. 157 *sqq.*, Leiden, 1903.

³¹ *Verhandelingen Bat. Gen.*, vols. 27 and 28 (1860).

³² My transcription differs in some respects from the transcription of the edition Juynboll. In Javanese words I do not indicate long vowels nor *h* at the beginning of a root-word, because we are not yet sure about the pronunciation of long vowels and the initial *h*, and the manuscripts do not give reliable information; I do not exclude, however, the possibility of the existence of long vowels and initial *h* in Old-Javanese words. In connection with my idea of the meaning of the text I changed the punctuation, though I am not sure that I have found the right one.

³³ According to Juynboll. Different readings given by Juynboll in his text edition are *tawawratah* and *tawawrā-*.

³⁴ According to Juynboll. He gives the different readings on p. 25, note 12, of his text edition, but it is not quite clear how they should be read.

³⁵ According to Juynboll. Different readings: *duḥkṛtino* and *yatah*.

³⁶ Or: "The bands which bind all men" = "the usual human obligations"; or "the bands of all incarnations," or "all the bands of incarnation" = "the saṃsāra or circuit of human existences," or "all sorts of obligations."

³⁷ Sanscrit *bhikṣu*, "mendicant ascetic," "fakir." The Javanese has borrowed the word from a Prakṛt.

³⁸ I do not know the name of the metre. The type is:

o o o o - o - o o o - o o o o o - o - o o.

It belongs to the *akṛti* group, and its first part agrees with the beginning of the *aṣṭalalita* metre. In his edition of the "Wṛtasañcaya," an Old-Javanese treatise on monoschematic stanzas (entered in "Verspreide Geschriften," vol. ix., p. 67 *sqq.*), Dr. H. Kern already pointed out (p. 77) that this Old-Javanese poem mentions some metres which do not occur in Indian poems. I have no opportunity to trace whether this special metre is known from Sanskrit poems. It is not mentioned in the "Wṛtasañcaya," however, which apparently is not complete.

³⁹ Or: "They certainly lift high all sorts of lances, as if," etc.

⁴⁰ One can also read : "And at the same time force me to catch hold myself of what lacks strength," etc. Expressions as "my heart," "your mind," "his soul," etc., are often used in Javanese for "I" ("me"), "you," "he" ("him"), etc., so that another possible translation of the first line of stanza 10 is : "And how can God allow me to be suffocated (by sorrow)?"

Other possible translations of the first two lines of stanza 10 are : (a) "Why is it allowed by God? Why does He permit (shame and sorrow) to suffocate (to twine about) my heart?" etc., the second line being translated in the same way as above. (b) "Why is death not given to me? (= Why am I not allowed to die?) And why does God permit that (shame and sorrow) suffocate my heart?" etc., *tan* being read in the first sentence of the first line and being split into *ta n* for the second sentence, and the second line being translated in the same way as above. (c) "Why does not God give me something to cling hold of? For now I am obliged to cling to something which has no internal strength, and is not suited for support," *tan winch* being read in the first line instead of *ta n winch*. (d) "But ah! what does it matter (that I say all these things)? (Because) my heart is suffocated (being afraid) that God will allow it to be forced to catch hold of what has no internal strength," etc.

⁴¹ The meaning is : it is in the nature of air that one cannot catch hold of it for support. So properly speaking I (Suprabhā) ought not to blame the air if it is so cruel as to dash my expectations, but yet . . .

(To be continued.)

ART AND LETTERS IN THE CENTRAL JAVANESE STATES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY JOHN DE LA VALETTE

WHEN the names of their Highnesses Prince Mangku Nagoro VII. of Solo, and Prince Paku Alam VII. of Yogya, first appeared in the records of the India Society, some of our members may have wondered as to the nature of these Central Javanese states and not have had occasion to realize the interest taken by their rulers in the progress of the arts and literature as shown by their graciously consenting to extend their patronage to this Society's work. The civilization of Java, even in its Muslim period, was deeply imbued with Hinduistic and other Indian influences and, as is well known, Central Java contains some of the finest Hindu-Javanese monuments and sculptures in existence.

It may, therefore, be of some interest both to the English and Indian members of the India Society to get an insight into the living traditions of Javanese culture. With the kindly co-operation of our friends in Java, it is intended to arrange from time to time either articles or lectures, which will acquaint us better, not only with the past civilization of the people of Java, but also with the present-day movements in their artistic and literary development, for many of these touch directly or indirectly upon some of the cultural problems which are facing India and the Indians.

Of the two articles which are appended, the first deals with literature in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, and points to some of the services rendered to the arts and to letters by many members of the princely House of Paku Alam in Yogya, whose present head, the seventh of the name, has inherited the literary gifts of his ancestors. The second article describes the tendencies in regard to modern Javanese literature during the past forty years since H.H. Susuhunan Pakubuwana X. of Surakarta came to the throne of the state which, for the Javanese, stands as the principal surviving representative of their ancient empire of Mataram. In subsequent issues we hope to include a description by Dr. W. Stutterheim of a fine Bodhisattva head in the famous art collection in Solo of H.H. Prince Mangku Nagoro VII., a generous and erudite patron of the arts, a review of Mr. Th. B. Lelyveld's monograph on the Art of Dancing in Java, and other articles that may throw a light on the present condition of cultural activities in Java.

Art and Letters in the Central Javanese States

Originating in Central Java, Mataram had at the height of its glory in the pre-Dutch days included within its sway almost the whole of Java and territories in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, in Borneo and elsewhere. The encroaching action of the Dutch East India Company, frequently induced by their being called into the conflicts between different Javanese Chiefs and Princes, had gradually given the Dutch a territorial, as well as a commercial, foothold in various parts of Java and in some of the other islands. On December 11, 1749, the Dutch at last succeeded in "attaining the grand object of all their political interference, the sovereignty of the country."* A weak prince on his deathbed was compelled by a formal official deed "to abdicate for himself and his heirs the sovereignty of the country, conferring the same on the Dutch East India Company, and leaving it to them to dispose of it, in future, to any person they might think competent to govern it for the benefit of the Company and of Java." From this deed is derived "the right by which the Dutch East India Company subsequently granted in *fee* to the native princes the administration of those provinces which still continued under native government."† This system continued in force notwithstanding the transfer of the sovereignty from the Dutch East India Company, first to the Batavian Republic in 1798, then to the Kingdom of Holland, under Louis Napoleon, and finally to the Emperor Napoleon, when Holland became absorbed into the French Empire. During the Governor-Generalship of Marshal Daendels (1808-1811) an attempt was made by him to convey the sovereignty back to the princes, but when, in August, 1811, the British forces arrived in Java, no absolute effect had yet been given to this intention, and the British followed a policy similar in principle to that which had been in force prior to Daendels. After the restoration of "Java and its dependencies," as it was officially termed, or "the other India," as Raffles had called it, to the Dutch in 1816, the same principle continued to be applied.

The rule, *divide et impera*, which had guided the Dutch before and since the English occupation, as it had inspired Raffles during that period, had led in the course of time not only to whittling down the once mighty empire of Mataram to the Sunanate of Surakarta, but to the creation, in 1755, out of part of its territories, of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, mutually intended to keep each other in check.

Not content with this, there had been created by the Dutch the small but independent principality in Solo ruled over by the Head of the "House of Mangku Nagoro," to which Raffles added, in Yogya, a similar principality for the "House of Paku Alam." The policy of playing off one prince against

* Raffles, *Java*, vol. ii., p. 225.

† Raffles, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

Art and Letters in the Central Javanese States

the other continued until in 1825 the Sultanate of Yogyakarta arose in armed rebellion against the Dutch. There followed what is known as the "Java War," which lasted until 1830. After its conclusion the territories of the four principalities, which hitherto had been as intricately interwoven as the lands of mediæval bishoprics, were sorted out and resettled in continuous, well-defined stretches of land. Since then all attempts to foster enmity between the states and the Dutch have ceased, and if, at the same time, the political importance of these princes has also diminished, opportunity was afforded within their states for greater cultural growth and gradual economic development which have led both to material progress and to greater literary and artistic activities, under the generous encouragement of successive princes.

It is of these artistic and literary developments in Central Java that the present and subsequent articles are intended to afford glimpses for the English reading public.

DEVELOPMENTS IN JAVANESE LITERATURE

BY DR. TH. PIGEAUD*

I.

THE PRACTICE OF ART AND LETTERS IN THE PAKU ALAM FAMILY

AMONG the various books which have appeared recently in connection with the twenty-five-years jubilee of H.H. Pangeran Adipati Ario Paku Alam VII. of Yogyakarta that of Ki Adjar Déwantara on the above subject deserves especial notice as it contains much useful information about the history of Javanese literature, music and dancing in Yogya during the nineteenth century.

So much of the post-Hindu literature of Java as has found its way into print consists almost exclusively of works which either originated in Surakarta or else had there been transformed to comply with the requirements of the classical Javanese taste of Solo, that the idea has grown up that Surakarta alone was the literary centre of the country. This was not the fact. Also outside Surakarta it was customary for the regional princes and chiefs to promote literature and the arts at their courts. We find this to have been notably the case in such places as Bantam and Cheribon in western Java, at the courts of Madura and in eastern Java, where in each case regional literatures grew up which differed from that of Surakarta—sometimes in their style, but more

* Reproduced by kind permission from articles in *Djâwâ*, organ of the Java Institute, Yogyakarta, Java (1932, No. 1). Adapted and translated by J. de L. V.

particularly by their use of the regional literary dialect and by their different conceptions of Javanese mythology and history. In studying the great collections of manuscripts one can, with a little care, clearly identify these regional literary schools. Hardly any of their works have so far appeared in print.

This must be mainly attributed to the fact that by the time the printing press became available for the production of Javanese works—that is to say about the middle of the nineteenth century—the chiefs and princes outside the central Javanese states had already lost their political importance. Lack of financial strength was the result, and so these various courts were unable any longer to remain the centres of local literary or artistic activities.

To return to the central Javanese states, in 1755 Pangerang Mangkubumi had been the first of his line to be recognized as Sultan of Yogyakarta. He built himself the new *kraton*, or palace, not far from the spot where the famous Sultan Agung had lived. It was equipped with everything that could embellish it, and the protection and fostering of the fine arts and of literature were not overlooked. Thereby the basis was established of the tradition of art and literature in Yogya, which in course of time differentiated itself from the tradition ruling in Solo much in the same manner as that which we have noted in the outlying provincial courts. Of this specifically Yogyane literature very little has so far been printed; partly indeed because the writers in Yogya were mainly nobles of high rank who, as a rule, looked upon their work, not as destined for the general public, but intended solely for the edification or instruction of their relatives and descendants. Their works usually only exist in very few copies, which are frequently finely calligraphed and sometimes richly illuminated. For such highly prized teachings the printing press, which would have brought them within reach of the broad masses, would have been considered a desecration. It is therefore particularly to be welcomed that K. A. Déwantara has now provided us with an interesting summary of the Yogya literature of the nineteenth century. The first three Pangerangs Adipati of the House of Paku Alam (who ruled respectively from 1813 to '30, from 1830 to '58 and from 1858 to '64) contributed in their different ways to the stimulation of the arts and the practice of literature. The same policy was followed during the latter half of last century by the two sons of the third ruler, the Pangerangs Suryaningrat and Sasraningrat, as well as other members of the family. Literary talent seems to have been highly developed in this family, especially among the direct descendants of Prince Paku Alam I., and K. A. Déwantara fills some twenty pages with quotations from various works written by members of this family. From these one may obtain at least some impression of what constituted the Yogya style. Apparently during the first half of the nineteenth century the knowledge in Yogya of the so-called "great metre"

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was extensive. It is even said that Sultan Amangkubuwana V. used to send his clerks regularly to the Paku Alam palace to learn there the *karwi* songs in "great metre." Prince Paku Alam V. was famous for the works he wrote in this form and which he adapted to the full orchestral accompaniment of the *gamelan*. One of these musical poems has remained popular and was the first in which the *sarimpi* dances were executed by young girls of good repute belonging to noble families, as they still are to this day.

These few observations on K. A. Déwantara's interesting book, which contains a great deal more information on this little known subject, must here suffice. It only remains to express the hope that we may now soon be enabled to become acquainted with some of the actual works of the Paku Alam family. We shall then be better able to form a judgment on the literature of this period, whilst such a publication would undoubtedly once again confirm the fact that the House of Paku Alam has brought forth many remarkable men who have played an important part in the development of Javanese civilization.

II.

RECENT JAVANESE LITERATURE

ON the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the succession to the throne by H.H. Kandjeng Susuhunan Pakubuwana X., Susuhunan of Surakarta, it may not be out of place to attempt a short sketch of the progress of Javanese letters during that period in view of the fact that Solo has always been an important centre for the study and development of the traditional literature of the island.

In the nineties of last century, when the present Susuhunan began his rule, the great figures of the so-called *pujangga* literature in Solo had only more or less recently passed away, and two of them—namely, R. Ng. Rang-gawarsita (who died in 1874) and Prince Mangku Nagoro IV. (deceased in 1881)—had especially exercised great influence not only on the literature but also on the indigenous culture of Java. Both these outstanding men had undergone Western influences, clear traces of which are found in their works. Yet they both were strongly imbued with the ancient Javanese-Muslim traditions, and the younger generation followed their lead in the sense that, whilst increasingly adopting Western knowledge and spiritual values, they retained in a comparatively high degree their respect for their own indigenous civilization.

In the case of R. Ng. Rang-gawarsita this Western influence showed itself *inter alia* in his desire to systematize the subjects he dealt with, and to introduce dates in his treatment of the classical historical material of Javanese

tradition. He also started the tendency towards a more or less objective interest in the history and civilization of his people.

Prince Mangku Nagoro IV., who retained a great admiration for all that was traditionally ancient Javanese, developed also an unbiassed and liberal attitude towards the spiritual side of life. This has had an especial influence in the religious life of the Javanese people, and a certain measure of religious indifference combined with a rather wide, but also rather vague, mysticism has tended to widen in the younger generation the cleft between ancient Muslim Javanism and the modern attitude of the educated upper classes.

During these last forty years the modernization of Javanese life has progressed at an ever increasing rate. This has particularly been the case in connection with political and economic developments. In regard to literature this progress, and especially its speed, have produced less favourable results. In the study of the Javanese language, however, a great deal of constructive work has been done on the lines laid down by R. Ng. Ranggawarsita, albeit strongly under Western influence. Thus Ki Padmasusastra (who died at a great age at Surakarta in 1926), although he had not received a Western education, produced several works which were based on Western models. These even included a Javanese encyclopedia alphabetically arranged and intended to supply a summary of the whole range of Javanese knowledge. Another indication of Western influences—namely, the translating of aspirations into practical deeds—is to be found in the foundation by Raden Adipati Sasradiningrat IV., the previous Prime Minister of Surakarta (who died in 1925), a very enlightened patron of the arts and letters, first of a museum, then of a public library, and finally of a literary society called *Radya Pustaka*. Although this Society concentrates its activities on the old traditions according to the conceptions of R. Ng. Ranggawarsita, it does so in an active manner which is entirely modern in its methods.

But independently of these influences which sought to model modern literature upon traditional classical lines there grew up a new generation which received its education in Dutch schools, and of whom especially the most gifted became increasingly identified with Western public life, thus more and more using Dutch as the vehicle for the expression of their ideas. This development was partly due to the fact that the ancient Javanese literature consisted almost entirely of poetry and had failed to develop a literary prose language.

As regards Javanese journalism, this has so far hardly produced papers of more than local importance, although political developments and the devotion of much space to political matters have enabled some of them to command a wider distribution. The present shortage, however, of really good Javanese

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journalists has rendered it impossible for this branch of literature to play an important part for the time being. In regard to the publication of books there has been a rapid extension under Javanese, Indo-Chinese, and European management, and a fairly large and increasing number of books has been issued during the last twenty or thirty years. In this, too, however, the fact that the best Javanese talent is not available for this branch of activity, has caused the results to remain below those one would have hoped for. Of the works published a large number are school books or of an educative character. Another important section is provided by classical works on mythological-historic or philosophic subjects, whilst *wayang* stories are always in demand. Most of these publications, however, hardly differ from, and add little to, those on the same subjects published fifty years earlier.

There has, however, been a certain amount of development in the production of more "modern" Javanese literature, such as novels and popular scientific works. So far it cannot be said that these works constitute a rejuvenation of Javanese intellectual or social life. Part of them, as is only natural, are translations from the Dutch, and the original Javanese books which have appeared thus far have not shown themselves to be of outstanding merit. This is partly due to the fact that the younger elements of the educated classes, who are fully participating in the modernization of the Javanese people and who would be fully able to cause Javanese literature to share in that development, are keeping aloof from that particular branch of activity.

We have already referred to the growth of a modern, somewhat liberal mysticism (which has among the younger generation frequently led to the adoption of theosophy), but this movement has also kept outside the realm of higher literature, and its influence on the educated classes has been found to diminish with the spread of Westernized education. Especially during the last thirty years or so, however, the revival of Islam in a modernist sense, which has been experienced throughout the Muslim world, has become a factor of importance also in Central Java. The printed literature of Java has thereby been enriched with a fairly large amount of religious literature, including adaptations of popular Arabic works, extracts from the Quran, etc. This literature derives its readers mainly from the religious middle classes, from among whom also it arises. Something similar occurs in regard to the Christian literature which is distributed by the missions. For the present these religious books are of little importance for the development of Javanese literature, and as yet they include very few original Javanese works.

It will thus be seen that among the many changes which have taken place during the forty years since H.H. Susuhunan Pakubuwana X. ascended

the throne, the development of Javanese literature has not been among the most prominent.

Nevertheless the number of Javanese books, periodicals and daily papers that have been issued has considerably increased, partly as a result of the extension of school education in ever-widening circles. In this connection the publications of the Bureau for Popular Literature are contributing most usefully to the creation of a wider reading public.

But if the actual achievement of modern Javanese literature has not as yet reached a very high level, many new possibilities have been created during these recent decades. In particular there has been a definite development in the use of the Javanese language for modern purposes, especially under the influence of the most recent prose literature and the daily press. Though at times there results a tendency towards linguistic corruption, at any rate in the opinion of classical scholars, this new movement is nevertheless making it possible to use the language for the expression of modern ideas. In this connection mention should be made of the movement, of which the Javanese daily paper *Swara Umoom* which is published at Surubaya is the centre, to use the popular regional dialect for literary purposes, instead of the somewhat stilted and inflexible traditional literary language. The use of Latin characters, which entails many practical and economic advantages, is also increasing. All of which may be considered as a development of the language, the full benefits of which should in due course enable the younger generation to give to the Javanese people a rejuvenated literature in which it will be able to express itself freely.

SONGS OF THE WAYANG

By RADEN MAS NOTO SOEROTO

"BLENTJONG" (THE LAMP)

NOTO SOEROTO's Wayang Poems, songs of the Javanese shadow play, may be likened to the great Tagore's "Gitanjali." They must be read over and over again before the beauty of the mystic ideas they embody sinks into the mind; and when these ideas once get hold of the mind, then they remain there like some haunting memory. We can never more forget them.

A peculiar thing about these verses is that though the reference all through is to the Great Architect of the Universe, yet one, in some unaccountable manner, feels that the same can be addressed to less exalted beings. For instance, the "Blentjong" (The Lamp) can be a passionate appeal to the Beloved to inspire the Lover, or the disciple's prayer to his Guru or Master

Songs of the Wayang

for guidance. This idea is after all not very strange seeing that God is Love and Love is God ; consequently on this basis all forms of Love are divine.

G. DE Z.

I

When You light Your lamp, the mystery of Your Play begins on the illuminated screen—a shining surface in Your unfathomable darkness.

Flowers are placed on the graceful vessels of offering, the sweet perfume of incense fills the House of Night, and the tones of stringed instruments, with flutes and gongs, make of Your play a sacramental feast of Life.

II

When You light Your lamp, this world is illuminated, and I a shadow am on the white screen of Your Creation. When my hour comes You take me in Your hands and lo, on the screen of Your world, I appear.

Your lamp bathes me in its Light ; this body is my shadow, ah ! but my true self is in Your hands.

III

Oh, teach me to sense Your hand, because I do not know how to act.

Oh, teach me to hear Your voice, that I may know how to speak.

Oh, teach me to comprehend Your will, that I may learn how to keep silent.

Time is short ; my life here consists only of seconds in the light of Your lamp,

That burns mysteriously from Eternity to Eternity.

IV

Tell me who and what I am, so I may recognize my joys and my sorrows,

My love and my hate as my very own,

And laughing and weeping execute Your Will.

(Authorized translation from the original Dutch, by G. de Z.)

“KELIR” (THE SCREEN).

On the white screen of Your day move the shadows of men. I see them and I know that they are not.

I contemplate myself, my face and my hands and I know that it is not myself.

On the white screen of this troubled world men move like shadows : they

love and cherish love ; they hate and are disdainful, but all their strivings are the strivings of shadows and empty vanity.

We are shadows on the screen of Your time, but You hold us in Your hands in the Light of Your Eternity.

We talk of strife and suffering, of victory, ambition and sorrow.

But in Your Light all is Love, therefore all Life is one waiting full of longing to be moved by Your hand in the reflection of Your Flaming Light on the white screen of Your troubled World.

(Authorized translation from the original Dutch, by G. de Z.)

BOOK REVIEW

MOHENJODARO AND THE INDUS CIVILIZATION. 3 vols. (Probsthain, 12 guineas net.)

(Reviewed by R. FRANK ZENTLER and PIERRE DUPONT of the Musée Guimet, Paris.)

Discoveries denoting traces of an ancient Mesopotamian influence on Indian civilization have frequently been made. As early as 1897, Victor Henry noted that the Vedic sorcerer exorcised fever with the words : "Thy name is Hrudu, O god of yellow." Hrudu has no Sanskrit etymology, but there exists a similar Semitic trisyllable meaning "gold." That elements had been borrowed from Upper Asia had long been known : among others, the Brāhmī alphabet, the lunar Nakṣatra, the representation of the Padmāsana, found on a cylinder of Lugaland, Patesi of Lagash (2850 B.C.), etc.

On the other hand, we have the famous mitanian treatise dated 1380 B.C., mentioning Mitra Varuṇa, Indra, the Nāsatyas, and also a much earlier list of Kassite deities (eighteenth century B.C.) mentioning a sun-god named Su-Ri-Ia. However, as the Veda was long considered the principal ancient source of information concerning India, all other points were similarly annexed to the history of Indo-European civilization. Even today, when the problem presents itself under a very different aspect, it remains difficult to separate the ancient common Asianic strata from the elements brought by the Aryans to different parts of Asia and the later notions acquired through commercial traffic.

Fleet was the first (*J.R.A.S.*, 1912) to draw attention to Babylonian analogies in the seals found in the region of Harappā, in particular those discovered by Cunningham at the close of the nineteenth century.

But it is only in the last ten years, since the excavations at Mohenjodaro, that it is possible to obtain a detailed, if unexpected, vision of pre-Aryan India.

The results of these excavations have formed the subject of an important work, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, published under the direction of Sir John Marshall, with the assistance of Messrs. Ernest Mackay, H. Hargreaves, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, C. S. Gadd, Sydney Smith, S. Langdon, Muhammad Sana Ullah, A. S. Hemmy, Colonel R. B. Seymour Sewell, B. S. Guha, Sir Edwin Pascoe. Everything has been done to interpret and present the documents to their best advantage. The reproductions of vessels and implements as well as the cylinder-stamps are particularly intelligible.

Mohenjodaro seems to belong to that world of painted pottery whose development began in Western Asia at the dawn of the chalcolithic age ; a world belonging, according to Sir John Marshall, to the cycle of Afrasian civilization, the origin as well as the centre of which still

Book Review

remains to be discovered. All the common characteristics are found here: tools of copper and bronze, the cult of the bull and of the mother-goddess, as well as more or less developed hieroglyphic writing.

But personally it seems that we are here dealing with a remote and already belated province of this domain. The connections established with Western Asia do not as a whole concern the early protohistoric cultures; some metal instruments (tang-blades, vessels, razors) belong to a more advanced period of the bronze age; a metal sickle appears to indicate contacts with the Siberian world, and the presence of jadeite, probably of Central Asiatic origin, seems to confirm this supposition. The painted pottery often bears traces of the hasty workmanship that became almost universal after the decline of Susa II. Moreover, the Indus civilization was not absolutely lacking in contacts with historical India.

The site of Mohenjodaro presented seven archaeological layers, sometimes not clearly distinguishable, with a possible gap between the third and the fourth, while the later ones show obvious signs of decadence. Sir John Marshall assigned to the whole an approximate duration of 500 years, from 3250 to 2750 B.C. This is certainly the earliest possible date, and personally we would place it somewhat later.

The buildings, solidly made of brick without any decoration, fall into three classes—dwelling-houses, baths, with numerous canalizations, and edifices of an uncertain nature, temples or palaces. It is only in Egypt, Upper Asia and Crete that buildings on so large a scale are found before the first millennium B.C. Moreover, the use of brick seems to have originated in Mesopotamia. These various points would completely separate us from the later Indian architecture were it not that traces of fire suggest superstructures in wood.

The funeral customs present all the aspects usual in the bronze age: infrequent direct burial, fractional interment after the application of some process of partial dismembering, and lastly, cremation. Skeletons, sometimes several together, are placed in jars along with little earthenware vases.

As to the metal tools, the rarity of which seems to indicate a hasty emigration of the inhabitants, bronze is less frequently employed than copper. This fact, frequent in the oldest chalcolithic period, together with the existence of clumsy, flat-sided axes of an archaic and even neolithic shape, would seem to imply a remote date were it not for the already mentioned presence of tang-blades, metal vessels, and small implements such as razors and fish-hooks, all common to a later age.

Lastly, there are divers stone objects, palettes, buttons, and lentoid mace-heads, similar to those found in Egypt and in Susiana; sets of dice and also beads and necklaces of lapis, turquoise, amethyst, jade, chalcedony, and carnelian.

To us personally it would seem that the almost entirely wheel-made, painted pottery may be divided into two categories: one group, that does not appear to have any direct outside connections, decorated with double contours, intersecting circles, and small motives indefinitely repeated; and a second group related to the great centres of Western Asia. Here are to be found realistic though rather rough patterns of ibex, antelopes, birds, and plants, as well as numerous, though unfortunately incomprehensible, geometric designs. The coexistence of ancient elements and the more or less clumsy representations recall, as noted above, a period following Susa II. Finally, one or two motives, such as the pattern of ships alternating with suns, so frequent in the bronze age, and even found on metal *situles* in Sweden, seem to be in full course of evolution. The ship itself originally bore a wheel, which is here an unintelligible *quadrillage*.

Side by side there exists a type of glazed ware, to be found also at Anau III, Jemdet-Nasr, and Kish.

The seals, notwithstanding certain Babylonian affinities, seem to be so peculiar to the Indus that those found in Mesopotamia are probably imported. They are of different shapes, cylindrical, square, either with or without a boss, or circular; they frequently represent a humped bull

before a sort of manger, or else figures of elephants, antelopes, or tigers, all accompanied by inscriptions also to be found on little copper plates.

Statuary is represented on the one hand by a piece of Hellenistic character, whose presence is only to be explained by some displacement of the earth layers, and on the other hand by a group of heads of different types, one of which, possessed of a long, hooked nose and a beard, has been considered as similar to the archaic Sumerian type.

We now reach one of the most interesting points of the Indus civilization—a seal, representing a three- or four-headed deity seated in *Yoga* fashion on a throne decorated with figures of antelopes, and surrounded by the tiger, the bull, the rhinoceros, and the elephant. Other seals bearing a standing figure framed by a *nāga* or a circle of flames have also come to light. There is little need to emphasize the affinities existing between these representations and other *Çaiva* images of a much later date. There was, moreover, a time when in India itself the non-Vedic origin of the cults of *Çiva*, the *Nāgas*, the *Yakṣas*, and mother-goddess, was a recognized fact.

The representations of the mother-goddess so frequent in Egypt, in the *Ægeo-Cretan* world and in Baluchistan, are often to be found here: they figure an undraped deity wearing necklaces and jewelry, and sometimes carrying a child. She is to be found almost unchanged on a metal *plaque* in *Laurya* and then on certain archaic Indian terra-cottas.

Lastly, *liṅgas* and representations of the bull, also to be found in later India, exist both simultaneously with, and previous to the Mohenjodaro period almost throughout the entire painted-pottery civilization.

This relationship must be allowed before proceeding to the inscriptions found on the seals. According to Sir John Marshall, the writing, usually directed from right to left, is sometimes *boustrophedon*. This writing, composed sometimes of conventionalized patterns, and sometimes of still quite realistic designs of men, fishes, garments, etc., shows analogies with archaic Sumerian and even with Minoan and proto-Elamite scripts. However, a recent work of M. de Hevesy tends to indicate certain Polynesian affinities, whereas Mr. S. Langdon, in compiling a list of the characters, found in the diacritic and combined signs the prototype of *Brāhmī* script.

The problem of the origin and influence of this civilization now arises. That it was continental seems probable, as except for the already conventionalized pattern mentioned above, no material traces or pictorial representation of a ship have been found. Anthropology gives us no clues: the few skulls discovered belong to the proto-Australoide, Mediterranean, Mongoloide and Alpine races. But the sickle and jadeite suggest contacts with Central Asia. Sir John Marshall rejects *a priori* all relations with the Aryans; and personally we have noted that the horse, in all probability domesticated by the Indo-Europeans, does not appear in Asia Minor until approximately the twentieth century B.C. At Mohenjodaro, with the exception of a seal of dubious intelligibility and the possibly accidental presence of a few bones, no traces of the horse are to be found.

In view, therefore, of the fact that subsequently the Dravidians were the first neighbouring people to possess an advanced pre-Aryan civilization, that in the very heart of Baluchistan there exists an isolated Dravidian tongue, the *Brāhūi* idiom, and taking into account the analogies existing between the agglutinated languages of Sumer and Southern India, Sir John Marshall is inclined to concede the ascendance of the Sumerian and descendance of the Dravidian civilizations in regard to that of Mohenjodaro.

Two points appear to us to substantiate these conclusions: firstly, the presence of several marked pots similar to those of Southern India; and secondly, the existence in Southern India of beads and necklaces related in form and substance to those of the oldest sites of Ur and Kish, a relationship which can only be explained by a long chain of intermediary links.

Today we are told that the Indus civilization extended as far as the Ganges and Simla. It remains, therefore, to be seen whether at some later date, twenty or fifty years hence, this chain will not come to light.

In Mohenjodaro we have already an important link, and its date may still be open to revision.

SIAM SOCIETY'S BUILDING FUND

THE President and the Council of the Siam Society, of Bangkok, have much pleasure in announcing that they have now been able to bring the matter of the new building to a successful completion.

Public notice has already been given of the generous gift to the Society by Mr. A. E. Nana of three "rai" of land in the Bang Kapi area, near the new Paknam road. Title-deeds for the land have already been secured. It is proposed to put up a brass inscription in the building to commemorate this gift.

A road, 186 metres long, has, however, to be built by the Society in order to gain access to the site and to provide a frontage. Dr. Geo. MacFarland, through whose land the road will pass, has kindly given permission for it to be built. The cost of this road, and of raising the ground level of the site, has been estimated at Tcs. 3,500 approximately, and, as the Building Fund in hand at present amounts to Tcs. 29,268, a sum of about Tcs. 25,750 remains for the construction of the building, for the necessary electric installation and for other contingencies.

Tenders were invited for the building itself from six selected firms, three European and three Chinese, and these were opened by the Building Committee of the Society on July 5. As a list of the tenders has already appeared in the press, it need not be repeated here. It is sufficient to say that the lowest tender, viz. Tcs. 24,000 from Messrs. Lee Ying Kim, was accepted by the Council at its meeting on July 6, and the work will be put in hand at once. The period allowed for the construction of the building is six months. The making of the road is already proceeding.

The sincere and grateful thanks of the Society are due to Mr. E. Healey, who has already carried out most kindly a great amount of work in connection with the specifications and tenders, and who has further consented to act as Honorary Supervisor on behalf of the Society during the construction of the building. The Council would also like to express its thanks to Dr. and Mrs. MacFarland for the kind way in which they have allowed the Society access to its land.

After the cost of the building and road-making has been met, a sum of about Tcs. 1,750 will remain for the necessary electric installation and other contingencies. From provisional estimates already obtained, it is believed

Siam Society's Building Fund

that the above sum will be sufficient to cover the expenditure on electric installation, but other small expenses are bound to occur during the course of construction, and the Council would feel relieved if they had a sum of, say, FIVE HUNDRED TICALS in hand to cover such items as a caretaker's house, entrance gates, and possibly a certain amount of furniture. The Council is very grateful to all those members who have already subscribed to the Fund, but there are still a number of members, both old and new, who have not yet subscribed, and they may be assured that any donation, however small, will be thankfully received.

It is a source of much gratification to the Council that they have at length been able to bring this long-prepared scheme to fruition, and they would like to feel that they can complete it to the satisfaction of all without any drain on the Reserve Fund of the Society, which has already contributed a sum of Tcs. 2,000/-.

Contributions may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. C. J. House, Wireless Road, Bangkok.

PIHYA INDRA MONTRI,
President.

BANGKOK.

July 22, 1932.

INDIA SOCIETY ANNOUNCEMENTS

I

EXHIBITION OF MODERN INDIAN ART

THE Council of the India Society is taking steps for the holding of an Exhibition of Modern Indian Art in London in 1934.

The Exhibition is intended to comprise modern paintings and drawings, architectural designs and photographs, and examples of sculpture.

The selection of exhibits from India will rest with regional committees in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore, Lucknow, Madras, and the Indian States. The arrangements in London will be in the hands of the Council of the India Society. Funds permitting, it is hoped to repeat the Exhibition on the Continent.

FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND,
Chairman.

THE INDIA SOCIETY,
3, Victoria Street,
London, S.W. 1.

II

PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

The three hundred and seventy-nine photographic prints selected from those made by the Archæological Survey of India in the year 1929-30, and sent by the Government of India to India House, London, of which mention was made in the last issue of *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*, have now been classified as follows : (1) ancient sites, (2) architecture, (3) beads and amulets, (4) burials, (5) coins, (6) figurines, (7) inscriptions, (8) jewellery (excluding beads and amulets), (9) paintings, (10) pottery, (11) sculpture, (12) seals and sealings, (13) textiles, (14) tools and weapons, (15) utensils (excluding pottery), (16) miscellaneous.

Arrangements have now been made for mounting these prints in albums according to classification, and it is anticipated that they will be available for reference and study early in 1933.

A selection of the photographs taken in the year 1930-31 has now reached India House, and will be similarly prepared and made available for use as soon as possible.

III

SIAMESE AND INDIAN TEXTILES

It will be recalled that in 1928 H.R.H. Prince Damrong graciously presented to the India Society a collection of textiles which were exhibited for inspection by members of the Society in the same year. Subsequently a further collection of textiles, belonging to the Royal Institute of Literature, Archæology and Fine Arts at Bangkok, was sent on loan by His Royal Highness for the purpose of study. On June 27, 1930, a reception was held to meet H.R.H. Prince Damrong on the occasion of his visit to London, when His Royal Highness delivered the following speech in reply to the Chairman's (Sir Francis Younghusband's) address of welcome :

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel deeply grateful for the honour you have done me by the reception you give me today, and also for the flattering words that you, Mr. Chairman, have expressed to me.

I entirely endorse your view about the most friendly relations between Great Britain and Siam, and I also am at one with you regarding the connection of Indian civilization with Siam and other Eastern countries.

Indian influence had reached Siam perhaps more than two thousand years ago. We Siamese have got our religion, literature, and other customs from India. Even in our time we still can see traces of it. As regards art, though the Siamese have art of their own to a great extent, Indian influence is also to be seen. I think the purpose for which you have established the India Society is a noble one, and it made me think it deserves universal encouragement. As far as Siam is concerned, you may rest assured of the cordial co-operation of the Royal Institute of Literature, Archæology, and Fine Arts with your Society in every respect.

The Siamese Archæological Service is still young, but in his present Majesty King Prajadipok we have one who is always ready to lend the Service his gracious support. This has enabled us to make rapid advances in the past, and we have reason to hope that our progress in the future will be still more rapid.

In conclusion, I would add that I feel it a great honour to be made a Patron of this noble Society, and I would assure you that the welcome shown to me today will be an ever-pleasant memory of my present tour to Europe. Once again I thank you, Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen.

Both these collections having aroused considerable interest, it was thought by the Council that it was important to obtain the opinion of experts as to their origin. The following reports have now been received from Mr. A. D. Howell Smith of the India Museum, South Kensington :

I. COLLECTION OF SIAMESE AND INDIAN TEXTILES, FROM THE ROYAL INSTITUTE AT BANGKOK, AND ANOTHER PRESENTED BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE DAMRONG TO THE INDIA SOCIETY.

The thirty-one textiles from the collection of the Royal Institute at Bangkok are nearly all of Siamese origin, as is the whole of the India Society's collection. A few were produced in India. Two of the latter are block-printed cottons. A process of resist-dyeing was used to give a pattern to three very fragmentary cotton cloths which come from the Coromandel coast in South India.

Most of the Siamese cottons in the two collections are examples of resist-dyeing. The resist employed was beeswax, in which a large part of the pattern was drawn. Afterwards the dyes

India Society Announcements

were applied by means of swabs and the wax was boiled off, leaving the white ground, which in many of the pieces was subsequently gilded by hand. Mordants were required to fix the red dye or to modify its tones.

The silk fabrics, with one exception, were produced in Siam. No. 31 is probably a specimen of Malay "ikat" (weft tie-and-dye) weaving.

A large part of the two collections consists of *p'anungs*, nearly all the cotton examples, and probably one of the silk, having been made for theatrical use.

With three, or possibly four, exceptions, these textiles belong to the nineteenth century. An eighteenth-century date should probably be assigned to the three cotton fragments from the Coromandel coast above mentioned; and a *p'anung* (No. 24) in the Bangkok collection, whose pattern is said to have been taken from a plate design of the late Ayuthia period, may also have been produced in the eighteenth century.

The black cotton coverlet (No. 25), is purely Siamese in design, although the embroidery technique is distinctly Chinese in character.

II. COTTON FABRICS.

More than half of the cotton fabrics in this collection appear to be *p'anungs*—the thigh- and waist-cloths worn so as to resemble divided skirts, which are so characteristic of Siamese dress (Nos. 11 to 16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 28, and 30). These were probably manufactured in Siam. Theatrical garments showing similar patterns are in the Völkerkunde Museum of Berlin, Döhring Collection (see Karl Döhring's *Siam*, vol. ii., plates 120-123, pb. Darmstadt, 1923; see also Bossert's *Geschichte der Kunstgewerbe*, vol. iii., p. 326). In his *Siam* Herr Döhring reproduces part of a fresco from a Buddhist temple in Bangkok (vol. ii., plate 29), which strikingly recalls the four cloths he illustrates, besides many in H.R.H. Prince Damrong's collection. No. 24 may go back to the late Ayuthia period (? about 1767).

Nos. 6 to 10 are hangings of Siamese origin, although No. 9 may possibly be a product of South India.

The above-mentioned textiles were produced by methods similar to those long in use on the Coromandel coast of South India. Previous to the putting in of the different dyes a drawing of part of the design was made in beeswax, probably with the aid of a stencil. The colours, however, were not applied by dipping, as in India, but were lightly pressed on to the surface of the cloth by means of a swab. Mordants would be required to fix the red dye or to modify its tones. After the wax had been boiled off, the pattern that was drawn in this material would appear in the original white of the fabric. In a number of examples the white pattern has been subsequently gilded over by hand. Wood-blocks, however, have been used to print the greater part of the ground pattern of No. 9.

A few of these cottons should be ascribed to South India. To this group belongs No. 20, whose ground pattern closely resembles a cotton print in the collection of stuffs mounted for the India Museum by Dr. Forbes Watson (*The Textile Fabrics of India*, vol. x., No. 367), which he describes as "Arcot" and says was made for Malay use. The border of No. 20, however, does not differ in character from those of the above-mentioned *p'anungs*.

No. 22 is possibly also of Arcot manufacture; its design is almost wholly Indian in character. The ground pattern of No. 20 was produced by block-printing, though the border pattern was probably effected by the use of a wax-resist combined with dyeing. No. 22 appears to have been block-printed throughout. Both No. 20 and No. 22 seem to have been made to serve as *p'anungs*.

No. 21, a highly glazed cloth of recent manufacture, is almost certainly from the Coromandel coast. It was made for the Siamese market, to serve probably as a *p'anung*. The design is block-printed.

Older examples of South Indian work are Nos. 1, 2, and 4. These probably go back to the eighteenth century. Their designs have been effected by dyeing, involving the use of a wax-resist, like the above-mentioned *p'anungs*. No. 1 seems to have been made at Pālakollu. Its colour-scheme and the rendering of the figures recall temple-car hangings which are attributed to that place by Mr. W. S. Hadaway, in his book on *Cotton Painting and Printing in the Madras Presidency*, p. 64. No. 2 and No. 4 are certainly South Indian. The first of these may have the same provenance as No. 1, with which it has certain similarities.

India Society Announcements

The designs on Nos. 3 and 5 were produced by a combination of block-printing and dyeing. They are Indian, but differ from those of the Coromandel coast, and may have been made at Baroda in the Bombay Presidency, late in the nineteenth century.

III. SILK FABRICS, ETC.

The black cotton coverlet (No. 25) is Siamese in design, although the embroidery technique is definitely Chinese. Chinese red and blue silk damask make up the lining.

No. 31, a silk *sarong* with a lozenge diaper pattern, is an example of "ikat" (weft tie-and-dye) weaving. It was probably woven in the Southern Malay Peninsula.

No. 26 is a *p'anung* of white silk damask, with a red silk border, woven, in gold thread, with the Tepanom (?) motive. It is said to have been worn for the ceremony of drinking the water of allegiance.

No. 27 is a *p'anung* whose pattern recalls the resist-dyed examples of this class of garments, and was probably woven for theatrical use.

No. 29 is also a *p'anung*.

All the above silk textiles, with the exception of No. 31, are of Siamese manufacture.

Nearly all the pieces in Prince Damrong's collection date from the nineteenth century.

A. D. HOWELL SMITH.

*Assistant Keeper in the India Museum,
London.*

EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS

IN December an Exhibition of some forty Paintings and Water-colours by Mr. M. R. Acharekar, who has been a student at the Bombay School of Art, was, by kind permission of the High Commissioner for India, held at India House.

The following is taken from the account of the artist's career and achievements which accompanies the catalogue:

"The water-colours and oil paintings by Mr. M. R. Acharekar, an Indian artist now pursuing his studies in London, are the work of an Oriental with a European technique and vision.

"Mr. Acharekar, who has won the gold medals of the Bombay Art Society and the Nagpur Art Circle, has studied in India, following first the Indian tradition and then the style of Western realism. His intention now is to concentrate on portrait painting while continuing his research into European methods of painting for a year or so, and then to return to India and combine the conventional symbolism of Indian art with the realistic European style.

"All the examples of his work on exhibition at India House are frankly representational. That entitled 'Adoration' is a large water-colour of a girl before an idol, in which the washes have been applied with a direct brush. The pose of the girl, her costume, the various ornaments, fruit, flowers, and temple decorations, are touched in with a sure but sensitive hand.

"In his landscapes and urban pictures Mr. Acharekar again looks at the subject with an eye for facts, searching for the salient interest in a mass of detail."

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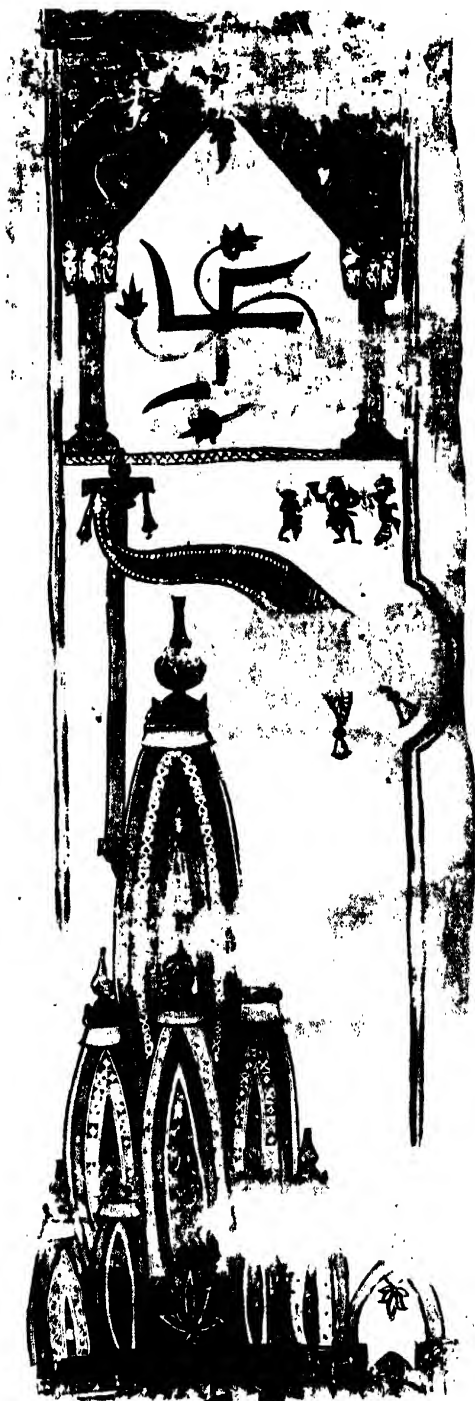
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Picture Roll from Gujara't.

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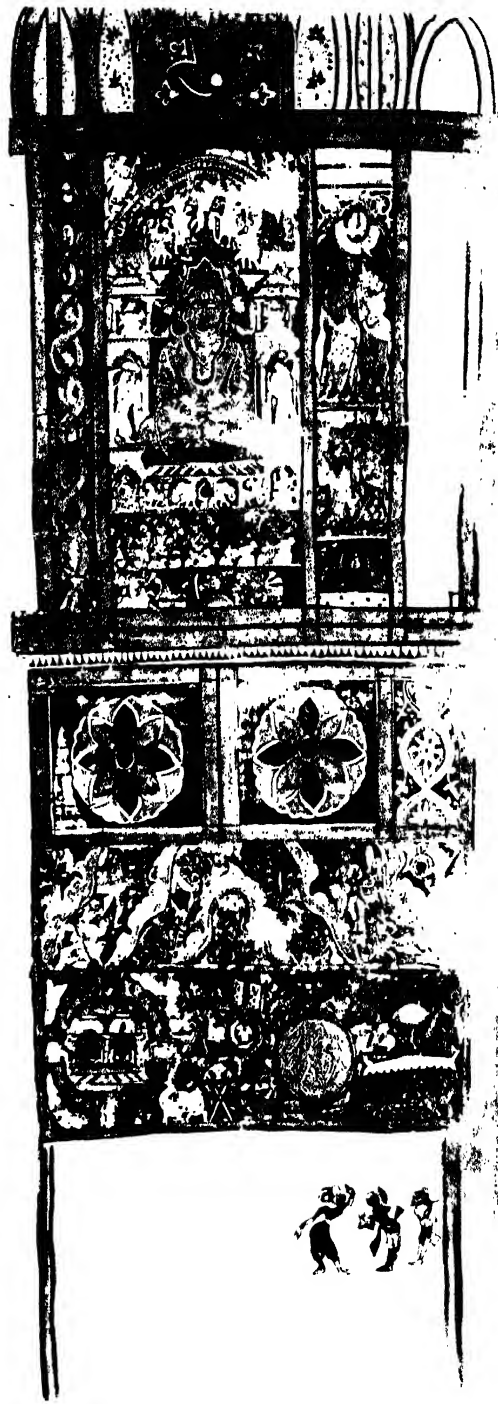
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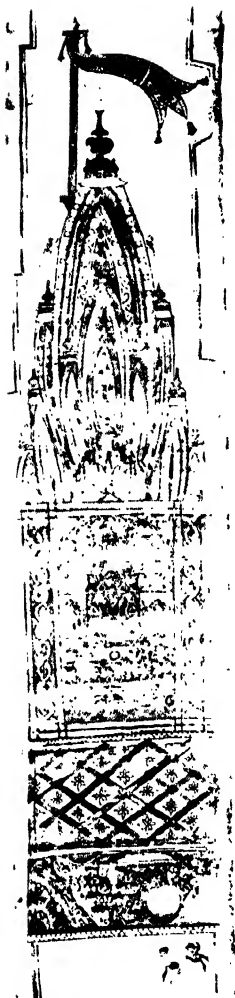
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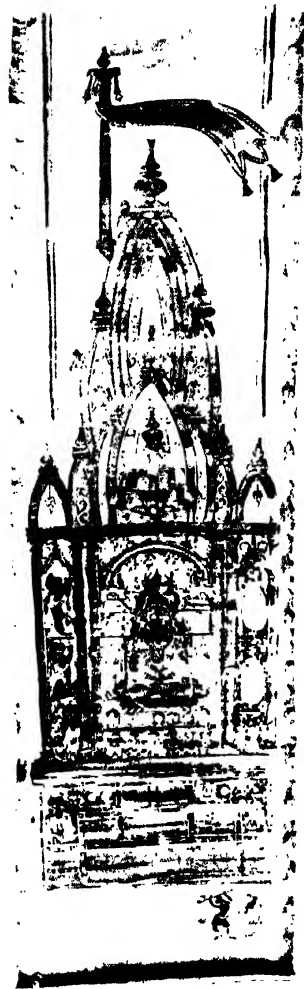


V: SHRINE OF
NEMINATHA.

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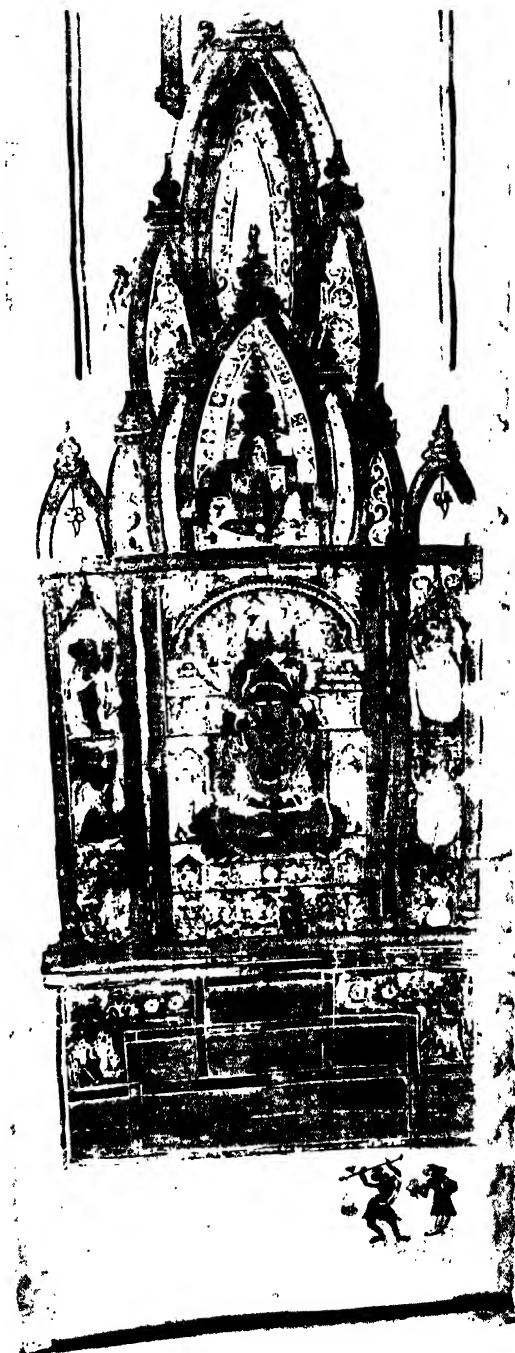
VI: SHRINE OF
PARŚVANATHA.



VII: SHRINE OF
MAHAVIRA.

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PLATE F



DETAILS OF VII. SHRINE OF MAHAVĪRA
VARDHAMĀNA.

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CHARNAR, HYDERABAD, STATE: INNER FORTIFICATIONS.

The temple in the foreground was destroyed by the British, etc. The Nizam's tomb is over the gateway.

C. J. H. H. H. H.

PLATE II



Fresco PAINTING IN ALLEUVANA VIHARA.
A Visit to the Ancient Capitals of Ceylon. *Copyright reserved.*



THE WAJADAGE OF KING PARAKRAMA BAHU FIRST.
A Visit to the Ancient Capitals of Ceylon. *Copyright reserved.*

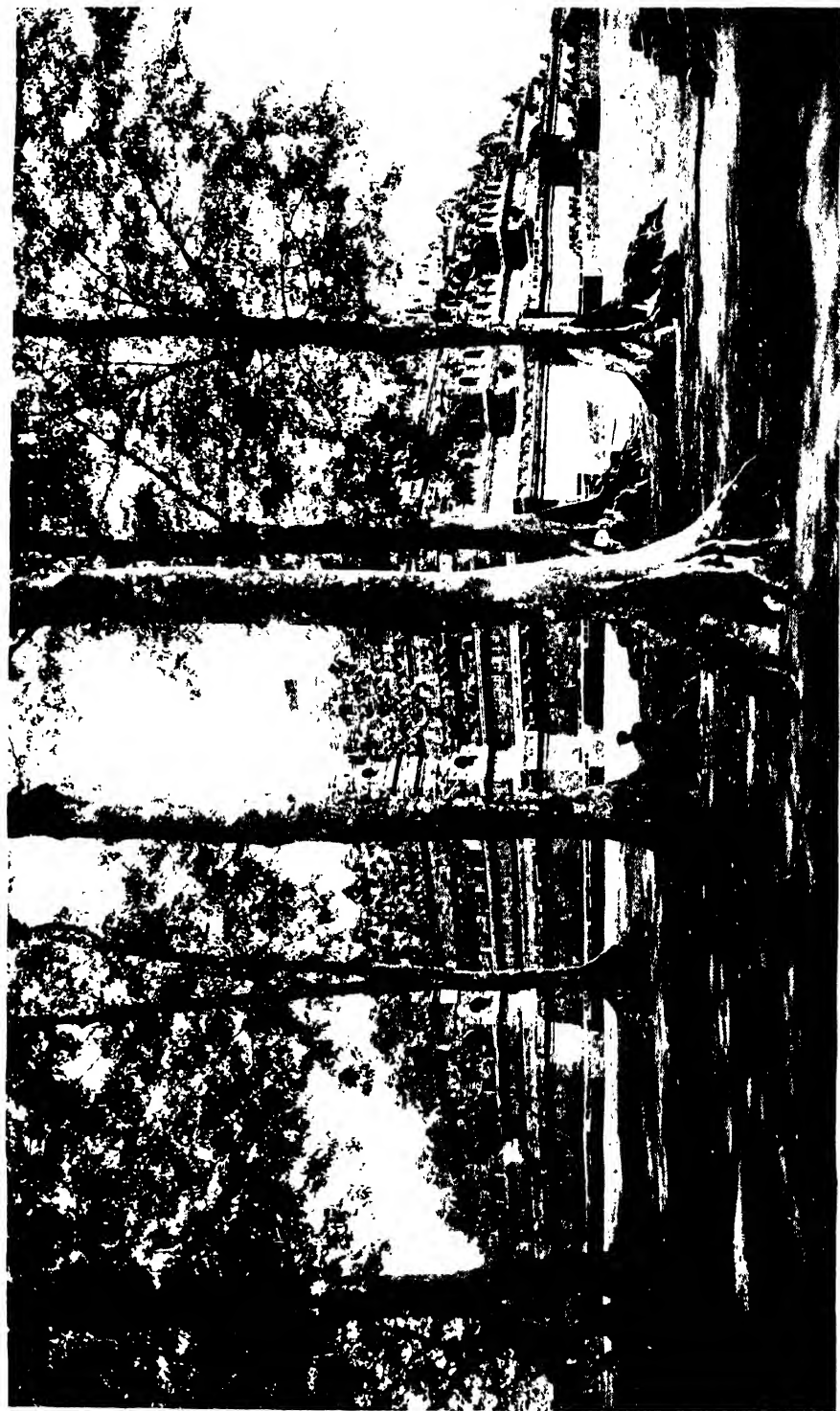


LANKATHILAKA VIHĀRA AND KIRIVECCA DAGABA,
the Capitals of Ceylon.

(p. 124)



LATA MAṆḌAPAYA.



1. GENERAL VIEW OF PARK DRIVE, NORTH-WESTERN CORNER.

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2. SECOND GALLERY: BARABUDUR.

PLATE I.



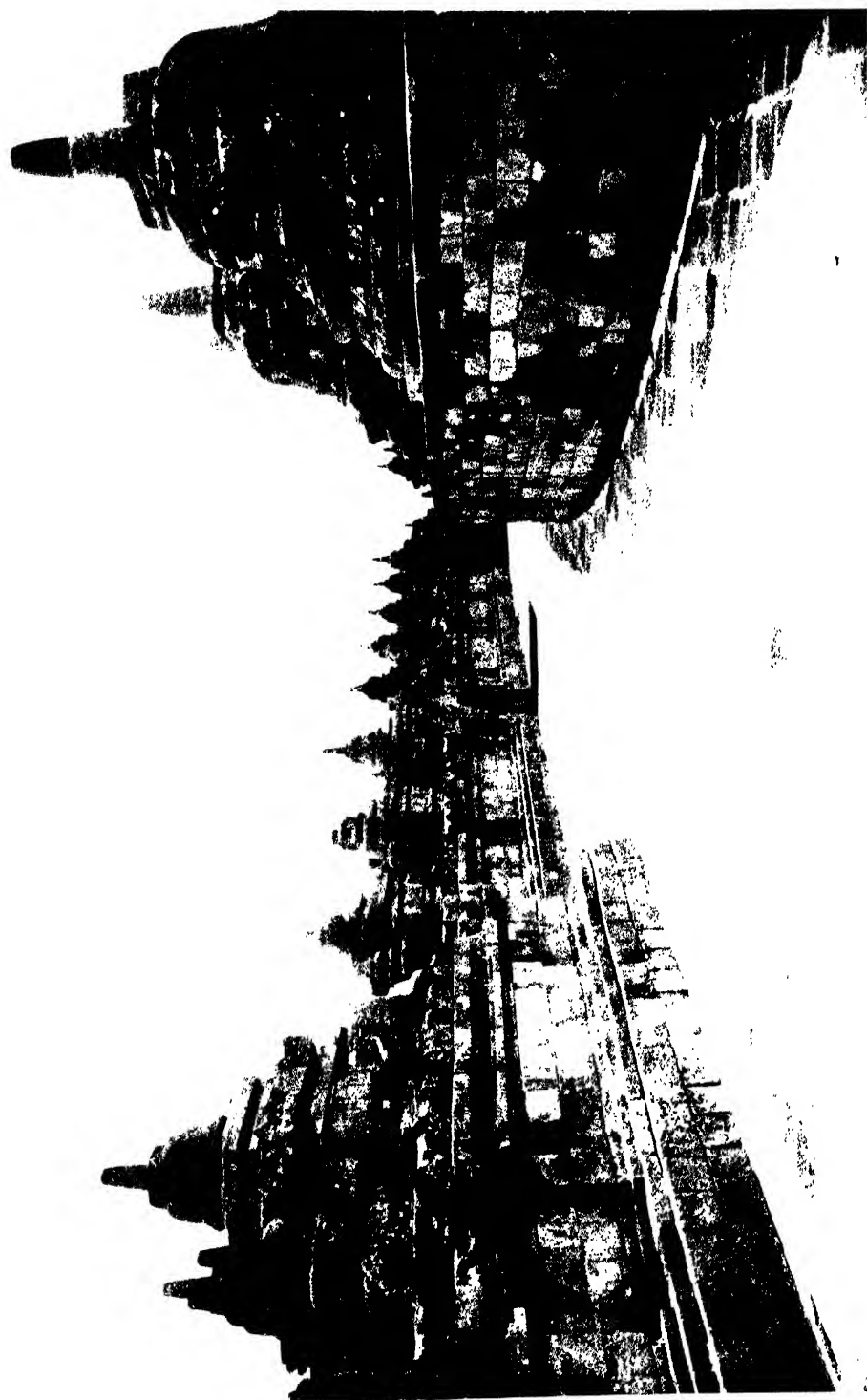
3. MAKARA GARGOYLE ON THE BROAD TERRACE, BARABUDUR.

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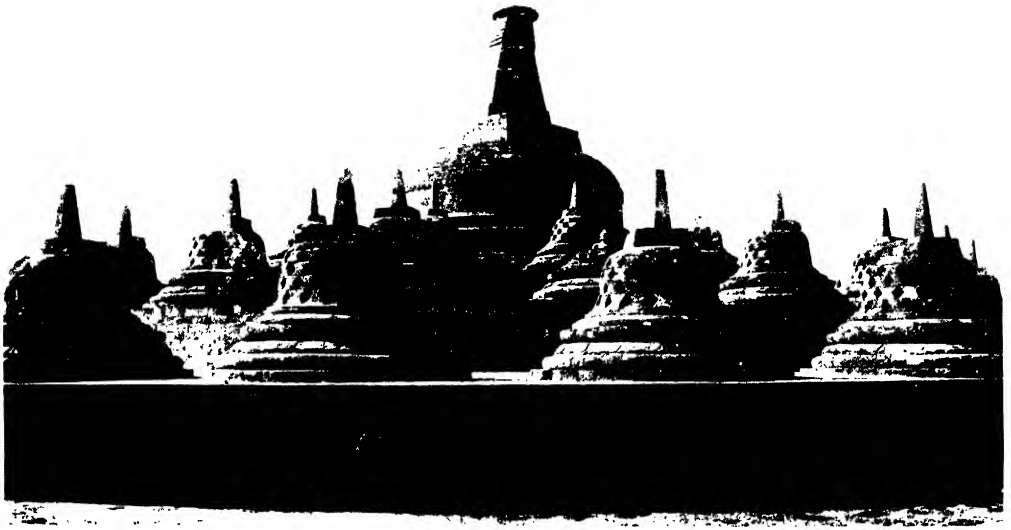
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6. NORTH WESTERN CORNER OF STUPA TERRACES: BARABUDUR



7. BUDDHA STATUE, FROM THE LATTICED STUPAS: BARABUDUR.

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I. POSSIBLE SIAMESE EQUIVALENT OF THE FAMOUS SIGIRIYA "APSARAS" FREScoes.
19th Century MS. illustration,
Introduction to the Study of Siamese Painting



II. QUEEN MAYA'S DREAM (FRESCO).
An Introduction to the Study of Siamese Painting.



III. SCENE FROM THE VENANTAKA JATAKA (FRIESCO).

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V. THE TEMPTATION OF BUDDHA BY THE DAUGHTERS OF MĀRA.

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VI. A PRINCESS WITH ATTENDANTS

(MS. illustration.)

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VII. SIAMESE REPRESENTATION OF KING LOUIS XIV.
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VIII. MONKS AND CHESS PLAYERS: THE CONTRAST BETWEEN CONVENTIONAL AND
REALISTIC STYLES.
(MS. illustration.)

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INDIAN ART AND LETTERS

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NEW SERIES. VOL. VIII. NO. 1

FIRST ISSUE FOR 1934

CENTRAL ASIAN WALL-PAINTINGS*

BY FRED H. ANDREWS, O.B.E.

SIR AUREL STEIN, who presided at the lecture, said :

"It is no small satisfaction to me that when my return from distant fields of work allows me, for the first time, to attend a meeting of the India Society, I should have the honour of presiding at a lecture of my old and much-cherished friend, Mr. Fred H. Andrews. For the last forty-five years, ever since the time of my early labours in the Punjab, I have enjoyed the benefit of his devoted collaboration on whatever finds have rewarded my archæological efforts in the field. When I think back to all the help derived from his skill as a gifted artist and expert in many crafts, I might feel at times tempted to look upon all this as due to a special blessing of Hsüan-tsang, the great Buddhist Pilgrim whom I have ventured to claim as my Chinese patron saint.

"For it was at the site of Murti, in that delightful wooded glen of the Punjab Salt Range, where I had my earliest chance of tracing the footsteps of the famous pilgrim to the sacred places of ancient India, that Mr. Andrews and myself first worked together. How vividly I remember those days, happy in spite of the torrid heat of a Punjab June, when it was given to us to recover whatever remained of beautiful sculpture Hindu builders of later times and indiscriminate quarrying done by a Public Works Department contractor had left of a fine shrine of the Gupta period.

"Never again, since those early days, have I enjoyed Mr. Andrews' encouraging company at any of my archæological expeditions, whether in Central Asia or in that other cherished field, the Indian North-West Frontier, or in Persia. But a kindly Fate has arranged for me to be granted in him the most helpful collaborator for the study, the record and the publication of the results of all those explorations. Ever since the finds from my first

* Lecture delivered before the India Society on Wednesday, July 11, 1934, Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., presiding.

Central Asian Wall-Paintings

Turkestan journey were brought to the British Museum, I was fortunate enough to be able to entrust their detailed examination, apart from literary remains, to Mr. Andrews' unfailing care and many-sided knowledge.

"It would be difficult even for those who have had the patience thoroughly to peruse the contents of the eleven heavy quarto volumes recording the results of my three Central Asian expeditions, fully to realize what antiquarian research into the past of Innermost Asia owes to Mr. Andrews' devoted labours of many years. By his artist training, his technical knowledge, his interest in varied arts and crafts, and—last, but not least—by his practical acquaintance with Indian life, he seemed predestined, as it were, to elucidate problems raised by the relics I had recovered from the sand-buried sites of Chinese Turkestan. There, for a thousand years, the civilizations of India, China, Iran, and the Classical West, had met and intermingled. But apart from all this help, I owe Mr. Andrews a great debt of personal gratitude. For only absolute confidence in his unfailing care and thoroughness made it possible for me to free myself from sedentary work on what official parlance calls 'archæological proceeds' for more congenial travel in Central Asian deserts and mountains and elsewhere also.

"Among all the relics of ancient arts and crafts brought back from my explorations, none stood in greater need of Mr. Andrews' artistic and personal skill than the Buddhist wall-paintings, some of which he is to show and discuss here to-day. Executed in *tempera* on friable mud plaster, they owed their preservation mainly to the extreme aridity of the climate in Chinese Turkestan. Helpful, too, was the protection which the sand heaped up by the rarely ceasing winds of that delectable region afforded from the ravages of time and the still greater danger of destructive human hands.

"Mr. Andrews will tell you of the ingenious methods by which he succeeded in getting these paintings carefully freed from their backing of mud plaster. If not removed before prolonged exposure to a moister climate, this mud backing, impregnated with salts, was bound to destroy in time the delicately painted designs of the surface. But the innate modesty of my much-cherished friend will scarcely allow you to realize the infinite patience and care which this difficult task and the subsequent joining and mounting of the detached panels into complete compositions cost him at New Delhi during successive *soi-disant* vacations.

"The slides which Mr. Andrews will show you are bound to recall to my mind many scenes of trying and yet happy work such as attended the discovery and recovery of those paintings, always on desolate desert ground. I feel, I ought not to trench upon the limited time he has at his disposal for showing you a selection of those wall-paintings. But perhaps I might

Central Asian Wall-Paintings

give a hint of some such personal experiences as I enjoyed when at a ruined shrine of Miran, in the icy cold of the wind-swept Lop desert, there first emerged to my delighted surprise a dado decorated with winged figures quite Hellenistic in type. As with benumbed hands I cleared their heads from the sand that had covered them for close on seventeen centuries, it was hard to believe that I was digging at a Buddhist Stupa far nearer to the Yellow Sea than to the Mediterranean, and not at some ruined Early Christian Church of Syria or elsewhere in the Near East.

"I must not pursue this and similar reminiscences further. But I cannot refrain from paying tribute with a few words to those valiant Indian 'handymen' who under my guidance so willingly and so efficiently carried out the difficult task of detaching those fragile panels of mere mud from the walls, and of packing them safely for transport over some three thousand miles of deserts and high mountain ranges. Devotedly and pluckily they all worked : Shamsuddin, the Punjabi Muhammadan from the First Sappers and Miners ; Afrazgul Khan, the Pathan, then a sepoy from the Khyber Rifles, and later on a distinguished officer of the Survey of India (now unfortunately 'retrenched' to the loss of the Service). But none braver than poor Ram Singh, the Sikh Sapper Corporal, who, returning alone to Miran a year after that first discovery, heroically endeavoured to save ancient wall-paintings of another shrine until glaucoma struck him blind in that desolate desert.

"But it is high time for me to stop and ask Mr. Andrews for the lecture he has so kindly prepared for us."

MR. ANDREWS' LECTURE

The widespread human impulse to decorate the walls of habitations, whether of men or of gods, finds its earliest surviving expression in the wonderful drawings and paintings discovered in the caves of palæolithic man. Whether there was any break in the continuity of the practice down to historical times we cannot tell. But that it has persisted since the dawn of history there is abundant evidence in Egypt, Greece, Rome, and throughout Asia ; and no people were more enthusiastic mural decorators than the Buddhists of Central Asia. It is about a few examples of the work of these Buddhist painters, recovered from Central Asia by Sir Aurel Stein, that I propose to deal in this paper.

The paintings are now housed in a temporary museum in New Delhi.* In the general plan for the creation of New Delhi, a Museum was projected as one of four impressive buildings intended to occupy the four corners at the

* See Andrews, *Catalogue of Wall-Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia and Kansu*. Delhi, 1933.

Central Asian Wall-Paintings

intersection of the two principal roads of the Capital—the Kingsway, which runs from the Viceroy's House towards the old Fort, and Queensway, crossing it at right angles. A portion of one of these has been built but, need I say, this is not a museum. When it was decided that I should undertake the work of preparing and assembling the mass of wall-paintings brought by Sir Aurel Stein from Central Asia, it became necessary to provide suitable accommodation, and the temporary building to which I refer was put up, giving several good workrooms for myself and staff, and wall space for hanging the pictures as finished. This temporary building is called the Central Asian Antiquities Museum.

The paintings are practically all Buddhist with a few Manichæan, and range in date from about the end of the third century A.D. to about the tenth or rather later. They were recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from deserted and ruined shrines during his expeditions of 1906-8 and 1913-16.*

It has been contended that such paintings and other objects of artistic and archæological interest should not be removed from their original site. In some instances the argument is justifiable, but in the case of these paintings, to have left them would have meant their ultimate complete disappearance, as it was impracticable to safeguard them *in situ*. The shrines had been abandoned for centuries to the destructive agencies of time and climate and to the still more disastrous attentions of ignorant local treasure-seekers, iconoclasts and others. The condition of most of the paintings shows that they have been deliberately defaced from time to time. It would seem, therefore, that the only way of saving what remained was to bring them away. Some extremely interesting paintings at Miran, of about the third century A.D., which it was found could not be safely detached from the walls, have since been utterly destroyed, I understand, by the misguided and unskillful attempts at removal by a foreign archæological expedition. The only record of these now existing is in Sir Aurel Stein's photographs and descriptions recorded in his great work *Serindia*.

The paintings are on mud plaster, a material easily damaged, and it says much for the skill in preparing the surface that so much has survived. The character of the mud varies at different sites. In some there is a very slight admixture of fibre, and the texture is sandy; consequently the plaster is rather brittle and breaks up easily. At most of the other sites plenty of fibre is introduced. In fragments from Sistan, coarse straw is mixed with the mud and frequently comes to the surface, which made the work of clearing the back without damaging the painting very difficult and delicate.

The procedure of the old painters was as follows: After the surface had

* See Stein, *Serindia* (Clarendon Press, 1921) and *Innermost Asia* (Clarendon Press, 1928).

been thoroughly trowelled and smoothed, a coat of white was applied, and on this the design was transferred from drawings by means of a pounce. A cartoon, pricked for pouncing, was found by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907 in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang, where he discovered his wonderful collection of painted temple-banners and MSS. (Fig. 2, Pl. IV). Half of it is drawn in an ink outline and the other half is indicated only by the pricked holes. On carefully examining this I was amused and interested to discover the economical method of these early craftsmen, a practice not unknown to later designers. The central figure is completely drawn. Then the figures on one side have been drawn, and before pricking, the paper has been folded down the centre and the pricking carried through the double thickness, thereby repeating the group on one side in reverse on the other. After transferring, it was only necessary to make a difference in the ornaments and symbols and to vary the colouring of the costumes and there was a perfectly symmetrical group of different individuals produced with a minimum of trouble.

The pouncing powder may have been charcoal or any of the dry colours at hand, but as this could be very easily brushed off by accidental contact with, for instance, the sleeve or overall, it was customary to lightly trace over the pounced lines with a brush line of washy grey paint. This tentative line can often be seen in the paintings and is not always closely followed by the final outlining. This is especially noticeable in the hands and faces, which sometimes show improved drawing—probably by the head painter in charge of the work. After the design had been transferred, the masses of colour were laid in, and shading, outlining, and high lights followed. There is evidence that gilding was often used, but most of this has long since been removed by thrifty and commercially minded admirers.

The shrines are situated on the borders of the great Central Asian tract which comprises the Taklamakan and part of the Gobi Deserts, with the Kun-lun, Altin Tagh and Nan Shan mountains on its southern edge and the T'ien Shan range on the north (Pl. XI). Kashgar, recently the scene of some restlessness, and Yarkand are at the western end, and Kanchou at the eastern end, a distance, as a man flies, of about 1,300 miles. From north to south it is about 350 miles at its widest. To the west is Persia, to the east China. To the north-east is Mongolia, and to the south Tibet and India. Thus on three sides are lands with very ancient culture—Persia, India and Tibet, and China. The territories in the north furnished bold and warlike raiding tribes—Turks and Huns—who strongly influenced the cultures with which they came into contact. The movements of the various tribes from north-east to west and back again, their many clashes, alliances and divisions, form a complicated story into which we cannot enter here. It is not surprising, however,

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to find in the paintings a considerable mixture and fusion of styles, varying from time to time as political ascendancy favoured one or other of the rival forces.

But whatever the idiom of expression employed, all the styles are linked by common features derived from Gandhara, the present Peshawar district, where the corporeal presentment of the Buddha type seems to have been evolved or determined upon. The striking resemblance of the standing Buddha, in both the Gandhara Sculptures and the Central Asian paintings, to the Antinous as *Hermes* of the Capitol seems to clearly indicate a Græco-Roman "ancestry."

The Chinese artists, with their extraordinary genius for observing movement and expressions of emotion, and their remarkable ability to record pictorially their impressions, sometimes break free from the foreign bonds of convention and represent things in their own way. They thus exercised a considerable modifying force on poses and costume, besides enriching the art with varied ornamental accessories, and notably elaborating architectural settings. Their pigments and technique were not always suited to painting on mud plaster, and some of their work is lost through fading or discolouration. On one fragment it was just possible to make out a delightful drawing of a bare-legged boatman, standing at the prow of his punt, ferrying some passengers across a rippling stream; and, on the opposite bank, a man with a long staff, driving a laden donkey towards a leafy dell. Willows drooped their weeping branches to the water, and fragments of rock seemed to peep up from the bed of the stream. But it was all drawn as though on paper, with thin washes of colour and a delicate outline; consequently it had sunk into the sandy plaster until a mere ghost of the original remained.

But to come to the paintings which are visible, although badly defaced, and of which examples are now in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum at New Delhi. The earliest, and those showing least Chinese influence, are from Miran, the ancient capital of Shan-shan or Lou-lan, on the southern edge of the Taklamakan desert. About 450 miles south-west of Miran is Domoko, where ancient shrines have contributed a few examples, rather later than those of Miran. Crossing the desert in a north-easterly direction—to Turfan—where a great many old shrines are found, Chinese influence becomes very evident, and the paintings are mostly later, probably between the seventh and tenth centuries.

Miran stands on one of the early silk routes, at the southern edge of the Lop desert. The two shrines, M. III. and M. V., from which remarkable examples of paintings were recovered, had been badly damaged by native treasure-seekers, and were in a terribly ruinous state; but enough remained

to show that the interiors had been richly painted. Although the exterior plan was square, the inside presented a circular passage surrounding a central solid stupa. On the outer wall of this passage—that is, on the left hand, going clockwise—was a painted dado, and above, probably two friezes or zones, one above the other, of figure-subjects from Buddhist legends. The dado in each of the shrines consisted of a series of lunettes, formed on the outer square passage of M. V. by a broad festooned band of black relieved by freely drawn cloud scrolls in red and white, and on the rotunda walls of the same shrine by a heavy floral festoon looped up at regular intervals on the shoulders of standing boy figures.

In each of the hollows of the M. III. lunettes and in those of the square passage of M. V. is a winged angel bust seeming to rise, in the latter, from the clouds, the wings spread wide and suitably filling the lunette. While the pose of the shoulders suggests movement in one direction, the head is slightly turned and the gaze is inclined backwards. This indication of a dual impulse lends animation to the figure. The arrangement is in pairs, each head inclining towards its fellow. All the faces are Western, that is without any suggestion of the Chinese or Mongolian type. The eyes are large, wide open, and straight, and there is a rather Semitic general character.

There seems no reason to doubt that the whole motif of these dados is taken bodily from Gandhara sculpture or, more probably, from painting. Unfortunately no wall-painting has survived to our time in Gandhara, but having regard to the close agreement between the Miran paintings and Gandhara sculptures we should probably be right in assuming that the Gandhara painting was very like this of Miran.

In M. V., square passage, the wall space above is divided from the dado by a triple band of white, black, and pale blue. The fragment of painting still remaining on this upper part, at the time of Sir Aurel Stein's visit, showed, on a bright red ground, a muscular youth being attacked by a winged monster with the body of a lion and perhaps the head of a griffin. The youth, who carries an upraised club in his right hand, turns his face away from the attacking monster. This apparent indifference to the danger on his right is explained by the faint traces of a second similar creature threatening him from the other side. It is easy to recognize in this motif a distinctly Western character (Pl. I).

Most of the paintings above the dado in the rotunda of M. III. had become detached from the wall, and fragments lay buried in the accumulated débris that had fallen from roof and walls during the centuries since the site was abandoned. From this mass of débris a few extremely interesting pieces were rescued, some of which it has been possible to join together. One

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of these shows a teaching Buddha attended by monks. The Buddha has a simple nimbus and wears a moustache. The monks, one carrying a fly-whisk, are shaven and have no halos. Individuality is given to these persons by varying complexions and facial wrinkles. One shows his fingers over the edge of his robe in a manner often seen in Roman and Gandhara sculpture. (It is interesting and instructive to compare this group with the corresponding groups in the Bezeklik paintings to be discussed further on.) To right, against a background of a dark tree, is seen the arm of a missing figure who is probably scattering flowers before the Buddha. It may be part of the legend of the meeting of the Brahmin Sumedhu, destined to attain to Buddhahood in a later incarnation, with the Dipankara Buddha, the twenty-fourth predecessor of Gautama Buddha (Fig. 1, Pl. II).

The decorative treatment of the tree is very striking. It is a black mass on which are placed a kind of diaper of formal leaves and blossoms. I shall refer later to the definite purpose in making a strong feature of this and other trees.

Another fragment shows two seated figures, both in Indian costume, one in a pose of respectful attention to the teaching of the other. The smaller wears a curious cap with upturned flaps probably denoting his princely rank; the other has a footstool and is drawn to a larger scale, thereby showing his greater dignity. The arm and knee of a third figure appears at one side, the outstretched hand having the two middle fingers folded down. This gesture, still used I believe in certain parts of Europe as a defence against evil, appears again in the paintings of M. V. (Fig. 2, Pl. II).

The quality of the painting varies greatly, and is clearly the work of many hands. Two or three of the fragments collected from the fallen débris in this shrine are very finely painted and are certainly the work of an accomplished artist. It is impossible to show in a printed reproduction the wonderful skin-like texture and bloom of the flesh-painting in the originals, such as perhaps can be successfully achieved only by the masterly use of tempera or pastel. In fact, the brushwork on these reminds one of pastel technique. Although differences in individual skill and talent can be detected, there is present throughout a well-defined system, the result of long development (Fig. 3, Pl. II).

The dado on the rotunda wall of M. V. shows a heavy floral festoon, supported at intervals by boy figures (*putti*), some nearly nude and others wearing close-fitting garments; some bare-headed, with the hair partially shaved off, and others wearing Phrygian or Mithraic caps (Figs. 1, 2, Pl. III)

In the hollows of the festoon are busts of youths and maidens. The girls are of the beautiful Persian *houri* type, with large innocent-looking eyes,

fascinating lovelocks caressing the delicately flushed cheeks, and floral tiaras holding strings of jewels which loop against the smooth dark hair arranged above the long arched eyebrows. One maiden plucks the strings of a large lute while another carries a flask (*surahi*) balanced on her upraised left hand and a shallow cup or *katora* on her right hand. Of the youths, some are clean-shaven and, with their close-cropped hair, have a very Roman look. One wears the princely cap with upturned flaps similar to that worn by the person in the fragment from M. III. (Fig. 1, Pl. III). He wears a small moustache and carries perhaps a fruit in his right hand. Another person, who seems older than the others, has long bushy black hair, beard, and moustache. He wears a coat crossed over the breast and trimmed with fur. In his right hand he holds a cup.

The details of the floral festoon have nearly all faded, but we can easily reconstruct them from the Gandhara sculptures in which this motif is frequently used (Fig. 3, Pl. III). Of the supporting *putti*, one is of especial interest as showing how closely the artists of these Central Asian paintings were in touch with the Gandhara work. The figure referred to has a very tired, dull expression which at first I thought was accidental, due perhaps to the fading of the paint. Closer examination showed that he was holding his uplifted foot as though in pain, and so his expression was accounted for as intentional (Fig. 2, Pl. III). The naïveté of this induced me to observe more closely Gandhara examples, and in the British Museum I found a fragment from Buner, Gandhara, showing the same incident (Fig. 3, Pl. III). Subsequently I observed the same incident repeated on the Kanishka relic casket, found by the late Dr. Spooner in 1909 near Peshawar (Fig. 4, Pl. III). Evidently these three versions of precisely the same incident, and that, presumably an insignificant one—one in our painting, another in stone, and the third in metal—have a common origin. The Kanishka casket dates somewhere about the first century A.D. and the Miran paintings about the end of the third century, according to Sir Aurel Stein's computation. It would therefore be impossible for our painter to have seen the casket. Three possibilities present themselves: that the painter was using an early design borrowed from Gandhara; or that the motif had some special legendary significance; or that being merely a happy touch of realism it appealed to the painter's sense of humour when he saw it in some Gandhara painting or sculpture and caused him to introduce it into his Miran work. Whatever the explanation may be, this and other newly observed details bring the Miran paintings into very close relationship with the art of Gandhara. The winged "angel" busts, of which there are many examples from Gandhara in the Lahore Museum, form another link in the connection.

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The subject of the painting on the wall above the dado in M. V. is that of the *jataka* relating the legend of the great renunciation or charity of Prince Vassantara. Successive incidents of the story follow from left to right, and the same person or persons necessarily reappear as the story unfolds. It has been stated that the incidents are not divided from one another, but that the picture is continuous, and attention has been directed to this as indicating non-conformity with the practice in Gandhara, where, in the sculptured stories, incidents are separated by small pilasters or some similar device. As mentioned above, no Gandhara paintings have survived, so we have no direct evidence of the painter's treatment of the problem. Upon recent close re-examination of Sir Aurel Stein's photographs of the M. V. paintings I found what I had not noticed before—that the incidents are separated, and in a manner consistent with painted work; that is, by a formal tree, which takes the place of the sculptured pilaster and is probably exactly what the Gandhara painters used. Referring to Fig. 1, Pl. III, it will be seen that a tree comes just where the change of incident occurs; and the strong decorative treatment of the tree in Fig. 1, Pl. II, to which I have already drawn attention, makes it suitable for such punctuation and is probably typical of the others so indistinctly shown in the photographs.*

In Fig. 1, Pl. III, to left, is Prince Vessantara riding out from the palace on a proudly stepping white horse. On the lintel of the doorway is an inscription in *kharaṣṭhi*, not visible in the reproduction, and just above a band of acanthus ornament. To the left is a mark in the form of a spear-head. This mark is frequently found on Gandhara sculptures, and may be seen over the doorway in a Gandhara sculpture in the Lahore Museum. The prince wears the hat with upturned flaps. Preceding him is his family chariot, a quadriga, containing his wife and children. The lady is of the same type as the maidens in the dado, and is adorned with rich jewellery. The horses, too, are richly caparisoned. Next comes the white elephant, which has the miraculous power of producing rain; his trappings are of the most gorgeous kind and lavishly jewelled. He is being meekly led by the prince, who holds the tip of the trunk in one hand and in the other carries a Hindu water-pot, *ganga-sagar*, used for pouring water on sacrificial occasions, of which this is one, for the prince is giving up the much-prized white elephant.

Next comes a group of four holy men carrying long staves and small flasks. These are the celestial mendicants who begged gifts of the prince.

Sir Aurel Stein has given in *Serindia* a detailed description and photo-

* The photographs were taken by Sir Aurel Stein at the site under most difficult conditions. The passage in which they were was circular and narrow, and the light poor in places. The separate pictures then taken I have now, for the first time, endeavoured to join, and the result is seen in Fig. 1, Pl. III.

graphs of the Miran paintings as he saw them, and has given his reasons for attributing them to about the end of the third century A.D. Of particular interest was his discovery on the thigh of the elephant of an inscription in *kharoṣṭhi*, giving the name of the artist and stating the price paid for the work. The name of the artist was Tita (Titus), a translation of the full inscription as given by M. l'Abbé Boyer being as follows :

"This fresco is [the work] of Tita who has received 3,000 bhamakas [for it]."

Like the figures in the Gandhara sculptures, those in the Miran paintings are all unmistakably human, even the winged angels; with no attempt to suggest the ethereal or celestial as is the case in later work. Especially may be noticed the strong hands with short finger-nails and the human character of the moustache. The eyes and their regard have a frankness, and seem to make contact in a way seldom found in the later pictures. The costumes are simple; the feet are bare; there is no *vesica pisces* (body halo) behind the Buddha; the nimbus is sparingly used and is simple. There is an absence of personal jewellery and extravagance in dress, and the lotus, when used, is generally of a simple type. All these points are common to the Miran paintings and the Gandhara sculptures, but not to the later work, more especially to that of Turfan.

Traces of the same quality of painting as that of Miran characterizes the small figure (Fig. 3, Pl. IV) from a badly ruined shrine at Farhad-Beg-yailaki in the Domoko district, much further west but still south of the desert. Although it has a certain Mongolian look due to its much later date, there is a breadth and simplicity about it that suggests the survival of something of the earlier tradition.

From the same shrine comes the remarkable painting of Hariti and the children, so learnedly discussed by Professor Foucher,* and, as he shows, clearly linked with the Christian Madonna (Fig. 4, Pl. V). Here she is represented in her reformed character as protectress of children. In her unregenerate days she was a loathsome ogress and goddess of small-pox, and so a destroyer of children; but after Buddha had kidnapped her youngest child, thereby awakening a fierce maternal love, and had given her a severe talking to, she became contrite and mended her ways, whereupon the child was restored to her. Her long dreamy eyes, her flushed cheeks (now discoloured) and love-locks have a distinctly Persian character, and her short-sleeved bodice with its elbow frills shows Chinese influence modified in Persia.

A curious and interesting fragment from Balawaste in the same locality

* See Foucher, *La Madone bouddhique* in *Monuments et Mémoires*, vol. xvii., 1910, of the Académie des Inscriptions.

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is the adoring figure shown in Fig. 3, Pl. V. It is a delightful piece of decoration with many faults in drawing, such as a certain modern school would perhaps consider not merely justified but indicative of an exalted plane of thought above the commonplace trivialities of mere veracity; as, for instance, the eye on the back of the hand instead of in its more usual place in the palm, here impossible because the palm is hidden. The collar partly overlapping the shoulder and partly buried in it. The further armlet with its jewel facing the wrong way so that the fact of its existence shall not be missed; and the impossible wings in impossible positions. The colouring is very beautiful and the execution most lovingly done. The flesh is tanned and shaded, the white of the eyes shaded with grey; the jewellery yellow, with a green gem forming the lowest foil of the ear-ring; the stole, liver-colour. The cap is yellow, embroidered with Sasanian ornament in red outline and a dark pink edging studded with white pearls. The nimbus has a dark green centre edged with dashes of buff and surrounded with pink, shading outwards to nearly white. The skirt of Sasanian brocade is crimson red outlined black and figured with circles of white dots round a yellow line with a centre of four-armed foliate scrolls in grey-green outlined white. The background is rich red with daintily painted flowers and leaves scattered about it.

Belonging to the same school are fragments of elaborate costumes from ruins at Balawaste. Some of them give the impression of finely woven figured silk (Fig. 5, Pl. IV).

A very curious Buddha figure comes from the same district (Fig. 1, Pl. V). He is in a state of ecstatic abstraction, his gaze being properly concentrated on the tip of his nose. In the original a faint pink flush suffuses the centre of the face. The body is decorated with symbolic devices—sun, moon, sacred jewels, circles, and triangles. A finely drawn sacred horse gallops across the waist, and just above is, perhaps, the churning of the ocean, where the ocean is represented by a rectangular tank. On the upper arms sacred books, emitting leaf-like flames, rest on lotuses, and on the forearms are jewel-like vajras.

Leaving the southern borders of the desert and crossing to the north-east, to the Turfan Basin, Chinese influence is at once apparent. The Buddhism of Miran with which our earliest paintings were concerned seems to have been of the simpler form, the Hinayana. But in the north, at the time when the paintings in the Turfan shrines were done, the Mahayana form of Buddhism prevailed. This form of the religion admitted as Bodhisattvas numberless divinities of older faiths and doubtless prevented for a time the defection of those persons to whom the simpler forms were bleak and unsatisfying. They must have felt the need for special gods with, as it were, definite departmental administrative duties such as their forefathers had been accustomed to.

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Instead of the comfortable, homely, and mild Gautama Buddha, with his simple parables, they hungered for the stronger meat of gods who could terrify and make heavy demands on them and of whom they could expect in return proper attention to their prayers. They wanted to look forward to a paradise furnished with good earthly comforts, luxuries, and excesses rather than to the unsatisfying nihility of Nirvana, and to picture a hell with some bite in it—devils with pitchforks, brimstone, and punishments with plenty of ingenious bodily tortures. The creation of an acceptable paradise, or rather its pictorial presentation, was the work of Chinese designers, and is finely shown on some of the silk temple-banners recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang.* In our wall-paintings there is nothing in the way of architecture so elaborate as this; but there is frequently represented a Chinese pavilion with the Chinese character T'ien worked into the gable end and thus intimating to the eyes of the questing soul that here is Heaven (Fig. 1, Pl. IV).

In another fragment (Fig. 4, Pl. IV) we find glimpses of hell, very incomplete but full of promise—enough to convince a true believer that his requirements are likely to be adequately met. Here, in the centre, is a lady whose indiscretions in life must have been excessive to provoke such harsh atonement. Bound hand and foot to a stake, two enthusiastic craftsmen of the lower regions are sawing her through from the head downwards, each operator holding one end of the saw-frame and getting a purchase by placing one foot on the victim's elbow. A serpent twined around her thighs is doubtless adding to her discomfort. In a caldron to the right, human heads are visible, probably being treated with boiling oil. Tongues of flame wriggle viciously about the background promoting a general atmosphere of regional warmth.

A composition frequently used in Bezeklik shrine-paintings shows a standing Buddha against an elaborate vesica and nimbus with attendant figures in the background, and in the foreground the personages chiefly concerned in the particular legend illustrated. Pl. VI shows the almost complete decoration of one wall of a shrine at Bezeklik. It measures about twelve feet in height and eighteen feet in length and is divided into three sections by upright bands of formal floral ornament. Many of the figures have been damaged in various ways, but the colouring, where not smeared with mud, as on the left, is still brilliant. The Buddha wears a bright vermilion robe over three under-garments. His feet, shod with sandals, rest each upon a separate lotus or a flower that symbolizes a lotus. In the extreme top left corner of the leftmost section is the heavenly mansion, standing on a raised sub-

* Cf. Stein, *The Thousand Buddhas* (Quaritch, 1921), and Waley, *Catalogue of Paintings recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein*, Trustees of the British Museum and the Government of India, 1931.

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structure to which access is given by double doors, shown, encouragingly, ajar. The right hand of the Buddha is raised in teaching pose, thumb and forefinger together, while the left grasps a fold of the robe. To extreme left is a curious shaven-headed monk with staring eyes (Fig. 2, Pl. VII). Below, a celestial attendant considerably damaged, and in the foreground, to left, a kneeling Bodhisattva in Buddhist robes. Above, to right, is an attendant with right arm uplifted and hand in a pose repeating that of the Buddha, and in the left hand a dish of cakes. Similar cakes are being offered by the little man in the foreground, who is the only person without a nimbus. A monk and another attendant complete the group. In the next section the Buddha is still teaching and the comfortable-looking monk to right at the top has his left hand in the same pose. To left is the Vajrapani with vajra and fly-whisk. It will be seen that the Buddha stands on a raft or boat which floats on swirling water; and on the eroded banks are donors, bringing gifts. The kneeling camel, with a strangely unsophisticated expression, carries a large cage-like object which is perhaps a kind of crate containing offerings. Behind the camel can be made out a white horse and a man carrying a dish of fruit or sweetmeats. On the right, in the third section, is a group of musicians and mendicants (Fig. 1, Pl. VII). This part of the wall was probably adjacent to a recumbent figure of the Buddha, modelled in the round and representing his death or *parinirvana* and the painting depicts phases of appropriate elegiac demonstration. The two ascetics at top, with upraised hands, seem to be sadhus of a pre-Buddhist order. The half-kneeling monk to right, vociferous in his grief, is perhaps the senior disciple of Buddha's company. Most of the figures are singing, and the musicians contribute strains of flute and lute accompanied by the clash of cymbals and beat of drum. The elderly lute-player uses a plectrum, and his lute is Chinese of a type found in the Tun-huang temple-banners. The silent and pensive figure seated in the foreground is curiously reminiscent of primitive Italian or Byzantine Art. The peculiar fur leglet worn by some of the musicians and by the little donor in the leftmost section is found in several other of the Bezeklik paintings. It has no apparent means of support, and seems singularly inefficient as a garment.

A large painting measuring about nine feet in height by sixteen in length, from a wall of another Bezeklik shrine, follows the general setting-out of the last. To left is a teaching Buddha attended by Bodhisattvas, monks, and Vajrapani. The hand of the Buddha shows, between fore-finger and thumb, the web—one of the sacred marks (Fig. 1, Pl. VIII). To right is the story of the meeting of the Dipankara Buddha with the Brahman Sumedhu. The colour of this part of the picture is well preserved and is typical of this group of paintings (Fig. 3, Pl. VIII).

The costume of the flower-thrower shows a skirt, reddish saffron, with a kind of sash arranged round the hips in three folds, buff or yellow with bright green lining showing below the lowest fold. A double fold of white encircles the body just above the belt, and a long pleat of this, tied in a butterfly bow, descends in front to the ankles. The belt is composed of alternate red and green panels or links, bordered and studded with gold. The scarf round body and over left shoulder, and the long narrow stole, designed to convey the idea of animation and rapid action, are red with green pleat falling in front. Armlets are red, bordered and studded with gold. The massive jewellery is gold with red and green beads. It will be seen that the black hair is cleverly used to relieve the head and shoulders from the rainbow colouring of the nimbus. The same use of the hair by the artist is noticeable in the painted temple-banners from Tun-huang. White streamers from the fillet of the elaborate tiara ripple upwards, recalling the similar feature in Sasanian sculpture and coins. The flesh is slightly tanned and shaded. Above is the Vajrapani dressed as a princely warrior in elaborate armour, probably meant to represent Chinese lacquered leather. The cuirass is grey with a gold and jewelled rosette in the centre held in position by red straps edged with gold. The gorget is green with gold ornamental edges, and the collar red edged with gold. Short sleeves, dark red-brown with shaded green frills at the elbows; red armlets edged and studded with gold and with a green cabuchon jewel on the outer side. Girdle, black and white. The arm-guard or vambrace is gold with red and white panels on the front and gold scale-work on the underside. Kilt, in horizontal bands of alternate shaded red and shaded green with yellow dividing lines. The curious lunette above the belt is composed of two rows of petal-like imbrications, the upper red and the lower green with gold between. The front of the leg-guards is of gold plates with jewels; the back, green. There is a large jewel in front of the ankle, and a green frill round the top of the highly ornamental black-and-gold shoe. The golden tiara has bright red palmettes at top, and the fillet or tænia is white. Hair grey. Cloak and stole are rich red. The nimbus has a green centre surrounded by bands of red, white, and yellow divided from one another by white and black lines.

The Buddha has a dark red outer robe, a middle grey one, and an under-robe reaching to the ankles, red-brown contoured with white and black. His red-brown sandals have grey straps. The long garland is of gold with jewelled tassels in rainbow colouring. He stands on the centre (green) of a large brilliant red lotus with petals more like those of a marigold than a lotus. (It will be noticed that the true lotus is not often used in these Turfan pictures.) He stands against a rich vesica, the field of which is composed of

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red, green, and red-brown zigzags divided by yellow. This is bordered by a band of dark red scroll on yellow and an outer band of Chinese floral palmettes on an undulating stem. The general ground of the picture is dark grey with pink flowers and green leaves floating upon it. It will be realized that the general effect is very rich and glowing. The green used is that which we call emerald; the bright red is vermilion; the yellows, dull reds and browns are earth colours, and the blue is probably from indigo.

In another wall-painting (Fig. 2, Pl. VIII), from which large pieces are missing, is an interesting incident showing a celestial barber shaving the head of a princely convert, who sits in Western fashion on a backless seat. The clever drawing of the barber's hands expresses the delicate pushing action imparted to the Chinese razor, from which the locks of hair are falling. The mouth of the "prince" has been disfigured by some mischievous visitor to the shrine. Another interesting person in the same picture is the gentleman with bare knees and fur leglets who seems to be holding a tiger skin. Fig. 1, Pl. VIII, shows the upper part of the Buddha from the lefthand section of the same wall-painting. The hand shows the web between finger and thumb, and the pointed finger-nails, so different from the short blunt nails of the Miran figures. The features are represented by geometrical curves which express little or no human feeling. The moustache is a thin scroll of black over a grey-blue line, and the teeth of the unpleasantly smiling mouth are just visible. The freedom and unhesitating sweep of the lines in general and the systematic manner of the work are indications of much and frequent practice.

The celestial beings—Bodhisattvas, Devatas, or whatever they may be—who frequently appear sitting on lotuses, kneeling, or standing, and seem to be mainly occupied in adoring contemplation of the Buddha, are apparently sexless beings with luxuriant hair. Generally they appear to be female, but the occasional appearance of a daintily curled moustache raises doubts. There are three types, distinguished by the manner of dressing of the hair. It is always long and is always so arranged as to emphasize the form of the shoulders and to detach the head from the background. A large topknot is common to all. The most curious coiffure is that which resembles a wig, and is studded with large flowers or jewels. In the example in Fig. 5, Pl. VIII, they are grouped to the left of a central figure (missing).

Fig. 2, Pl. V, is a fragment of a large figure, over life-size, and a very beautiful piece of decoration. It seems to be standing and is holding in the gracefully drawn hands a stem of either a flower or a willow-branch. The tight-fitting tunic is rich deep red with yellow elbow-frills and green sleeves on the forearms. The drapery across the chest is white with a rich green overlap. Round the waist is a frill of white. All the drapery is shaded with tones of

grey. The jewels are yellow with green and red gems and pearls. The face is Mongolian in type, but it and the whole scheme does not suggest a human figure so much as a delightful decorative design, embodying that fusion of Persian and Chinese influences which distinguished the decorative Buddhist painting under the Uigars. Possibly it represents Avaloketesvara.

A very striking and animated decoration shows three Tantric figures, nearly life-size (Fig. 3, Pl. VII). The length of the fragment is about thirteen feet. Each figure stands on a fish and has four arms, with a symbol in each hand, and four heads. The costume is rather like that which we have already seen in former pictures, but with a gorget of either metal or lacquered leather. The figures seem static on their Vahanas, but the long, rippling, wind-blown ribbons and the upraised arms give animation and suggest perhaps rapid movement of the Vahanas. The long sweeping lines of the contouring, drawn without any sign of hesitation, show the competence of the craftsman in this part of his work. The conventional treatment of the drapery of the forearms is found also in early illuminated texts in Western Europe.

There is a striking difference in the quality of the contour lines of the paintings of Miran and Turfan respectively. The Miran painters were not concerned so much with lines as with modelling—that is, roundness; the expression of three dimensions. The Turfan painters, on the contrary, delighted in line, and outlined everything with a sharp, clear line, drawn with extraordinary freedom and dexterity, generally in black. Comparison of the examples reproduced in the plates will sufficiently reveal this difference. Occasionally in the Turfan pictures a softness is achieved by painting a crisp dark line over a paler one, the edges of the pale one appearing on either side of the dark hard line as in the very conventional little moustache in Fig. 1, Pl. VIII.

Fig. 4, Pl. VIII, shows part of a wall covered with Buddha figures in meditation. Just as spiritual merit may be accumulated by repetition of prayer, so may it be achieved by repetition of the image of the Buddha. Involved in this may also be the great miracle of Sravasti when Buddha created multiple images of himself. The colours of the robes are green, dark brown, grey, dark brown, pale green, dark brown, and the colour of the background and vesica counterchanges to contrast with the colour of the robes. The colours are the same in diagonal order, excepting in the fourth row, where blue takes the place of grey. Vertically and horizontally each alternate robe is brown. The brown-robed Buddhas have a fringed canopy and the others a tree. Perhaps the most interesting feature is in the series of borders at the top. The first and third are Gothic, and closely resemble, both in design and treatment, borders found in early painted glass in Europe. The middle

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border represents a row of mutules with the intervals treated as in Roman architecture.

Pl. IX shows part of a painted dome from a small shrine at Toyuk in Turfan. The general scheme recalls that of some of the early Italian mosaics, and the leaf-work on the scrolling stems is curiously like that of "Early English" Gothic. The figures are generally well-proportioned and gracefully posed.

The foregoing are but a few of the many Buddhist paintings recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from Central Asian shrines. The extent of such painting in shrines scattered throughout the region, and the many centuries of its development, accounts for the great facility shown in execution and for the highly developed technique employed. Although the greater part of the painting is clearly the work of decorators skilled in the handling of tempera, there is only occasional evidence of trained draughtsmen being employed.

Mention has been made of the difference between the style of painting practised at Miran and that of Bezeklik, Turfan. In both styles shading is used to indicate roundness of form in flesh painting. In the Miran painting the shading is in broad washes of neutral greys, but in the Bezeklik work it is more softly gradated and generally shows no brush strokes, but has rather the quality of a grainless stipple or of having been sprayed on. Exactly how the shading colour, usually warm umber, was applied is not clear. In most of the paintings it has faded, but in some, where protection has been more effectual, it is still well preserved.

Space does not permit of detailed consideration of the many highly interesting styles of drawing. Regarding proportions of the figure, usually too large in the head and too short in the leg, these conditions are common in Gandhara sculpture also; and the use of several scales in one subject to indicate relative importance has classical sanction.

Discussion of the many points of resemblance between these paintings and those of the early Christian churches and shrines cannot be entered upon here, but they clearly show that the inspiration mainly responsible for Buddhist art and iconography as we find them in these examples is the same as that for Christianity—late Hellenistic.

It may be noted as a curious point that in all the Turfan paintings examined by me there is never a winged human figure. There are figures which float through the air on clouds or just with fluttering draperies, but they are not winged. Yet winged figures are common in early Chinese and Persian sculpture and, as we have seen, in Gandhara and Miran, and in one instance at least, in Balawaste (Fig. 3, Pl. V).

In preparing this paper I had not intended to describe in detail the process I evolved for dealing with the paintings so as to assure for them

a reasonable chance of preservation and an effective means for their exhibition. But as I have been urged to give some account of this part of my work I do so. Several stages of the work are illustrated on Pl. X.

The paintings are done on mud plaster and were cut from the walls of ruined shrines by Sir Aurel Stein's assistants under his direction, with great care and often under very difficult conditions. It was obviously not possible to get them off in large pieces, and even if it had been it would have been impossible to transport them in boxes larger than would go on the backs of camels, donkeys or yaks, the only means of conveying them over some of the difficult high passes. The slabs, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 2 inches thick, as they were cut off, were backed with stout canvas saturated with glue. They were then packed face to face, with wadding and tissue paper between, and bound round with rushes. After this each pair was clamped between wooden battens and firmly roped. They were then put into wooden cases and more rushes packed tightly round. In this condition they stood the long journey down to India very successfully, crossing mountain passes as much as 18,000 feet high.

The cases arrived at the Amar Singh Technical Institute in Srinagar, Kashmir, in charge of R. B. Lal Singh, where those containing miscellaneous objects were deposited. The remaining cases went on to Rawalpindi, en route for Lahore, where Mr. Lionel Heath gave them storage room in the museum until they were required for treatment.

When the time came for me to deal with them in New Delhi, as each slab was unpacked it was laid face up on a board and gently tilted until it assumed an upright position, and then was brought into contact with a sheet of plate glass (Fig. 1). Glass and slab were lowered flat, with the face of the painting next the glass. This was now raised on blocks, and a mirror placed below. The use of the mirror was to enable the operator to see by reflection that in the subsequent operations no disturbance of the painted surface should occur. Then the canvas backing was carefully torn away (Fig. 2), leaving the mud exposed. This mud was usually mixed with straw, twigs, leaves, bits of rag, or any fibrous material that would serve to bind it, just as the English plasterer used to mix hair with his plaster. It seemed to me desirable to remove as much as possible of this mixture to lessen the risk from the effects of salts with which it was impregnated, and to discourage the attentions of white ants, moth, fish insects, mice, and any other destructive agents to which it would most certainly be subject in India. I furnished my workers (all students of mine from the Amar Singh Technical Institute, Srinagar), with large kitchen knives, trowels and brushes, and showed them how to remove the mud. In this way, with skilled hands, it was found possible to reduce the thickness of mud to a mere skin, sometimes not thicker

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than a visiting card ; in fact just thick enough to hold the painted surface together. All the time this was being done, the plate-glass sheet formed an efficient support (Fig. 3). To prevent disturbing the now very fragile skin during subsequent operations, a thin coat of plaster of paris was next applied. This was done by flicking the plaster from the end of a spatula (Fig. 4). In this condition the slab was still too fragile to lift from the glass, but it was possible, when dry, to slide into position pieces which had to be joined to each other, and to connect them with plaster.

Fig. 6 shows three slabs thus joined, face down on the glass.

The problem of the best way to give such a section sufficient strength to be handled and hung on the wall had caused me a good deal of thought. In this country I could have used wooden frames and canvas backing, but in India these would not do because of the white ants, etc. Solid plaster would have been too heavy. So I decided upon aluminium alloy. Expanded sheets, forming a web, were stretched on angle-section frames shaped to agree with that of the slabs (Fig. 5). The frame was placed on the slab, and plaster poured on the back (Fig. 6). This plaster ran through the meshes of the web and united with the first plaster backing, embedding the web between the two. When quite dry the whole could be lifted from the glass and was ready for hanging. The pictures show how irregular are the shapes of the many sections composing them, due to the way in which the pieces were cut from the wall, and the difficulty of adjusting them so that they would join correctly required the invention of various devices for raising and lowering them and moving them right and left by the smallest fraction of an inch when on the wall. All this was ultimately achieved, and under proper care and supervision the paintings may now be considered safe.

This brings me to the end of my paper.*

I cannot close without saying how greatly I appreciate the honour of having Sir Aurel Stein presiding to-day, but I also feel how much more interesting he could have made this lecture than I have been able to do. I am, however, grateful to him for recovering the paintings and for giving me the opportunity of the close study of them which my work upon them has entailed.

At the conclusion of the lecture the chairman said :

" Before asking the India Society as represented at this meeting to express its cordial thanks to Mr. Andrews for his truly instructive and stimulating lecture, I may be allowed to give voice to a thought which I believe must have occurred to many, if not most, of those present here. I mean the thought that the fine wall-paintings of which a selection has appeared before

* My thanks are due to the High Commissioner for India and to the Director-General of Archaeology in India for permission to use most of the photographs illustrating this paper.

you on the screen for brief minutes, ought as far as possible to be made permanently accessible in adequate reproductions for close study by competent students of Eastern pictorial art. Apart from the few belonging to the British Museum, these paintings are now all housed, let us hope safely, in a temporary building at New Delhi. But as far as most students of that art are concerned, there applies to the latest capital of India the old saying : *Delhi dūr ast*.

" In view of this fact, it seems but fair to mention that the publication of a portfolio, showing all the more notable wall-paintings both at New Delhi and the British Museum, was proposed by me as long ago as 1925. With this object in view, the Government of India then very generously sanctioned an arrangement by which the requisite photographic work for the preparation of plates illustrating those wall-paintings, partly by three-colour process and partly in monotone, was carried out in the cold weather of 1925-6 by a competent photographer brought to New Delhi at Government expense. Subsequently Mr. Andrews completed the final setting up of all the wall-paintings, and also the preparation of a detailed descriptive catalogue of them. This was duly published in 1932 by the Indian Archæological Department, but entirely lacks much-needed illustrations.

" Unfortunately, the period of retrenchment set in after a final proposal for the publication of the portfolio based on exact estimates had been submitted by Mr. Andrews in 1929. Consequently, the Government of India in the Education Department found themselves unable to provide the funds necessary for undertaking the publication on lines similar to those followed in the case of *The Thousand Buddhas*. This portfolio, successfully brought out in 1922 with the sanction of H.M.'s Secretary of State for India and now out of print, had rendered the most interesting of the Buddhist paintings on silk from the great collection recovered by me in a now famous rock chapel of Tun-huang available for study by all concerned in the pictorial art of the Far East.

" Conditions have indeed changed since the far-sighted encouragement given by the then Secretary of State for India, Sir Austen Chamberlain, allowed this publication in 1916 to be undertaken by the India Office in spite of the stress of war times. It is a satisfaction to think that in the end this publication proved to have been attended by no loss to Government. Thus there might yet be some prospect of its *pendant*, the proposed portfolio of Buddhist wall-paintings, materializing with the help of some competent publishing firm, without Government being called upon to contribute more than the already available negatives for the plates. Would it be too much to hope that in this case the Government of India, under whose generous auspices all my exploratory work in Central Asia was done, could be induced to forgo any claim to royalties on copies actually sold ?"

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THE RECENT WORK OF THE ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT *

BY GEORGES CÔDÈS

I HAVE not forgotten the kind reception you gave me in 1929 when I came, as Secretary-General of the Royal Institute of Bangkok, to speak to you of the progress made by the Siamese Archæological Service in the investigation into Indian influences on the ancient art of Siam. It was, therefore, with keen pleasure that I accepted the kind invitation of your indefatigable Secretary, and am here again with you this evening, as Director of the École française d'Extrême-Orient, to speak to you about the recent work of that institution in Indo-China.

The École française is especially grateful to the India Society for having become in certain ways its publicity agent in English-speaking countries, and for having sent to the Far East last year Dr. Quaritch Wales, my old friend in Bangkok, to study on the spot our methods of work. Your fine publication, *Indian Art and Letters*, has always freely opened its pages to the proceedings of Indo-Chinese archæology. And this evening it is the record of the last three years that I am going to give you.

I do not intend, nor have I the time, to review all the forms of the activities of the École française d'Extrême-Orient—museums, library, preservation of ancient monuments, ethnographic enquiry, philological and archæological research. Of the more general matters I confine myself to drawing your attention to the completion and inauguration in March, 1932, of our new Museum at Hanoi, which we have called the Louis Finot Museum, in the galleries of which our archæological collections have at last found a setting worthy of them: and to the steady and rich accretions to the museums of Saigon, of Phnom Penh, of Hué, and Tourane, by the sculptures and objects which are the outcome of our archæological workings. I mention, further, the starting of an ethnographic survey, in view of the establishment at Dalat, our fine hill-station in South Annam, of an ethnographic museum, the creation of which was decided on, but could not be carried out pending the return of better financial conditions; and also the steady growth of our library, and especially of our Chinese library, due to the successful mission in China of

* Lecture delivered before the India Society on October 11, 1933. Sir Francis Young-husband presided.

my collaborator, M. Gaspardone; and the regular progress as regards our publications—*Bulletin*, catalogue of Chinese library, collection of texts and documents in Indo-China, and especially *Archaeological Memoirs*, in which seven volumes of plates have lately been devoted to the temple of Angkor Vat.

I shall confine my lecture to the more striking advances made by my collaborators in the realm of archæology, and I shall speak to you in turn of some researches into pre-history in Annam and Laos, of some discoveries of Chinese monuments in Tonking, of some excavations made at Angkor in order to test certain theories arising out of the new chronology of Khmer monuments, and, lastly, of the use in Indo-China of new methods of preserving monuments.

Although the study of pre-history had for more than thirty years been successfully pursued by the Geological Service in Indo-China, and our colony, from its pre-eminence in this field of studies, had the honour of organizing last year the first International Congress of Pre-historians of the Far East, the École française had intentionally left aside, until quite recent years, the matter of prehistoric investigation. M. Finot wrote in 1925: "The lack of a specialist has prevented the École from making any adequate contribution to the increase of the knowledge of the pre-history of Indo-China. Not that the points for exploring are rare, and the problems to solve few. . . . But nothing is more delicate, and requiring fuller and wider knowledge on matters not purely archæological, than the exploration of prehistoric sites, and, owing to the fear of spoiling some valuable deposit, no attempts in that way have been made by us."

The École française in 1928 gave up this policy of careful reserve, and enlisted the services of Miss Colani, the former collaborator of Mansuy, in whose company she had discovered the first palæolithic remains in Indo-China. Before mentioning the latest results of Miss Colani's researches, it may be worth while to give a general sketch of our knowledge in Indo-Chinese pre-history.

The population of Indo-China seems to have been, from most ancient times, made up of very diversified elements. The human bones found in the limestone caves of Tonquin and North Annam belong to individuals of whom some are allied to Australian types, others to Melanesian, others to Indonesian. The plainest conclusion from these observations is that the primitive populations of Indo-China were connected with those which nowadays people the islands of the Pacific, and that the element which is, properly speaking, Mongolian, is of recent origin there.

These ancient peoples have left as their traces stone implements, fragments of pottery, and beads. To the unlearned the stone implements are

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scarcely different from those dug up in Europe. The two great classes are to be found—cut stone and polished stone. Indo-China, however, supplies two types which are peculiar to itself, and which it has in common only with its immediate neighbours—implements of cut stone with polished edges, and shouldered axes which some authors would like to connect with the non-Khmer linguistic group. The chronology of these remains is far from being settled even approximately. Not only is it not possible to fix absolute dates, but the order of succession of the various types of artefacts is not yet settled. The slight depth at which most of these stone implements have been found, and the fact that polished stone is often associated with bronze and even iron objects, seem to show that Indo-Chinese pre-history is less ancient than the European. In any case, it lasted much later, and it may be said without much exaggeration that in the last centuries before the Christian era, at the time when the influence of China and India was about to begin to exert itself, the peoples of the deltas of the Red River and the Mékong were only beginning to make general use of metal.

In the extreme north of Annam, in the province of Thanh-hoa, which is well known for its ancient Chinese tombs, and for the finds made there of bronze and pottery, there is a deposit of shells (*Melania*) which has been dug into on several occasions, the most recent being by Dr. van Stein Callenfels during his last stay in Indo-China in 1932. This mound contains a large number of bone instruments, similar to those dug up by him in Java, in the grotto of Sampoeng. Unfortunately the early digging there was done without skill, and the conclusions which can be drawn from them are not definite enough.

A little to the south of Thanh-hoa, in the provinces of Ngã-An and Hà-tĩnh, there are other deposits of shells (*Placuna*) which hitherto were held to be natural deposits on raised beaches. But since polished stone implements, fragments of pottery, and even human bones, have been found there at different attempts, the natural origin of these deposits had always seemed to me to be doubtful; and last year I instructed Miss Colani to go and examine them. Her excavations proved beyond doubt that these tumuli are of human origin; they are huge kitchen-middens which, from bottom to top, yielded traces of fire and implements and broken earthenware. Several of these mounds are still untouched, and are sure to hold within them a fine harvest of objects, which may perhaps supply new information as to this bone civilization, which ought seemingly to be connected with a Melanesian population whose traces Dr. van Stein Callenfels found from Java up to Japan.

General conditions, especially the lack of sufficient subsidies, have not allowed of pushing on further this year with the investigation of the shell-

deposits of North Annam, and Miss Colani has given most of her time to the study of a question which has engaged her attention for more than two years—namely, the megalithic civilization of Upper Laos. This civilization has hitherto been known to Europeans only by those monolithic jars—the largest are up to three metres in height—which are in groups in the district of Xieng Khuang. For the origin and purpose of these jars one has to rely upon local legends, which allege that these huge receptacles were made by giants with a kind of cement for alcohol jars or rice pots. Miss Colani's investigations in the jars, at their base, and in a limestone cave beside them, prove that the purpose of these monoliths was funerary. "The searches in the cavern," says Miss Colani in one of her reports, "gave us a number of coarse clay pots which had been in the fire and contained burned bones : this small cave was a cremation oven. The urns in neighbouring cemeteries still contain teeth and pieces of burnt bones. Close to the jars are buried the precious objects which the dead person might wish to keep—glass beads of various colours, stone axes, bronze ornaments, and among them elaborate belts and bracelets, rare iron rings, many knives and instruments of husbandry ; these objects are sometimes contained in urns of coarse clay buried in the ground beside the megaliths."

Miss Colani's work not only gives us the solution of the problem of the jars, but also reveals two other pieces of evidence, hitherto unknown, of this megalithic civilization. In the west of the province of Tran-ninh, between Xieng Khuang and Luang Prabang, there are, by the side of somewhat small jars, large round discs which do not appear to have served as lids. They are mostly placed on the ground, and the face that is buried in the soil often shows an animal figure in relief.

Further to the south, in the province of the Hua P'an, Miss Colani discovered several fields with menhirs, "at the foot of which," she writes, "huge gneiss discs cover deep trenches. Sometimes the cavity is divided into three compartments by two low slabs of schist ; there are one to three steps to go down : at the bottom are coarse funerary urns, bronze rings, some bones and teeth. . . . The earth about the menhirs yields pieces of decorated pottery, a little bronze, and especially little roundels of perforated schist, cut with star patterns."

Further study of the material brought back by Miss Colani will perhaps reveal some affinity between the megalithic civilization of Laos and that of the Archipelago, especially of Sumatra. One point to note is that the civilization of Laos must have had some connection with outside. "The groups of jars and fields of funerary stones are always situated on a high road of natural communication, or near by, on a footpath, very frequently on a pass which

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partly overlooks the country. . . . Searches have yielded many imported objects, among others glass beads which are not found at all, or only in minute quantity in the groups that are far away or difficult of access, but which are found in great number and variety in fields where caravans could easily pass."

I should like to be able to answer now the questions I see forming on your lips—to what population to attribute this megalithic civilization, and what date to give it? To the first question the small number of bones exhumed is not sufficient to reply. As to the second, the menhirs, judging from their accompaniments, would be of the bronze age; the monolithic jars and the flat stone burial places would belong to the iron age, and therefore to a date not far from the Christian era and the first Chinese expansion into Tonking.

It is with this latter that the finds I am about to describe to you are connected. You know that China introduced her civilization into the Annamite country by means of conquest and annexation. Towards the opening of the second century B.C., on the fall of the empire of the Ts'in, a Chinese general, Tchao-t'o, who had made himself independent of Canton, overpowered Tonking and North Annam, and formed with these territories and the two Kouang the kingdom of Nan-yue, which was scarcely better than a Chinese colony. The nationalist uprising of the sisters Trung in A.D. 40 was quickly quelled by the Chinese general Ma-yuan, who conquered Tonking and North Annam and annexed them to the Han empire. This southern borderland of the Chinese Empire, the Kiao-tche, easily became a place of refuge or exile for officials and for highly cultured scholars. On the other hand, the sea and land commerce which passed in transit through the valley of the Red river must have meant to the Kiao-tche a certain degree of prosperity. It is, therefore, not surprising that there are found in Tonking, on the undulating lands which form the borders of the delta, vaulted tombs, made of brick, which, by their architecture and by their contents, definitely belong to the epoch of the Han or to that of the Three Kingdoms. The *École française* had already had the opportunity of bringing together the objects found in various tombs in the provinces of Bac-ninh and Quang-yen, and especially the terra-cotta miniature building which counts among the finest pieces in the Hanoi Museum. M. Parmentier managed to describe in detail some of these tombs, which, unfortunately, were in a rather poor condition. At the beginning of this year we had the good fortune to discover in the province of Vinh-yen a group of tombs in specially good preservation, which showed some interesting details of construction that made more exact our knowledge of Chinese funerary architecture. The tomb consists of a long chamber,

paved with flagstones, with the walls and the ogive vault built of bricks, often decorated on their edges. This chamber is divided into two unequal parts by a kind of cell, with its vault pierced by a sort of chimney, which was blocked up at the closing of the tomb. The longer part was to hold the body, the shorter one the provisions intended for the dead. When these tombs are double or triple, they are arranged in parallel, and communicate with each other by a passage joining the cells. No body has ever been found *in situ*; either the tombs have been violated, or the bodies have been carried off and repatriated to China. But most of them have yielded a rich harvest of objects—provision jars, funeral vases, miniature buildings, arms and bronze utensils, coins.

Chinese rule lasted for nine centuries, up to the advent of the Annamite dynasty of the Dinh in 968. Thus, quite the contrary of the Hindu kingdoms of Champa and Cambodia, which had contacts with India that were only intermittent and soon abolished, Annam was deeply under the influence of her powerful neighbour, and modelled herself on that pattern. Writing, beliefs, morals, religions, law, administrative organization, so many elements of culture does Annam owe to China, that it may be said, without much exaggeration, that Annamite art is but a local centre of Chinese art. A knowledge of the Chinese models which inspired the artists of Annam is, therefore, of great importance in the study of their art; but, strange to say, there were not yet known, in Tonking or Annam, any purely Chinese monuments going back to the time of the Chinese occupation—*i.e.*, earlier than the tenth century. This gap is now filled by the discovery, in this very province of Vinh-yen, of a storied tower, which, having no inscription, cannot be dated with any certainty; but the style of its architecture and decoration admit of its attribution to the beginning of the Song dynasty, perhaps even to the end of the T'ang. It is one of those towers in stories, probably thirteen, which are so characteristic of Chinese architecture. Entirely of brick, decorated with richly ornamented plaques of terra-cotta, it is remarkably well preserved, except for the timber framework meant to carry the wooden pents, covered with tile, which continue the eaves of each story. The fairly early date we think we may assign to this building is based mainly on the comparison between the decorative motifs and those of a treatise on architecture of the Song period, published at the beginning of the eleventh century, which represents most of them as already old, and therefore going back to the Song or T'ang dynasty—that is to say, roughly speaking, going back to the tenth century.

Let us now leave the region of Chinese civilization, as there is no time to speak of the excavations at Thanh-hoa which have proceeded rather more

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slowly of late years, but have not ceased to enrich our Museum with interesting pieces ; and let us see what has been done in Cambodia.

You know that the clearing, upkeep, and arrangements for travellers, at the monuments of the Angkor group are, since the Franco-Siamese treaty of 1907 which restored them to Cambodia, one of the most important tasks of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient*. At the beginning, the head of the Archaeological Service, M. Parmentier, and the conservators of Angkor—Messrs. Commaille, Batteur, Marchal—face to face with huge monuments falling into ruins in every part, had to proceed as quickly as possible, and to be satisfied with contending with the encroachments of the jungle on them and with strengthening the worst of the ruins, without being able to carry on systematic researches, or excavations, or restorations. When I took over the direction of the *École* in 1929, I found the principal monuments of Angkor already cleared and put into order, or on the way to be so in the very near future, thanks to the zeal of M. Marchal ; and various considerations led me, on the one hand, to start systematic research and excavation, and on the other, to attempt certain reconstructions.

The work of research and excavation was prompted by the new position of Cambodian archaeology. Indeed, the archaeological research of these last ten years has profoundly altered the chronology of the Angkor monuments, and recast the history of the old Khmer capital.

Up to 1923 there was no reason for doubting that the actual town of Angkor Thom, with its twelve kilometres of enclosing wall and its wide moats, corresponded to the town of Yaśodarapura, the foundation of which many inscriptions date at the end of the ninth century, under the reign of the Sivaite King, Yaśovarman I. On this theory the great temple of Bayon, which raises its towers with their great faces in the geometric centre of the city, represented the “Central Mound” of the inscriptions, the temple in which was celebrated the worship of the God-King, in other words, royalty deified under the aspect of a lingam.

The discovery in 1923 of several Buddhist bas-reliefs in different parts of the Bayon led M. L. Finot, who was then the Director of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient*, to put forward a new chronology which assigned the Bayon to the middle of the ninth century. The foundation of Yaśodarapura and of the central mound by Yaśovarman would have been only the fulfilment of a plan conceived by one of his predecessors and the transforming of a Buddhist monument into a Sivaite temple.

This theory raised several difficulties. A close study of Khmer sculpture and ornament led M. Philippe Stern, Assistant Conservator of the Guimet Museum, to suggest in his turn a new chronology, according to which the art

of the Bayon would be younger by more than a century. Attacking for the first time a firmly established dogma, M. Stern put forward this ingenious and suggestive idea, that the town of Angkor Thor, as we see it to-day, does not necessarily correspond to the city founded by Yaśovarman I. at the end of the ninth century. The latter might very well have occupied a site somewhat different and possibly much more confined, of which the centre would be marked by the pyramid of Phiméanakas. As regards the present town, that might represent an addition dating from the reign of Sūryavarman I., at the beginning of the eleventh century.

M. Stern's thesis settled many difficulties, but it created new ones; the Bayon, with its architectural faults, its innovations, came quite incomprehensibly as an interruption in the logical development of Khmer art, and as breaking that regular curve which leads on from the monuments of the tenth century (Mébon, Prè Rup, Bantéay Srei) to Angkor Vat (end of twelfth century), passing by the Baphûon (end of the eleventh century).

The reading of the Sanskrit steles placed in the angles of the surrounding walls of Angkor Thom enabled me, in 1928, to show that these walls and the Bayon itself are still later than M. Stern thought, and in reality date from the last years of the twelfth century. Instead of coming at the beginning of the art of Angkor, as was long believed, the Bayon and the other monuments that belong to the same architectural style—Prah Khan, Ta Prohm, Bantéay Kdei, Bantéay Chmar, in short, all the buildings distinguished by towers with human faces—represent, on the contrary, the last flowering of Khmer art in the time of the Buddhist king Jayavarman VII. Thus are explained their innovations, their Buddhist character, and the haste with which they seem to have been built. And the present Angkor Thom shows the new city reconstructed at the end of the twelfth century, after the invasion of Cambodia by its old enemies, the Chams, who had in 1177 sacked the old capital.

That point settled, it was advisable to seek out the site of the earlier town, the Yaśodarapura of the ninth century. Was it, as M. Stern believed, a smaller town, with the Phiméanakas as its centre? Was it not, rather, a town as considerable as Angkor Thom, perhaps even more extensive, whose centre as well as part of its outer precincts were to be sought outside the great square now occupied by the city of Jayavarman VII.?

M. Victor Goloubeff two years ago envisaged the possibility of identifying the "Central Mound" of the inscriptions with the Sivaite temple of the ninth century, whose storied pyramid, surrounded by sanctuaries in brick, and decorated with sixty shrines containing lingams, crowns the summit of the wooded hill, which is quite near the south gate of Angkor Thom, and is well known to archæologists and tourists under the name of Phnom Bakhèng.

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This supposition was founded on the following circumstance, which until then had passed unnoticed, although since 1909 it had been certified by the archæological map: that the Phnom Bakhèng exactly marks the geometric centre of a rectangle, about sixteen square kilometres in area, of which the west and south sides are still represented by wide trenches used for rice plantations, while the east side describes a line parallel to the River Siemréap, which was turned from its original bed to form a kind of canal with straight banks.

A short stay in Cambodia in November, 1931, enabled M. Goloubeff to check on the spot the chief points of his thesis and draw up, with the help of M. Henri Marchal, the conservator at Angkor, a theoretic plan of the ancient capital. In August, 1932, I entrusted to him the task of making systematic researches, which lasted three months. Photographs taken by airplane disclosed that the hill of Phnom Bakhèng is surrounded by numerous hollows hidden in the forest; their symmetrical arrangement confirms the existence of axial causeways from the foot of the hill in the four directions, as is the rule with a "Central Mound"—*i.e.*, for a temple situated in the midst of a town. Among the remains already brought to light, or indicated by borings, may be mentioned parts of a rectangular wall encircling the base of Phnom Bakhèng, a cruciform terrace of laterite at the foot of the slope in front of the eastern stairway, and, inside Angkor Thom, along what may be supposed to have formed the northern wall, traces of a trench with a stone facing, remains of bridges, and traces of stone paving.

It can, I think, be taken as established that the town of Yaśodarapura, founded by Yaśovarman I. at the end of the ninth century, covered a considerable area, and formed with the immense stretch of water now known by the name of the Eastern Baray, a very imposing whole. The capital was surrounded by a broad moat, constructed between two earth embankments of great strength. And the centre mound, with its temple of the god-king, is none other than the Phnom Bakhèng, with the Sivaite temple that crowns its summit.

As to exact traces of the north moat, and the site of the royal palace and other details of the plan of the original city, it would be premature to say anything definite, and I leave that to my friend Goloubeff, who is coming to Europe next year, and will doubtless be very pleased to tell you about his discoveries.

But I should like to say a few words about those finds which the systematic investigations round Angkor have stimulated, often in a very unexpected way. It was thus that the present conservator of Angkor, M. Trouvé, discovered a whole system of causeways and canal banks, hitherto unknown,

which, when we get a complete plan of it, will give us exact information as to the hydraulic knowledge and irrigation methods of the ancient Khmers.

In addition to that, M. Trouvé discovered, buried in the south bank of the western Baray, a very curious building, which, from the inscriptions and style of it, goes back to the primitive or pre-Angkor period (sixth to eighth centuries), and offers some quite remarkable details. Whereas all the monuments of early Khmer art at present known are towers, single or grouped, upon a uniform plan, the monument in question (Prasat Ak Yom) has a sanctuary built upon a three-stepped pyramid, on the terraces of which are built some secondary pavilions ; and, lastly, this pyramid is pierced from top to bottom by a well which starts from the pedestal placed in the central sanctuary, and ends at a depth of twelve metres in an underground stone chamber. The inscriptions say that this monument dedicated to Siva bore the significant name of Gambhīreśvara, the "Siva of the depths."

I said just now that besides systematic research and excavation, the École française had lately begun some works of reconstruction and restoration such as were carried on in India, under Sir John Marshall's direction, at Sanchi, Taxila and elsewhere, and such as are undertaken at Ajanta just now by order of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. It was to Java, however, that in 1930 I sent the Conservator of Angkor, M. Marchal, to serve his apprenticeship and get initiated into practical methods by the Archæological Service of the Netherlands-Indies. In 1928, during a voyage to Java, I had been struck by the excellence of the results obtained by the Archæological Service in the restoration of the temples of Kalasan and Prambanan, thanks to a strictly scientific method, as far from the fancifulness of Viollet-le-Duc as from the exaggerated carefulness which forbade at Angkor the repair of the least stone.

On M. Marchal's return from his mission, I instructed him to apply the methods which he had been studying to one of the monuments of the Angkor group which seemed to lend itself best to them. It is a temple a few kilometres north of Angkor Thom, formerly called Išvarapura and nowadays Bantéay Srei, to which the École française in 1926 had devoted the first volume of its *Archæological Memoirs*. This building, which the authors of that volume, MM. Finot, Goloubeff and Parmentier, had thought could be dated from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, though at the same time they recognized more archaic indications, is really, as I have shown, of the tenth. Small in size, it is built with unusual care, and in materials of excellent quality. It was badly in ruins, but all the stones lay at the foot of the building.

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Working first at the south tower of the central group, which has three, M. Marchal began by making a very exact plan, accompanied by drawings and photographs, and then reconstructing on the ground the upper stories long since fallen in. This done, he proceeded to demolish the parts already *in situ*, marking and numbering carefully every stone. Then, after strengthening the foundations with a bed of concrete, he rebuilt the tower, story by story, on these solid blocks.

Last winter, before going on leave, he applied the same procedure to the north tower. There remains the central tower, which he hopes to deal with in the same way on his return to Indo-China next November. We shall then have before our eyes, complete from base to summit, an ensemble of three Khmer towers of the classic period in their original state.

This method, however, is not strictly applicable to all Khmer monuments, which, instead of the hard stone of India and Java, are built either of brick or sandstone of bad quality; they are, moreover, very badly constructed and on deficient foundations. Add to this, that the enormous mass of stones in buildings such as Angkor Vat, the Bayon, Ta Prom, and so many others, forbids, especially in this period of retrenchments, similar undertakings of restoration. Nevertheless, the result has been that, since M. Marchal's mission to Java, the preservation work at Angkor has experienced the beneficial effects of the methods which he has adopted. Where we used formerly to be content with propping up a tottering ruin with a framework or a pillar of cement, we do not hesitate to mend and replace the materials that have fallen at the foot of the building, whenever the substructure is sound enough. Thus at the Bayon, in the outer gallery, a number of pillars lying on the ground have been gathered up and replaced, and parts of the gopuram reconstructed, so giving to this the most ruined part of the monument something of its original aspect.

I am going to show you on the screen the results of these methods in three other monuments of the Angkor group—Bakô, Prè Rup and Prah Khan.

It is, moreover, not in Cambodia only that we have ventured to undertake certain restorations. At Nha-trang, the great brick temple of the Cham sanctuary of Po Nagar, which dates from A.D. 817, fell in at the whole of its south-eastern corner, and the porch of the principal entrance was threatening to fall forward. It was necessary to reconstruct, in ancient brick, a whole length of wall, which was then tied up with cramp irons to rest on the building, and to bind the superstructures together with an arch of reinforced concrete. The last volume of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, published by the Kern Institute at the Hague, has a technical article on this restoration written by my collaborator, J. Y. Claeys, Inspector in the Archæo-

logical Service, to which I must content myself with referring you, owing to lack of time for describing to you in detail these very delicate works.

Finally, in Laos, the great national sanctuary of the That Luong is the object of repair work, not yet completed, by M. Fombertaux, Inspector in the Archæological Service.

Although at the beginning I expressed to you my intention of confining myself to the progress made in Indo-Chinese archæology, I should like in conclusion to give you in brief an early notice of an important work by my collaborator, M. Mus; it is now in the press for our *Bulletin*, and its subject is the symbolism of Borobudur.

After having critically examined all the theories hitherto put forward, by philologists as well as architects, M. Mus takes for his starting-point what is the most substantial thing in M. Stutterheim's recent book on Borobudur—that it is a symbolic microcosm, of which the superposed stories symbolize the different stages of the ecstasies of dhyāna.

As regards its architectural form, the old theory of M. Foucher, according to which Borobudur is a huge depressed cupola, a dome-shaped stūpa of the Indian form, cut horizontally by a series of promenades—this theory has been destroyed by the demonstration by M. Hoenig that all the main lines of construction are straight lines and not curves. Nevertheless, Colonel van Erp revives something of M. Foucher's theory in admitting that the builders wished to give to their work a general outline tending towards the form of the Indian stūpa. In M. Stutterheim's view, the architects certainly intended to put a stūpa (the terminal stūpa) on a pyramid, and he thinks the explanation of this architectural expedient is to be found in a passage in the old-Javanese Buddhist manual *Sang hyang kamahāyānikan*, which compares that other microcosm, the human body, to a stūpa-prāsāda—*i.e.*, a stūpa combined with a terraced building.

The monument, seen in profile, is a stūpa, but in plan it is a pyramid. The total mass is a dome, cut vertically (not horizontally as M. Foucher thought) by galleries, veritable trenches open to the sky, which disappear when the monument is looked at from the side, the outline then clearly becoming that of a stūpa. The superposed stories of the pyramid are practically formed only by the base of these cuts; the result is that, on the ground plan or in the perspective from overhead, the pyramid shows itself in the opening of the galleries and at the bottom of them.

In the closed or esoteric cosmologies of ancient Asia, the sky is a solid vault covering the world, considered as a mountain whose pyramidal tiers sustain the divers orders of creatures. According to these ideas the architectural microcosm of Borobudur is formed by a bare cupola surrounding on every

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side the pyramid within. This latter is loaded with images symbolizing the infinite variety of creatures. One container—the sky; one contained—the world it covers.

If Borobudur, in contrast with the classic stūpa, is not hemispherical, it is because the magic stūpa that rises from earth does not rise completely; what we have before our eyes is the upper part of the hemisphere, corresponding to the *arūpa* and *rūpadhātu*, the *kāmadhātu* disappearing under the rubble work of the terrace that intervenes. And this gives M. Mus the meaning of the very name Borobudur. As M. Stutterheim has pointed out, *buḍur* in the Malay of Minangkabau means “to appear: let oneself be half seen.” Instead of translating as that scholar does “vihāra on the height,” M. Mus translates in a much more adequate way, “vihāra of the secret appearing.”

The Javanese monument, then, may be considered in its mass as a cupola half rising from the earth, above the terrace rubble, and holding within its bosom a stepped pyramid, loaded with images. That is exactly what is said in the passage quoted from the *Saṅg hyang kamahāyānikan*, which M. Stutterheim has imperfectly interpreted. The human body, identified by this text with a stūpa-prāsāda, is there expressly said to have outwardly the shape of a stūpa, and inwardly that of a prāsāda. It follows from the observation of M. Mus that the architects, instead of putting the stūpa above the pyramid, as M. Stutterheim believed, really put the pyramid inside the stūpa; a setting, moreover, that is found in Ceylon, where one may see hollow stūpas having inside them a stone which symbolizes Mount Meru.

It would take me longer time than I have left to follow with you M. Mus in his argument that Borobudur is the realization in space of a maṇḍala of stone, a sculptured maṇḍala, to which the descriptions supplied by the Lotus of the good Law apply very exactly. M. Mus ends with a striking comparison with the Avatamsaka, which, as it has given to Dr. Bosch the interpretation of the bas-reliefs of the two upper galleries, may supply, by its doctrine of the superposition of the teachings, the explanation of the architectural structure of the monument.

I put before you, for your meditation and your criticism, the thesis of my young collaborator, which you will soon have the opportunity of reading in our *Bulletin*. Its chief merit, in my view, is that of supplying a purely Indian solution of the problem of Borobudur, and of assigning to this magnificent monument its true place, an eminent one, in the great family of stūpas.

Such, then, is the work that has been done by the École française d'Extrême-Orient during these three years past. If, despite the financial stringency which has made itself felt since 1932, our task has made satisfactory progress, and if some interesting discoveries have been possible, the

thanks are due to the devoted service of my collaborators, to whom I desire to pay public homage. If the financial restrictions have not been more drastic, that is thanks to the prestige which the École française enjoys at the present time in Indo-China ; and this prestige it owes in large measure to its intimate and cordial relations with the scientific institutions of the whole world, and in the front rank of them I am happy to be able to place the India Society.

(Translated.)

THE RECENT WORK OF THE FRENCH ARCHÆOLOGICAL DELEGATION AT BĀMIYĀN (AFGHANISTAN)*

BY JOSEPH HACKIN
(Director of the Musée Guimet, Paris)

FIRST, may I express my thanks to the Council of the India Society for having invited me to explain the results of our archæological researches at Bāmiyān.

Before an audience composed of members of the India Society and their friends there is no call for such introductory remarks as might be indispensable elsewhere: there is accordingly no reason why I should not immediately enter into the heart of my subject. But before doing so, I must still express my gratitude to His Excellency Ali Mohammed Khān, the Afghan Minister in London. For it is thanks to the enlightened aid of His Excellency, and to his support, which was unfailing throughout the period during which His Excellency carried out his duties as Secretary of State to the Department of Public Instruction, that we were able to pursue and complete our researches. Moreover, these researches were favoured with the benevolent interest of his late Majesty King Nādir Shāh and His Royal Highness the Prime Minister.

Bāmiyān was one of the first sites to attract the attention of M. Foucher on his arrival in Afghanistan. The Report of the head of the French Delegation written in 1922 was the starting-point of a whole series of methodical researches carried out in 1923 by M. and Mme. Godard. I myself made a preliminary study of the grottos and their paintings in 1924. This work was resumed in 1930, when there was attached to our Delegation an architect, M. Jean Carl, and an expert in the subject of clay casting, M. Bacquet. The results of our efforts have been published in two books. The first, issued in 1928, was entitled *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*; the second, in 1933, is called *Nouvelles Recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*. Lastly, M. Carl and I were able in the present year to visit several groups of grottos which were very difficult of approach, and represent a kind of missing link between the primitive grottos situated near the Buddha 35 metres high, and the sanctuaries, which are more elaborately decorated and encircle the Buddha 53 metres high.

These two gigantic statues chiselled out of the group of rocks which mark the northern edge of the valley are the most striking, though I cannot call them the most interesting, of the Buddhist remains at Bāmiyān.

The famous Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, who visited Bāmiyān in A.D. 632, devoted several pages of his journal to this famous site, and to its

* Lecture delivered before the India Society on November 17, 1933. Sir Francis Young-husband presided.

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main attractions—*viz.*, the two Buddhas. It will hardly surprise you if, having mentioned them to you, I only make passing reference to them in what follows, and rather devote attention to the rock-hewn annexes, sanctuaries, assembly-halls and cells. A visit to them will provide a study of the different stages of Buddhist art in Bāmiyān. In fact, a methodical examination of the site enables us, in spite of a certain disorder, which fortunately is only apparent, to distinguish the men and the circumstances which combined to confuse the original sequence of the sanctuaries, their inter-grouping, the variety of style, the fresh contributions to our stock of information, and the characteristic evolution of certain of the decorative themes.

Accordingly, our study will cause us to abandon in our account any chronological order in our researches. Our attention is drawn in the first place to those features which are the most ancient and the simplest from the architectural and decorative point of view. These will be found in the immediate vicinity of the Buddha 35 metres high, and were laid bare to us as the result of excavations that were carried out in the subsided area situated at the foot of the great cliff. The sanctuary of the primitive type is represented by the grotto G, which was cleared in June 1930. It is a square chamber surmounted by a cupola.

All the sanctuaries in the area where subsidence has occurred appear to belong to this type. We may note that the angle-ribs are fixed into the cupola itself, and do not end in a tambour as in the case of the grottos of more advanced type which we shall meet with when studying the sanctuaries connected with the 35 metre Buddha. Grotto G, with its very simple architectural features, was originally covered with paintings which included Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and benefactors. They were executed in high relief. These polychrome figures only served the function of coloured decoration, the whole-surface paintings and statues cut in high relief giving the impression of complete unity of style. The statues, made simply of moulded clay, were attached to the walls of the grotto by wooden dowels. The cornice was ornamented with a frieze of small seated Buddhas, miniatures of delicate workmanship. In the course of our excavations we found no trace of foliage mouldings or of arcatures, either simple or trilobate, which ornament some of the grottos (F for example) in the great cliff. The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in grotto G display Indo-Greek style, both by the way the monastic mantle is draped and by the treatment of the hair. Two figures, the one a donor dressed in a long tunic with double lapels, the other a Vajrapāni waving a fly-flap, disclose the intrusion of fresh influences, the development and expansion of which we will trace further.

The simple architectural and decorative style is subject to two modifica-

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tions : the first will be met in the A group of grottos reached by means of the steps which give access to the gallery round the head of the 35 metres Buddha. One of the grottos of this group, an assembly hall, shows an architectural scheme like that of grotto G, but a tambour is inserted between the square plan and the dome, and it is in this tambour that have been arranged the corner ribs that mark the transition from the square plan of the hall to the circular dome. The second variation from style I is provided in a grotto of group J, visited for the first time this year. Here the dome is much flattened, and projects considerably beyond the tambour. In our opinion grotto G, with its primitive form, must have been designed in the early years of the third century A.D., before the prevalence of Sasanian influences, which were to play a decisive part in the formation of the Irano-Buddhistic complex that is the most interesting feature of the art of Bāmiyān. In the course of the excavations (June 1930), manuscripts written on bark were recovered, furnishing specimens of different kinds of writing in use in Central Asia between the third and eighth century A.D. These documents have been studied and published by M. Sylvain Lévi.

In group A is found a second type of architecture, characterized by a peculiar form of ceiling made up of an assemblage of imitation beams arranged in the form of a corbel-table. The craftsmen of Bāmiyān apparently borrowed the arrangement from countries in the immediate vicinity of the Pamirs—Wakhan and the north of Kafiristan (the present Nuristan), where this type of construction is still used. The assembly hall in the upper story in group A furnishes a good example of this type of ceiling, which is found again in a more developed form, loaded with a superfluity of decoration, near the 53 metres Buddha (grotto V). Ascending the steps which end by the head of the 35 metres Buddha, and passing along the ambulatory gallery and descending again towards the outer wall of the niche by a flight of steps, two more groups of grottos (C and D) are reached. Group C, containing a porch, an assembly hall, and a sanctuary, shows an element of transition, being composed partly of paintings and partly of mouldings. The dome of the sanctuary is ornamented with a procession of Buddhas, three-fourths full figure, with aureoles about them. The same kind of decoration is found at Sim-Sim in Central Asia. The paintings at Bāmiyān are clearly of earlier date than those at Sim-Sim. The dome of the assembly hall is ornamented with arcatures in low relief, surmounted by the waving ribbons so dear to Sasanian art. These arcatures sheltered moulded figures in bold relief and polychrome.

It is in group D, situated below group G, that we find, for the first time, an *ensemble* that is all of classical Sasanian type. The ceiling of the porch of group D. is ornamented by a whole series of painted medallions embodying

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Sasanian motifs. Here we have the head of a boar, crude in treatment, but powerful in style. We find this motif at the Taq-i-Bustan, near Kermanshāh, where it decorates the dress of a hunter who is following in a boat some boars that are taking cover in a reedy marsh (right side wall of the grotto, figure behind the first boat). The same motif was found at Damghan by Dr. E. F. Schmidt in 1931. There it is a plaster moulding in bas-relief in a medallion ornamented with petals, but the characteristics of style are the same as at Bāmiyān. We may note that Sir Aurel Stein has found the same iconographic motif at a site (Astana) near Turfan, where the style so marked at Bāmiyān is further emphasized.

The ceiling of the same porch (D) reveals other motifs of Sasanian inspiration: the winged horse; the pigeons with back to back and heads turned towards each other, holding a necklace of pearls in their beaks. We find the same motif on a bas-relief at the Avantipur temple in Kashmir, giving us a fair idea of the route followed by these Sasanian influences. In the sanctuary of this group (D) is the original ceiling, the decoration of which is very interesting as it includes bearded heads of a strongly marked Iranian type. For the first time, moreover, we see a belt of trilobate arcatures, decorated with foliage motifs, and, by way of connecting links, grinning masks partaking of the nature of Gorgons and of the Indian Kirti-mukha, Bāmiyān probably acting the part of intermediary between these two types. Group D, as we see, reveals new tendencies; the influence of Persia under the Sasanians becomes decisively evident. To this period are assignable the figures that decorate the top of the niche of the 35 metres Buddha—the male lunar deity* which is seen at the head of the arch, the donors who surround it and a Bodhisattva (Fig. 1) in grotto E. The type of coiffure of several of these persons is classical Sasanian (fourth to beginning of fifth century). Associated more or less with these purely Sasanian influences are certain fresh elements shown by a Kusano-Sasanian complex which we find both at Bāmiyān and at Kakrak. This Kusano-Sasanian complex is the result of certain local modifications that have been introduced from time to time in the Buddhist iconography of Sasanian character to which we have just referred.

These modifications specially concern the dress and the coiffure. It is the art that prevailed under the kinglets of Bāmiyān whom Hsüan-tsang described as like Tokharas. Those kinglets, no doubt relatives or clients of the Kusanas, were none the less subject to the influence of their powerful neighbours, the Sasanian kings of Persia, or of their viceroys, the Kushan-Shāhs. One of these vassal princes is seen at Kakrak—the “Hunter-king” we discovered in 1930, at present in the Kābul museum. The prince wears a

* To be compared with the lunar male deity Agliböl in Palmyra (Temple of Bel).

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peculiar headdress composed of three golden crescents surmounted by white discs or flower ornaments. This kind of crown is specially associated with the iconography of Bāmiyān. We never find it on the various Sasanian types of coin ; it only appears, so far as we know, on two coins of Kusano-Sasanian type coming from Ghazni.

It is particularly interesting to note that this peculiar diadem, originally the attribute of a local king, becomes the headdress of a Buddha and of a Bodhisattva (probably Maitreya) enthroned at the apex of the arched roof of a grotto in group K, first visited in August of this year (Fig. 2). The Buddha with a diadem of three crescents crowned by flower ornaments appears in the left-hand side wall of the niche of the 53 metres Buddha. The Bodhisattva of group K adorned with this kind of diadem shows the origin of an iconographic type we meet with in China (stele of the Pei-lin of Si Ngan-fou, dated A.D. 742) and in Japan. I have good ground for believing that these iconographic types were, at least partially, transmitted by way of Kashmir. The ancient art of Kashmir is not without examples of deities with their headdress adorned with the long flowing ribbons characteristic of Sasanian art, and I have seen at Avantipur even a divinity with a diadem with three crescents.

Thus the iconography of Bāmiyān has disclosed three main tendencies : the earliest faithfully represents Indo-Greek influences ; the next is Sasanian ; and then follows a Kusano-Sasanian phase that has given birth to types we find in the Buddhist art of China and Japan. Let me hasten to add that in its decorative details the Kusano-Sasanian complex does not forego purely Sasanian motifs. The " Hunter-king " at Kakrak sits on his throne beneath a pediment with blunted angles (*fronton coupé*) that rests upon columns, the shafts of which are draped with ribbons, in all respects similar to those that support the fire altars on the reverse of coins of the Sasanian kings.

Besides, we notice crowns ornamented with ribbons, like those borne by the winged personifications of victory of the Taq-i-Bustan. Many other details show the persistence of Sasanian influence. Can it be said to dominate the art of Bāmiyān ? I think not ; and we shall soon note the appearance of fresh elements, the origin of which I do not hesitate to specify : they are elements borrowed from the Near East—from Roman Syria. The sanctuary of group D (fifth century A.D.) reveals new decorative elements—a belt of arcatures, foliage ornamentation, grotesque masks doing the duty of connecting pieces. This kind of ornamentation becomes considerably developed in the grottos I., II., XI., adjoining the 53 metres Buddha (sixth century A.D.) ; for the single belts of arcatures (grottos D and F) double belts of arcatures are substituted. The foliage themes, of considerable width, closely approach models derived from Eastern Hellenism. The arcatures are surmounted by

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FIG. 2.—BUDDHA IN THE LITTLE SHED WITHIN THE
55 METERS BUDHA.



FIG. 3.—MALE LUNAR BUDDHA, WHICH LOCATES THE TOP OF
THE NICHIL OF THE 35-METERS BUDHA AT BAMBIAN.

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the "jug of superfluity," with two waving ribbons beneath—the only Sasanian element in the decoration.* The top of the dome of grotto XI. is ornamented in a peculiar way, with incomplete stars in which are hexagons enclosing Buddhistic figures. In the highest point of the star, shaped like a lozenge, is a beardless head with a conical cap. A similar scheme of hexagons and lozenges with figures inside decorates the ceiling of the gallery of the temple of Bacchus at Baalbek in Syria (*circa* first century A.D.). I do not know whether this motif, borrowed by Bāmiyān from the Near East, has had the same fortune as the iconographic themes carried from Bāmiyān to the Far East, such as the Bodhisattva with the diadem with three crescents bedecked with flowers.

Still, Greco-Indian, Iranian, and Near East influences do not exhaust the list, for I have reserved as "last but not least" those Indian influences which, to my mind, stand apart from those which I have endeavoured to show represent a logically ordered development.

At the head of the arch of the niche sheltering the 53 metres Buddha are observed some seated Bodhisattvas, badly mutilated, in a listless yet elegant posture. The physical type is Indian, from the facial characteristics as well as the limbs, which are long and lithe. Here and there, facing and bending towards the Buddhas, there appear female figures, naked or almost so, of great elegance of form, with full hips, small waist, and developed breasts, that almost make one feel as if one were looking at one of the bas-reliefs of Amaravati. These compositions, so purely and unexceptionally Indian by reason of the contrast, throw into strong relief the severe side of the Irano-Buddhistic art of Bāmiyān. The paintings that decorate the crown of the niche of the 53 metres Buddha must, in my opinion, have been the work of artists directly influenced by the traditions of the great art of India. They stand quite apart from the hieratic art of Bāmiyān developed under Iranian influence, which recalls certain features of Byzantine art. Examine for choice this Bodhisattva in the sanctuary of group E (Fig. 1); the harsh and cold conception contrasts greatly with the soft and warm humanity of the figures you have just seen.

It remains to explain how these paintings of Indian inspiration, earlier, in my opinion, than the compositions showing Sasanian influence, came to adorn the niche of the later of the two great Buddhas, the 35 metres Buddha being clearly of earlier date than that of 53 metres. May I suggest an explanation—namely, that the paintings which at present ornament the top of the niche sheltering the 35 metres Buddha constitute a later piece of decoration which

* This "jug of superfluity" seems to appear in front of the great Iwan at Um-es-Sa 'atir (close neighbourhood of Ctesiphon), J. HEINRICH SCHMIDT, *L'expédition de Ctésiphon en 1931-1932, Syria* xv., p. 11, Fig. 8.

French Archaeological Delegation at Bāmiyān (Afghanistan)

was substituted for a previous composition in the style seen at the top of the niche of the 53 metres Buddha.

The medallions on the projections from the trilobate niche of the 53 metres Buddha are differentiated from the compositions we have just referred to as showing Indian influences : here and there we notice details of Sasanian inspiration, such as pearl-trimmings, waving ribbons, etc. The medallions on the right-hand projection are known already. Each projection originally held a series of five medallions, four being still partially visible from both sides. The medallions on the left-hand projection were first photographed with a telephoto camera in August last. The first medallion is the most important. In it are three figures, the central of which wears a long tunic of dark colour, tightened in by a belt at the waist ; a cloak covers the shoulder ; high boots of leopard skin protect the legs, leaving heel and toes exposed. Such leopard-skin mocassins are frequently to be seen on Central Asian documents from Bāzāklik and Tun-huang. This central figure holds in the right hand a kind of purse, also made of leopard skin. The attendant on the right holds a trident ; he wears a fur cap. The attendant on the left is dressed in a yellow tunic ; he carries a tray of offerings. The aspect of this composition is very "Central Asian" ; in fact, Bāmiyān now belongs to Central Asia. Crossing the Shibar Pass, we leave the basin of the Indus to enter that of the Amu Darya. Bāmiyān knows no stucco nor schist. The stuccos that have made the reputation of the workshop of Hadda, the schist so abundant at Kapisa (Begram and Paitava), are not to be found at Bāmiyān ; the method used in moulding the statues consists in mixing clay and chopped straw up in a framework of wood, a procedure followed in Central Asia. The mural paintings are clearly in the style of Central Asia, in no way recalling the timid essays of Hadda. In fact, Bāmiyān represents an important stage in Buddhism : the influence of Sasanian Iran has been so strong there that we shall see a new form of Buddhist art appearing, so much so that it is not an exaggeration to describe it as the Irano-Buddhistic art of Bāmiyān.

I have tried to distinguish the characteristics of this complex, while showing you round the principal sanctuaries of Bāmiyān. To complete my theme it would be necessary to follow up, in your company, through Central Asia the trail of this Irano-Buddhist complex that originated at Bāmiyān ; but this would be taking an unfair advantage of your kindness, for the inquiry would not stop there : the few references I have made to Sasanian survivals in the Buddhist art of China and Japan will have made it clear that the investigation would carry us on to the most distant domains of Buddhism ; it would mean abusing the indulgence you have so generously accorded me. I would rather let the threat of a second lecture hang over you.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF INDIA AND THE MALAY AND SIAMESE THEATRES IN KELANTAN*

BY MISS JEANNE CUISINIER

WILL you allow me to express my gratitude to the India Society for inviting me to lecture to you on my return from Malaya. I feel honoured to speak before so well-informed an audience, and it is a great pleasure to me to be again among my London friends. I shall deal with the Malay and Siamese Theatres and their connection with Indian literature. I have to point out that I studied the Siamese and Malay theatre mostly in Kelantan, and that I found some differences between the ways of representation in this State and those in other Malay States, and much greater differences between the Siamese theatre in Kelantan or the Malay province of Patani in Siam and the other parts of Siam.

Kelantan, as you know, is one of the four Malay States which became a British Protectorate only twenty-five years ago. Before 1909 Kelantan, Perlis, Kedah and Trengganu were more or less dependent on Siam; they were not, in fact, vassal states related to a paramount state, but three of those sultanates (no mention is made of Perlis) had to pay every three years a tribute to the King of Siam. This tribute was sent with great ceremony, by a small vessel, called *Prahu Bunga Amas*, "the Pirague of the Golden Flowers," and it cost each inhabitant twenty-five cents in taxation. Moreover, Siamese officials with their families were settled in the country, except in Trengganu. And so Siamese settlements are still to be found in Perlis, Kedah and Kelantan. They are not very numerous, and are rather poor, some of them even very poor; of course, nearly all the rich people returned to their country after the British Protectorate was established.

But a single pagoda with a dozen monks and a dozen devotees would be enough to keep alive old Siamese customs; and there are many pagodas.

As I was able to study Malay and Siamese customs in Kelantan, I was also able to study both Siamese and Malay theatres. Malay and Siamese theatres must be divided into shadow-plays and dancing performances. Shadow-plays is the term we Europeans use for what is called "leather theatre," *Wayang Kulit*, by the Malay, and simply "leather," *Nang*, by the

* Lecture delivered before the India Society on May 30, 1934. Mr. John de La Valette presided.

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Siamese. It should be pointed out that the word *wayang* is the Javanese for "shadow"; it became the Malay *bayang* ("shadow"), but the Malay has forgotten the etymological meaning of it and uses it only to say "moving pictures." In Java we even find the *wayang wong* or "human theatre," and in that instance also the word has lost its meaning of "shadow." Besides shadow-plays and dancing performances, a Malay opera, *Bangsawan*, is to be seen from time to time in small places, and more frequently in large towns like Singapore or Kuala Lumpur. Singing, dancing, acting, mixing several languages, dressed in ludicrous tinselly stuff, the actors present old or new stories; but these stories have nothing to do with the sacred books of India, and it is all the better, for the *Bangsawan* is a completely degenerate genre.

Let us first of all examine the shadow-plays. In Kelantan they are of three kinds. One is the Siamese *Nang Tai*—Siamese leather, called by the Malay *Wayang Gedek*. The two others are Malay, though one of them is called *Wayang Siam* (by the Malay, but the Siamese speak about the *Nang Khek Malayu*—"leather of the Malay people"). The *Wayang Java* is the last. It is considered by the more educated Malays as being the most elaborate and most distinctly literary.

The Wayang Gedek.—The puppets of this shadow-play are made of very thin leather, by preference the skins of sheep or goats, sometimes the skins of deer. The shapes are as a rule graceful, some represent energetic characters and some monstrous or comic characters, differing according to the part they play. Of the daintiest one might say they are more like lace than leather. One important feature of the Siamese Wayang is that the legs and arms of the puppets seem to be always in vivid motion, though in reality only the arms are articulated.

You see on the slides the difference between them and the puppets of the *Wayang Java*, the legs of which are always straight. You will also notice other details, such as that the male puppets are represented in profile and the female puppets full face, whereas in *Wayang Siam* and *Wayang Java*, both are represented in profile.

The orchestra of the *Nang Tai* or *Wayang Gedek* is composed of two gongs, several drums called *gendang*, *geduk*, and *gedombak*, and of a kind of clarinet, *serunai*, which is the leading instrument. There are two drums of each kind, a larger and a smaller one, named mother and child, or sometimes male and female. Small bamboo rattles and bronze cymbals complete the orchestra. The same is used in the Malay *Wayang Siam* and the Siamese performance called *Manora*.

The subjects of the plays are taken from the Siamese versions of the

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Ramayana ; for this reason there is a large intermixing of Pali words with modern Siamese. The recital follows the text quite faithfully. You know, of course, that the same man speaks all the parts, changing his voice to imitate in turn an old man, a lady, a peasant, a ghost, while he sets the puppets in motion behind a screen of white sheet. A lamp swinging to and fro above the puppets throws a light emphasizing the shadows. During the pauses between the acts the puppets are all taken away and a screen of leather is placed in the middle of the white screen of sheet. This second screen is called *Pohon beringin*, and represents the sacred banian tree.

The *Wayang Siam* is so called because it also takes its subjects from the Siamese versions of the Ramayana. But the reciter does not hesitate to mix parts of Javanese or local legends with the original narrative, the text of which he is not always able to understand. The language used is Malay, and, except for the preliminary incantations, quite modern and popular Malay.

The puppets are somewhat bigger than those of the *Wayang Gede*, and made of thicker leather, skins of oxen or buffaloes, sometimes stag or tiger skins ; tiger skin is generally reserved for magical purposes, but not always, and human skin if the person has died a violent death, is preferred. You see (on the slides) that the puppets keep to an intermediate style between the *Wayang Gedek* and the *Wayang Java*. As I said, the musical instruments are the same as those of the *Wayang Gedek*, but no bamboo rattles or cymbals are used.

The Wayang Java.—The *Wayang Java* is very much like the one preserved in Java under the name of *Wayang Poerwa* (Skt., *purba*, the ancient Wayang). In fact, I should think that this is the most ancient of the three types. The puppets are of various sizes. Some are 4 feet high. They are shaped more heavily than those of the *Wayang Gedek* and even those of the *Wayang Siam* ; they generally look strong and powerful. Though the legs are straight and motionless, an impression of movement is fully given by the articulation of the arms, the slight or strong bending of the body, and the inclination of the head. On account of their large size, it is necessary to make them of thick leather, buffalo skin by preference, and also, like those of the *Wayang Siam*, of oxen or tiger skin. The orchestra includes several instruments of percussion : two large *gongs* hung in a corner of the raised stage ; one small gong called *mong*, posed on a stand of rattan ; a long keyboard of gongs, *chanang*, played by three men ; and cymbals, *kesi*—all these are bronze instruments ; then there are the two drums (*gendang*), a tiny square plank and two round or, better, spool-shaped, small pieces of wood which one strikes rhythmically to punctuate the *dalang's* narrative (the *dalang* is the reciter) ; to finish, I shall mention the two-stringed *rebab*, a kind of violin, the

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first of which, according to a legend, was made from one of Ravana's skulls and different parts of his body.

Here the subjects are taken from Malay manuscripts of Java. Some of them belong purely to the old Javanese mythology, but the main source is the Mahabharata, through the primitive Malay translation; for instance, the *Hikayat Pandava* (the story of Pandu's sons) is one of the most popular. In contrast to the *Wayang Siam* and like the *Wayang Gedek*, the text must be faithfully followed, in compliance with the belief that the slightest mistake would be the cause of dreadful misfortune to the *dalang*.

Therefore the language is more literary and more archaic than the one spoken in the *Wayang Siam*, so literary and archaic indeed that a good many words are quite unknown to the average Kelantanese who listen to the beloved stories. When translation is asked of words like "kaula" (Skt., *kula*, race), meaning I, me, used instead of "hamba," or "pakulon," a still more respectful me, the word being formed from "pak," father, and "ulun," slave (it may replace the "hamba tua" allowed to old retainers addressing their lord), and so many other words, the answer is always: "Priksalah, Tuan; bukan bahasa, Malayu; bahasa, Java." "Well, I don't know, sir; it isn't Malay, it is Javanese."

On the last night, however (for the *Wayang* lasts at least three nights when played on important occasions), a play must be represented that belongs to the local folklore, but the principal personage of which is "Putra Kala." Putra Kala indeed is introduced as a dull and stupid fellow, a poor imbecile, in which the Hindu god could hardly be recognized. And in this play, which is an example of popular unwritten literature, the language, of course, is very simple and familiar, in spite of a few reminiscences of the formal speech used during the preceding nights.

Shadow-plays are not only an enjoyment. They are in close connection with magic, but it would take too long to expose thoroughly this aspect of the question, and probably futile to attempt to deal only in part with it. Nevertheless, I must mention the *kanduri* (i.e., edible offerings) made to the spirits before every performance, and for an audience so deeply interested in all matters concerning India, I suppose it will be worth hearing that during the last night, when a solemn sacrifice is offered to divinities named Batara Guru, Batara Brahma, Batara Indra, etc., the main symbols refer to Hindu mythology, to its gods, to the seven heavenly spheres, and that the altar on which the offerings are placed is called *Pancha persada* (though it may have three or seven degrees instead of five—three for ordinary people, five for princes, and seven for the Sultan or heir to the throne).

Before leaving the subject of the shadow-play, I should like to mention

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one more old custom, that of the mask dance. The regular shadow-plays are given after seven in the evening, and last for three, five, seven days, or sometimes more ; but at least one afternoon is given to this mask dance executed by the *dalang* and two of his helpers. Their masks reproduce the principal heroes of the Hindu-Javanese mythology.

We can now come to the dancing performances. I found their origin to be invariably the ceremony of calling the ancestors. This theory is not a new one, having been established for the Greek theatre and by historical proofs ; Ridgeway's book is one of the serious works on the subject. It is not immediately apparent, because in the Malay and Siamese theatrical performances the comic part took finally the first place ; and if half of the play is still danced and sung, the other half became mere buffoonery, even very vulgar buffoonery, as for the *Ma'yong* which we shall first examine. I must add that the crudeness of the jokes is in proportion to the taste of the audience ; I attended some *Ma'yong* in remote villages, to which I was almost ashamed to listen, and I attended some others played for rajas that were quite decent.

The *Ma'yong* is a Malay performance, the execution of which is left to women. The actress playing the male part is called *Poyang* (male ancestor), and the actresses playing the female parts *moyang* (female ancestor). The musicians are men, though there is no interdict against women beating the drums or the gongs. In fact, I saw women beating the drums at other performances, magical ones ; but, as a rule, it is regarded as too difficult a task for their intelligence. Men play the buffoons. The orchestra is a very simple one, consisting of two gongs, two drums called *gendangs*, and a *rebab*. The *rebab* used in *Ma'yong* has three strings while the one used in *Wayang Java* has only two.

The *poyang* (the actress playing the rôle of a prince) wears trousers, a blouse of special fashion with a frill of pearls, and a short sarong reaching to the knees, a wide sash in which is stuck the creese, and the headdress, a kind of crown called *tanjok*. She has, of course, as many bracelets, rings, earrings, and necklaces as possible, but none of these jewels is a necessary part of the costume. The *moyangs* have a simpler attire ; they wear only the ordinary dress of the Malay women, sarong and baju, and a supple scarf. The only ornament characterizing their rôle is a sheaf of artificial flowers, interwoven with pearls and ribbons, which they place in their hair ; but if the troupe is poor, it is sufficient for the girls to wind round their chignon a little garland of jasmine. As for the buffoons, their full dress is a sarong and a scarf ; sometimes they wear masks, but never for the whole duration of the performance, and it makes no difference if they have none. There are

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generally one *poYang* and two *moyangs* in a troupe, but there is no fixed rule; I saw troupes with two *poYangs* and two *moyangs*, also troupes with one *poYang* and one *moyang*; and the number of buffoons varies from one to six, seven, eight.

The first part of the representation consists of offerings and incantations, which formerly were addressed to the ancestors; now sometimes they are addressed to spirits and even to the divinities of the *Wayang*. I discovered the primitive meaning of this part very late by comparing the initial incantations of several magical dances—namely, *Bèlian*, the ceremony of calling the spirit of the tiger, and *Putrī*, which begins to mix outside spirits and divinities with the honoured descent to which the performer belongs. *Putrī*, being in an intermediate state between *Bèlian*, still close to its origin, and *Ma'yong*, very distant from it, was the thread which led me to understand. I was greatly helped in the understanding of this by a Malay friend of mine, who took a great interest in my researches. Though very distant from its origin, *Ma'yong* has kept the magical bound, and one can always see the buffoons paying respect to the *bomor* (the wizard) before starting the comedy.

The second part of *Ma'yong*, the longest one indeed, is the story. It is not difficult to find the literary sources of *Wayang*, but where are the sources of *Ma'yong*? Not in manuscripts, not even in oral tradition, because the actresses and buffoons will represent every kind of story they believe of a nature to be enjoyed by their audiences. Malay legends, Persian legends, even modern novels will be arranged by them, and as they are in frequent touch with the Siamese actors of *Manora*, they will imitate some of their plays, so that now and then an Indian or Siamese legend will be found in their repertory.

There is a legend about the origin of the Siamese *Manora* very like the one that Mr. Nicolas, whose recent death we greatly regret, told in his book on "Lakhon Chatri"; this legend says that in dark old times a young boy, still a baby, whose parents were dead, lived among the elephants. He had no bones, and his horoscope not being clear, the elephants assumed that his fate was bound to be ominous; so they put him on a raft with twelve kinds of pastries, that he should not starve. He was saved by divinities; one of them gave him bones, another brought him up and taught him the art of dancing, and in a dream what should be the *Manora* was revealed to him.

The *Manora* is more elaborate than the *Ma'yong*. It is played only by men and young boys. They are trained for a few months, and they may act the female parts, but before they are called actual *Manora*, and allowed to wear the headdress which characterizes the rôle, they have to be trained at least four or five years. When the teacher judges that one of his pupils

PLATE I



MANORA REVERENTLY RECEIVING HIS ADDRESS
(THE TRADITIONAL ADDRESS).

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PLATE II



MANORA'S POSTURE FOR REMEMBERING THE FIRST
FORMULAS HE HAS TO RECITE MENTALLY.

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PLATE III



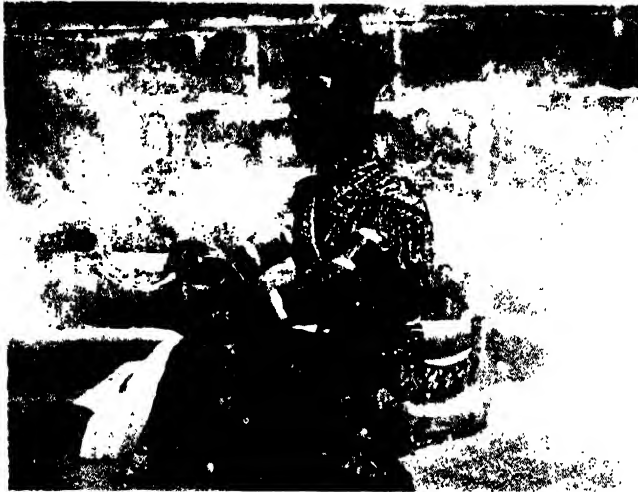
THE PRELIMINARY POSTURE TO THE GREETING
TO THE ANCESTORS.

PLATE IV



THE GREETING TO THE ANCESTORS.
1900-1901

PLATE V



LAST POSTURE IN THE HOMAGE TO THE ANCESTORS.

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PLATE VI



THE MANORA AND THE TWO DANCERS TAKING THE FEMALE PARTS GREETING EACH OTHER BEFORE THEY BEGIN THE DANCE.

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PLATE VII



DANCING POSTURE OF MANORA AND THE TWO DANCERS
TAKING THE FEMALE PARTS.

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PLATE VIII



ONE OF THE FIRST MANORA'S STANDING
POSTURES.

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deserves the title of *Manora*, he tells him to prepare himself for the ceremony by which he will be consecrated. The days of the ceremony are fixed according to given astrological tables. On the first day, which must be a Monday, the dancer will go to the pagoda, have his hair cut, and stay with the monks as for the religious noviciate till the end of the third day. On the second day special respect will be paid to the ancestors; on the third day the dancer is consecrated by his teacher, who first makes him try a few masks, then brings the precious headdress, puts it on his own head, and finally puts it on his pupil's head. This headdress, called *Söt* (see Plate I.), is the most important part of the costume, which consists of half-length trousers reaching to the calf, in three pieces of muslin, gauze, silk, or any kind of light cloth, draped in close folds between the legs, the two others round the waist, the ends falling to the knees; a little bolero, two wings placed on the hips, and two more ornaments of pearls; bracelets, three on each arm and three on each forearm, and four pairs of silver nails, the thumb being the only finger left without. The headdress and nails are taken off when the actor has to perform some acrobatic movements.

You noticed how respectfully the dancer takes his bolero, how seriously his dresser looks on his side. It should be remembered that they are both muttering magical formulas, and that the dresser draws some magical designs on every part of the dancer's body (forehead, cheeks, shoulders, hands, toes, etc.), while he puts on each piece of his costume. The dressing, of course, takes place on the side-scene, not in public. I have with me all the magical designs used by *Manora* players, and I shall be pleased to show them to persons who would like to see them.

The boys playing female rôles are dressed like Malay women, without compulsory ornaments or jewels, except the brooches fastening their blouses. They also wear false hair.

As for the buffoons, they simply wear a sarong and a scarf, similar to the buffoons of the Wayang. They have a large selection of masks, but they wear only one or two in certain plays.

The first part of the performance is much longer than the preliminary incantations of the *Ma'yong*, because when the *bomor* (Siam. *Mô*) has greeted the ancestors, the *Manora* himself has to greet them, and then all the singers will join him in his chant, and repeat it (see Plates VI. and VII.). The first gestures and attitudes are purely religious, and though the dancers have forgotten their meaning, it is obvious that they continue the tradition of Indian *Mudras* (see Plates II.-V.). When the acting begins, the actors give up their own language and speak Malay, but when they sing they go back to Siamese, and song-parts and spoken dialogues are mixed all through.

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What do they play? Sri Rama appears very seldom in the stories, even Hindu names are rare, and one of my informants, a *Manora* boy, told me that they represent only local legends. I have to acknowledge that I have found a few subjects, arranged by both *Manora* and *Ma'yong*, but the Malay could have taken them from the Siamese as well as the contrary; and if they were of Siamese origin, they might be either local or come from some other part of Siam.

Another informant assured me that manuscripts from which the subjects had been taken had been destroyed as part after part had been learnt by the actors. He could not give any explanation for this strange assertion, so I did not believe him, and questioned the monks. They let me look at an old Pali manuscript, and told me that in olden days some *Manoras* who had stayed long enough in the pagoda, had learnt what was in the book—namely, several *Jatakas*—but that nowadays the actors only repeat what they have heard, and are no longer able to study the stories in the books. So we can be certain that when a *Jataka* was the origin of a *Manora* story, it has always been more or less transformed, and after two or three generations is hardly recognizable. Plate VIII. shows one of the first standing postures of the *Manora* dance.

In summarizing, I may say that the Siamese shadow-play was directly influenced by the Ramayana, even when the Siamese recensions wrought some changes in the original; this influence is still very vivid.

The two kinds of Malay shadow-plays were indirectly influenced by India, either through Siam or through Java. In the first case the influence seems to be decreasing; in the second case, the Javanese influence brought the Hindu culture, at the same time vivifying the old Indonesian base of their own culture.

The Siamese theatre, *Manora*, was partly, and only in its very beginning, influenced by India; this influence grows weaker every day, but is not yet lost altogether.

The Malay theatre, *Ma'yong*, shows but exceptional traces of Indian influence, and these traces are mixed with so many other elements that they should not be counted.

CREATIVE ART OF ANCIENT INDIA*

BY KANAIVALAL H. VAKIL

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND AND FRIENDS,—We have often heard the maxim that history repeats itself. I do not know whether it is true or not—whether history ever repeats itself; but whether history repeats itself or not, art certainly never repeats itself, and therefore, when we think of any aspect of art of any time or any clime, we are surely not thinking of art as a thing that repeats itself. To put it in other words, art ceases to be art if it is not creative. This is very important to remember because, when one analyses the history of any art, of any nation, one is tempted to believe that the distinction which obtained in the past, if it is to be retained in the present, national art must repeat itself, which is obviously absurd.

Two things must be remembered by those who are studying art to any purpose. Art, as you know, is not solely local, confined to any individual or class. It is universal in its appeal. Therefore, there are two maxims which may be relied on :

- (1) Art is relative; and
- (2) Art is certainly collective in outlook.

Take a "Gopuram," that is to say, the gateway of a temple in Southern India. I have taken that first for this reason. In ancient India architecture was not separated from civic design, and the temple gateway served as the focussing-point of the city. It seems to be a novelty, because civic design is a thing which we have only recently begun to appreciate. In ancient India civic design was part of civic architecture, and architecture was related to the street, and sculpture and painting were both related to architecture. That is how one aspect of art was related to another, and it made a collective appeal to the people as such, so that attention was concentrated on the whole and not on individual mannerisms.

The old scriptures, if one may so call them, insisted that no building should be higher than a particular limit. But supposing a man had the ambition to build a higher building in the town, he would be told that he might do so if he liked, provided always that he added to the height of the temple tower. Can you imagine what that led to? It led to a very healthy development of civic growth; the tower of the temple became the highest

* A lecture delivered before the India Society on June 28, 1933. Sir Francis Younghusband presided.

Creative Art of Ancient India

building and also became the outstanding feature of the town, to which every other building was subordinate. Although there are so many people who are willing to restrict religion to a narrow basis, you must understand that the ancient religions (as understood by contemporaries, not by us) were not severed from daily life and daily life from religion ; but religion was understood to be the point where the human being in his social, economic and spiritual aspects was manifested, and the temples were social places, religious places, civic places where people met. That is why the temple assumed such extraordinary importance. Let us remember the pyramid shape of this temple. This picture is intended to show you how the temple set the note of the city.

We have already insisted on the point that religious architecture was not only religious, but it was social as well.

There is another superstition prevalent about the architecture of India. People believe that while there is something like domestic architecture, though even that is not openly acknowledged, there is very little civic and no military architecture in India.

Let us consider a fort. You can imagine that this fort is at present, as can be seen in the picture, more or less in ruins ; and yet, looking at this picture, one cannot help being struck by the masses which have been regulated by an unerring sense of proportion. Without the sense of proportion which guided the ancient architects the towers could easily mislead the modern designer who copies them to wrong scale and proportion.

We considered an ancient temple, "Gopuram," of the South, then we considered the form of a "Shikhar" of the North. Let us now go back to something more ancient. Take the front of the caves at Ellora. The most important point about it is that, as archæologists will tell you, these motifs arose from wooden structures. They fail to realize, however, that the medium—the stone—to which the builders were trying to give a decorative surface, was affected by the sun ; that the builders understood the nature of their creative materials, with the result that, while these carvings appear to you, when reproduced by a modern camera, to be profusely crowded, they are necessary to break the violent sunshine with deep recesses of shadow. They are not merely imitative of wooden motifs. It is true that some of the decorative motifs are derived from wooden structures, but that has nothing to do with the sculptures in stone depicted here. You see the contrast between the sunshine and shadow. That is not merely an artistic necessity, but it is a climatic necessity as well. The architecture of India has evolved from the climatic conditions of India. When you come in from the sun and enter the temple you need deep, cool shadows.

You remember we considered a "Gopuram." That is the shadow of the tower of the temple. That is the shape of the tower as it developed in the North. Remember the unity of idea and of design. Note the difference. I suggest this in order to show that, whereas both of these two temples have been built according to the ancient laws of Hindu architecture, they were not merely translated into stone, but are works of art translated by the artist in accordance with the climatic conditions and necessities of Southern and Northern India.

There is one point which has not been illustrated—the tapering design. I will now draw attention to another point in the building of the temple. That is its structure. How unmistakably the ancient builder, despite the elaborate sculpture which meets one's eye, leads beyond to the central temple, and similarly how all these masses lead one from the place where the worshipper first enters to its climax, the central tower.

Here is a ruined temple, but I like to show this picture because it lays bare the constructive side of the temple. There could be little vitality of architecture in India if it did not provide for that open verandah. That is a feature which has distinguished domestic architecture in India, and it must also distinguish, as it has distinguished, religious architecture. Consider how the builder builds it up first with the plinth from the terrace; then the balustrade, then the pillars; then the balustrade, then the pillars again; and then the dome.

I have often been told, and it is a constant piece of Western criticism (whenever the critics wish to make a statement about ornament, they neglect all other considerations), that all Indian architecture suffers from horizontals, and therefore it is static and not dynamic. Perhaps you have never gazed at a tall building under a tropical sun; if you had you would know that, if there are no horizontals to break the verticals, you cannot look at it. That explains the climatic necessity of horizontals. As to the dynamic reproach, you can sit under a tree and observe the sun every half hour as it blazes on this building and you will see that nothing can be more dynamic than light and shadows playing on its surfaces.

Let us consider the plan of the building. There is not one uniform surface on which the sun plays. If you stand there for ten or twenty minutes you will observe the marvellous way in which the light plays on the dynamic scheme of the temple. But, even supposing that is not so, have the critics not yet discovered that the horizontals are very necessary for civic architecture? If I seem to exaggerate, you can verify it with your eyes. Stand somewhere near the Strand and see if the most modern architecture does not emphasize the horizontals which give street architecture its character. Indian architecture is related to the city and is not independent of civic design.

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Again, as you may look, this is of course the great Sun Temple, and this is at Mount Abu ; here, of course, there is an example for those who see that the constructional side of architecture is modified by the over-elaborate pillars. That is true, but on the constructive side the strength of the pillars is not altogether taken away, because even this picture, although it is very unsatisfactory, shows you clearly where the support rests.

I am giving you these logical reasons because, if the laws of Indian architecture are not understood—its meaning is not understood, Indian architecture would be considered a relic of the dead past.

Take another example from Southern India. You can examine whether the masses in architecture are not clearly outlined. Can there be anything more striking than this fort and temple clearly silhouetted against the sky ? Can you recollect any piece of military or civic architecture planned so successfully, and the walls of the fort ? It is the Trichinopoli temple in the South.

Now take a palace. It is also a fort, but it is firstly a palace. It is in marble. It is in the North. You may think there is only the beauty of the marble as it reflects the clouds. But there is more than the costly material. Remember also the sense of proportion the Indian builder inevitably showed. I showed you those other temples from that point of view because so often the mistake is made that Indian architecture is valued not for its logic but for its religiosity and its “gorgeous” carvings. Nothing can be more simple than the design and walls of this palace, but see how beautifully these horizontals regulate the verticals.

The next example I ask you to consider is the famous window at Ahmedabad. I should have taken it from the inside, but you can imagine what a beautiful piece of carving it is. It is said that the Indian builder carved like a jeweller, but what he carved was a decorative necessity. It was the decorative logic of architecture. It was not very good architecture, perhaps, to those who are accustomed to stained-glass windows in the churches ; but to those who are accustomed to the Indian side, seeing this mosque from the inside, the window carved in stone is as logical as the stained-glass windows. The latter keep out the light from the outside to the required degree ; this tracery in stone, when you see it from the inside, gives you the cool pattern you need so much inside.

Take another interior piece of the mosque at Ahmedabad. This is very elaborate carving, and it is surface carving, which is none the less artistic because it is elaborate. The ancient carver never made the mosque too confusing, but the lines of his architecture run straight and honest with the carvings on the side.

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Consider this carved doorway with deep recesses. In order to suggest the universal approach to art and to show that when art is creative it follows more or less the same lines, may I remind you that in some of your churches—I think it is the Norman style—the doors are always recessed like this ?

Simpler even than that. Take another gateway at Ahmedabad. Can you imagine anything more beautifully done, and yet so simple ? That is the gateway, and it shows you that architecture of the ancient designer is always related to civic design.

It has been the misfortune of India that it has been more written about than seen. It is my belief that India has seldom been visited by those who are sensitive to colour, sunshine and shadow. You can see pictures as artistic. Here is a mosque, and you can see by what simple means the architect, who happens to be an artist, has created this picture, not only of sunshine and shadow, but he has included water, and you can see the glorious picture all reflected in the water.

I will show a very instructive incident, and it is what happens when the modern builder does justice neither to himself nor to the buildings which he produces. I will explain what I mean. This is a wonderful modern vertical, unrelieved by any sense of proportion. This is the modern door without any architectural design. You can enter by a door and you can shut people out by the door, but more than that it refuses to offer. Compare this with the other, to show the artistic logic and power of the ancient builder.

Consider the height the modern building reaches ; that is the ancient building, showing how the ancient builder divides it. Appreciate the carving. Artistic logic is the most economic logic. Proportion has been observed by the ancient builder, and this building is more modern than that, as you can see from the fantastic modern door and the ancient one. As the years proceed the sense of proportion is being gradually destroyed. The ancient builder made a beautiful door in which you can see that the panel is divided by the simplest means.

Another piece of street architecture at Ahmedabad. Here is the plinth of the verandah, but notice the way in which by the simplest means the architect told his artistic story. Mark his proportion which led him gradually to the important features of the building. Notice this little window. At present we are told that we do not get the right windows for sanitary purposes and ventilation. That is said by engineers who come to India but who do not see the ancient Indian buildings. The domestic architecture of ancient India was not the same as modern architecture, in which the walls were mere quantities ; they were not unimportant features. When the builder wanted ventilation and light as well, he did not destroy his proportions

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by placing random openings in the wall, but he placed windows in the proportion demanded by his law.

Consider another mosque, and please realize that this is architecture and not painting. Remember how peculiar this type is, because the architect of ancient India built with the help of the sun and knew that the sun was the most important factor in his building; so he painted with sunshine and shadow. Is it not a far cry from Ahmedabad to Java? And yet those who remember the sunshine and shadow picture at Ahmedabad remember also the sunshine and shadow of this piece of architecture which is not in India itself, but in Java. I want you to remember this, for the reason that, when climatic conditions are more or less the same, when the feelings of the people are the same, their social and religious customs the same, and when there is artistic necessity directed to collective needs, there is always an artistic result and more or less unity of design.

Now let us go back to Northern India, and observe the amazing mass and dignity of this architecture, its solidity. I have referred to examples which were interesting either from the point of view of the sense of proportion or from the point of view of elaborate carvings and similar other features. Here is a piece of architecture which shows the time when the architect was trying to evolve something new. This is Pathan architecture. I showed you the door of the temple in the North and of the temple in the South; they were different, but they were animated by the same unity of design. Here comes what was then an alien, new influence, and this is what was beginning to be established in India. Can you imagine that after some years similar motives have been incorporated and yet the distinction maintained? You see the plinths on verandahs are there, but the elaborate carvings and order of pillars are changed. Look at the dome there; that again emphasizes, more than the elaborateness and delicate touches on the verandah, the solidity of that pavilion.

That is Pathan architecture. I have not referred you to the usual pictures or the palaces at Delhi and Agra. I point to this to indicate that when the ancient artist—whom you might choose to call on one occasion an architect, on another occasion a painter, at another time a carver—was confronted with new demands, he faced the problems and created something that was absolutely new. Can you imagine anything more revolutionary than for the Hindu architect to be required by the Mughals to avoid all sculpture? Yet you see the Hindu architect and craftsman accepted that revolutionary demand. If I am asked to restrict myself and provide something new, I can do so if the creative power in me is not dead and if I have the strength and the power to design and build in a new way. That is why the most revolu-

tionary architecture was achieved by the most conservative of Hindu craftsmen. And yet we are told that the Hindu craftsman and architect, including the Moslem architect, are very conservative and do not understand the demand of modern times! I maintain it is the fault of the modern pundits who learn from books in the libraries and produce books out of books; they have not seen these buildings, but have only read about them. They do not understand them. As in other nations there has been a revolution in architecture, so in India. How many years has it taken for the architects in Europe to revolutionize their architecture in accordance with the needs of the times? Is it not remarkable that a people who are supposed to be absolutely conservative responded to the new demands of the time and created something that was new and distinct?

Now consider a portrait which is none the less a portrait because it was carried out in accordance with the needs of the times. Not that in ancient times they did not paint portraits, but, assuming that the Hindu painter did not portray any piece of realism or take anything from his surroundings, this painter has, in fact, produced this masterpiece of live reality.

Look at the human touch of all this. There is not a single figure which is stereotyped or, I prefer to say, stenciled. There is not a single piece of ornament, or of custom, or of truth which cannot to-day be found in Indian surroundings and Indian interior arts; so that Mughal painter depicted his surroundings not just from his memory or from the occult point of view!

There again is a piece of painting. You can imagine how for the last 700 years this picture has appealed to artists of every nation because it is good as a painting, not because it is Indian, or that there is any occult sign or mystery in it, but because it is a good piece of mural painting.

There again are scenes from ordinary life—daily incidents. Although there are some aspects which you might consider exaggerated, you see these on the temple wall at the height intended. They are quite logical for the purpose for which they were created.

Here is a folk dance. We are coming to dancing and music. The same illusion persists that Indian music is only religious and wholly conventional. This is a form of folk dance which you might see in Western India today, and an aspect of music which is not observed by people who believe in the stereotyped music of the Indian people. As there was a revolution in architecture, there was similarly a revolution of not less importance in Indian music. The Indian musician was asked to create something new. He not only created something new, he not only added new melodic ideas, but he invented new musical instruments as well. Ask any of the so-called pundits of Indian art to

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invent new musical instruments! They would say, "We cannot do anything that is not conventional." They forget the history and evolution of Indian art. The Indian musician created new musical instruments and, in the matter of the dance to-day, the people in the villages still create new dances.

If you read the folk tales and songs of Hindustan, they almost always dance to the tune of their contemporary moods, and they relate, for instance, what the British did when they first came to India. Nothing is more completely a proof of the fact that the Indian folk-dancer and musician not only incorporated the demands of his time, but actually wrote history with their art.

What happens when a group of enlightened people go down to the roots of the matter and recreate the dance? This dance was done very recently from a famous ancient painting to represent the "Punishment of the Dancing Girl." It was danced in India. You may be surprised to know that India, when it is really India, ceases to be known by any other name than India. This is a Parsee girl; a Persian to act as King; that one is a Hindu girl; here is another Hindu girl. They are educated, cultured people. The creative power of the artist is great enough for the country.

These musical instruments were not merely decorative luxuries, they had a function. There are the cymbals, the castanets, the flute. I wish that power of design was in the possession of those who are now fashioning musical instruments.

I want to suggest one or two thoughts to you in conclusion. The civilization of India, this civic consciousness of the builder, reached the point of providing rest for stray pigeons. That was the state to which ancient art brought Indian humanity. Notice the charming figures in the shadow, the exquisite group of women; they were not improvised for this photograph. Whereas the creative power of the artist had led Indian humanity to observe his surroundings, Indian humanity now goes in its imitation of Western outmoded ideas to an extent where even human beings do not share the rest they once provided for birds also.

There is an unparalleled masterpiece of sculpture in one of the rock-cut cathedrals at Elephanta, near Bombay. It shows, what we are told by the ancient Shastras, the three aspects of the Shiva. In the first aspect he is the Destroyer; in the second he is the Preserver; in the third he is the Creator. The Creator is in the middle; the Destroyer and Preserver on either side. Perhaps, if you are not so prepared, you will not understand the details. Why is the crescent placed here and the cobra there? But if you consider it carefully, you will see the eyes of the central figure, which are living, and the lips of the central image, which are relaxed, as well as the upward sway of the

shoulder lines. That shows the supremacy of, the conquest by, creative thought.

To-day we are passing through a phase in which we are not able to preserve anything which survives from the past because we are in that Shiva mood of destruction, but if you have the power of the artist and have understood anything from the past (and it is not difficult to understand the past), then the creative power of the artist is the only factor which gives you creative power to face the new world. I hope that we will soon reach the day when thought, either Eastern or Western, or both, will bring the creative power to face a new humanity, seeing new conditions of hope and unity and friendship. Let us hope that the ancient message reaches humanity. Neither history, Eastern or Western, nor culture have destroyed the creative power of thought, and that is where I need your help.

At the end of the meeting Sir Francis Younghusband tendered the most hearty thanks to Mr. Vakil. The pictures had been most instructive and enabled them all to appreciate the energy and skill of the people of India, showing the destructive, the preservative and the creative aspects of life. They were only too well aware of the destructive aspect, and some of the illustrations had brought it prominently before them. There was, however, also the preservative aspect, and already they could see in India the creative aspect reviving once more, under the impulse which men like the lecturer were giving to India now. Working through their Society, when the time came for their centenary and their descendants talked about the present day, he hoped they would be able to say that there were amongst them many a great Indian who who would enable India, once more, to come before the world as a great creative artist, equal to those in the past. In conclusion, he thanked Mr. Vaki once more for his inspiring address.

DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF INDIAN MUSIC*

BY DR. ARNOLD A. BAKE

BEFORE commencing my lecture I must express my thanks to the India Society for inviting me to come to London to give this lecture, and to Lord Zetland for kindly agreeing to preside. All of you who have read his books will understand what a great privilege I feel it to be to have a scholar of such deep interest and human understanding taking the Chair on this occasion. I also take this opportunity to express my thanks to all those officials and non-officials in India who have helped the pursuit of my researches in the face of great difficulties. Above all I must mention Hyderabad, where we have found such generous hospitality and keen interest, the latter having persisted ever since.

Of the various aspects of Indian civilization music is the least known in the West. It is already more than a century and a half since examples of Indian literature first enraptured Europe; Indian sculpture, painting and architecture have aroused the enthusiasm of ever widening circles of admirers for the past three decades; music has not found a like appreciation. After the first researches, towards the end of the eighteenth century, prominent amongst which were those of the great Sir William Jones, one finds an absurdly small number of Western research scholars interested in music. The reason for that neglect is easily explained. Literature can be taken home and studied at leisure, even in the form of manuscripts; architecture, sculpture and paintings can be reproduced, photographed, measured and described; music, however, except in its theoretical form, cannot or rather could not be reproduced or taken home.

However important the place of music in everyday life in India is at the present time and has been all through the course of history, its value could not be appreciated outside India itself. Moreover, music was handicapped by the fact that it could not, like the other forms of art, be studied from the best and highest that centuries of culture had produced, but had to be judged from the practice of the day. The fame of composers of yore lives only in legends, the compositions they wrote have not, except in very few cases, been preserved. The Indian practice of handing down melodies from guru to pupil, leaves us to guess how much of the old music as sung today really belonged to the original compositions of the singers of old. Even in a case where the genius lived so comparatively recently as the great sage Tyagaraja

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(died about 1850), one wonders how far the changing taste of following generations has modified the character of his compositions as known to-day. Over and above this we must allow for the freedom in adding ornamentations of their own, which is the privilege of musicians in India, to show their talent and skill.

If we take into consideration the fact that Indian music, at least in its official form, has not been spared the decline that has overcome not only all the other forms of art but life in general during the last two centuries, it seems reasonable to surmise that the classical tradition in olden times had qualities that we look for in vain amongst the forms of the present day, notwithstanding the fact that they still bear the old names. On the one hand, the art of music has suffered from the ever growing rigidity visible in all departments of Indian life after the decline of the last great period, the Mughal Empire ; on the other hand, from the insatiable desire of the individual singers to outdo their competitors, really a question of the struggle for life, which resulted in an unmeasured increase of external brilliance symptomized by a superabundance of technical skill and ornamentation that succeeded in hiding from the eye the real form of the noble goddess of music.

The true art still exists, but it is often difficult to discover. When it is found, however, the heart is enchanted by delicate beauty, strong atmosphere and gracious charm, true characteristics of real art. The debased form, on the other hand, is really so unattractive that one cannot be astonished that even musically inclined Western scholars were discouraged.

The actual study of music, started at the time of Sir William Jones, under the impetus of the great enthusiasm kindled by the discovery of wide enchanting fields, was further impeded by the growing conviction of the nineteenth century that the West had reached the summit in every respect, and that consequently, in comparison with what the West had produced, products of other countries were necessarily inferior, and that the only salvation for non-Westerners lay in imitating Western ways and methods. This attitude naturally prevented an unbiassed study of the products of art in every field. The revolution, as far as art was concerned, came at the beginning of this century, and Havell's work, for instance, opened the eyes of the West to the beauties of Indian painting and sculpture hitherto considered crude and barbarous. This turn for the better was but a symptom of a changing mental outlook, from which music is now also reaping the profit. Several books on the subject of Indian music bear witness to the fact that at last the understanding of the real importance of Indian music has dawned upon the West. For the circumstance that Indian music had hitherto not found recognition that the other expressions of culture had won, was by no means due

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to its lesser importance in the structure of Indian civilization. On the contrary, from the earliest times onwards we see that India valued and cultivated music, and even started at a very early date to analyze it and construct its theory.

The totality of Indian music shows a general division into three parts. First, the music belonging to the Vedas, especially the Samaveda; then the so-called classical music; and lastly folk-music, a division more or less coinciding with the Indian division of *mārga* and *deçī* music, in which Vedic and classical music together would be *mārga*, and folk-music *deçī* music.

Music had, and even now has, a very important part in the observance of religious duties. In India, as clearly as elsewhere in the world, we find demonstrated before our eyes the remarkable relation between chant (to sing) and enchant (to charm). The magic and even cosmic effect of a tone sung in a certain way and at a certain pitch in relation to some other notes was and is of paramount importance in the system of Vedic offerings. This music, which may be called Vedic music, went through a long process of development, showing most remarkable points of resemblance with that of the liturgic chant of the Roman Catholic Church. The three stages of development from speech to song are visible here as in Roman Catholic liturgy. These stages are: the even murmur of the *yajus* by the *adhvaryu*, comparable to the *lectiones* in the Roman Catholic Church; the recitation of the *ṛcas* by the *hotar*, having the compass of three or at most four notes, comparable to the Roman Catholic *accentus*; and lastly, the singing of a regular melody by the different priests belonging to the *Sāmaveda*—*viz.*, the *prastotar* and *pratihartar* with their helpers, comparable to the *concentus* in the Roman Catholic liturgy.

It seems to be an established fact that existing folk-songs—songs of war, for instance—were incorporated in the service at a very early date. The words of the original liturgic poetry, mostly taken from what we know now as *Ṛgveda*, were adapted and changed according to the exigencies of the existing melody. Once taken into the holy circle these melodies did not change any more, as the religious-magical character of the ceremonies and inherent music prohibited even the slightest variation. As a matter of fact, a note sung in a different way, a change of intonation or of order, would inevitably have the most disastrous consequences, not only for the success of the ceremony concerned, but even for the course of the whole Universe.

Perhaps this may seem strange at first sight, but it is a belief or conviction by no means confined to India. In the system of Chinese music, for instance, this very characteristic of the cosmic value of music occupies a predominant place. The notes and their interrelation are fixed with the greatest

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minuteness, even as to their absolute pitch. Each note has its connection with the planets, and the relationship between the different seasons, for instance, is expressed in musical terms. Thus the relation of spring to summer is that of a fifth, to autumn that of a fourth, and so on. Each note of the standard scale forms the basis of a derived scale, which in its turn has its cosmic connections. In the *Li-Ki*, a treatise on the religious rites dating from the first century of our era, we find the following sentence: "Music is the norm of heaven and earth; the principle of balance and harmony; human emotions cannot escape its influence."*

The existence or destruction of ruling houses depended upon their right connection with music.† Thus it is handed down to our times that the Chou dynasty ruling from 1122 to 249 B.C., that is to say for nearly 900 years, considered itself cosmically connected with the element "wood." Consequently all melodies based upon the second tone of the standard scale were barred from execution, for the reason that the said second note had a cosmic connection with the element "metal." As metal conquers wood, melodies based upon the metal note would naturally have led to the destruction of the wood dynasty. In this measure is to be found the explanation of the exceptionally long reign of the Chou dynasty.

Nor was this idea of the importance of the right order of words and ceremonies confined to the East alone. It was not unknown in Europe. If we go back to the Middle Ages and consider the difference between the Holy Mass and what was called the Black Mass of the Satanists, we see that the Holy Mass ultimately resulted in the establishing of the longed-for contact between Man and the Divine Power, whereas the Black Mass resulted in just the opposite—*viz.*, establishing the contact of Man with the Powers of Darkness, which really meant a destruction of the Cosmic Order. Now one of the essential features of the Black Mass was that all the movements were executed in reverse order and the texts recited backwards. In one of the legends I used to read as a child it was described how anyone wanting to establish contact with the King of Darkness, had to go with certain precautions to a certain cross-road where he had to recite the Lord's Prayer three times from the end to the beginning. An interesting detail considering this work of Darkness was that here also one mistake in the reversal doomed the whole effort to failure.

The importance of the whole Indian structure of sacerdotal music is enormous, whether taken by itself as a psychological phenomenon elucidating the psychology of religion, or seen in its wider relationship as the oldest surviving Aryan music, and thus having a paramount historical importance;

* Lachmann, *Musik des Orients*, p. 97.

† Lachmann, *l.c.*, x, p. 38.

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or again as a means of comparison with the development of liturgical music in the West with which it shows such astonishing parallels. Consequently the thorough study of this remarkable phenomenon and the adequate publication of the results is urgently needed for the use of historians, psychologists and musicians in India as well as in Europe.

The study of this subject presents great difficulties. First and foremost is the fact that this music is not destined to be heard by religiously impure individuals—that is to say, persons not belonging to the highest castes. Consequently Western investigators always found the greatest difficulties in their path. The labours of Indian investigators on this subject have hitherto remained unknown—as far as the specially musical side or the psychological aspects are concerned—with the exception of what M. Sheshagiri Shastri has published in the descriptive catalogue of the Government Sanskrit MSS. in the Madras Library (vol. i., part 1, pp. 3 and 4) which Mr. Fox-Strangways mentions as the only account in English. Moreover, the sacrifices with which this music was so intimately connected became more and more rare, entailing the slipping into disuse of great groups of Vedic Chants. Still the tradition as a whole is extant in different parts of India, representing different schools. In Baroda State, along the Narmada river, and higher up, near the borders of Rajputana to the north of Ahmedabad, there are two or three centres which have kept the tradition reputedly very pure. There may be a few more spots here and there in North India where one finds a pure tradition, but the important centres are undoubtedly in South India, the country of the Telugus, Tamils and Malayalis, which has kept the tradition of the oldest Hindu rites more faithfully than the often invaded and plundered North.

It is, however, an imperative necessity that everything should be recorded adequately and faithfully in the nearest future, otherwise this monument of cultural history will be lost. The work would be done best by Indians of the highest caste, who have been especially trained musically as well as dogmatically. It is certain that within the next generation everything will be gone. Even now the opinion is expressed by many Indians themselves that pure Sāmaveda has disappeared from the face of the earth. This is not yet so, but it will take a man with a good and sharp power of discrimination to discern between what is offered as being Sāmaveda in many cases, and that which is the real thing. I would not be surprised at all, if one could find even now somewhere in India a man singing Sāmaveda to the accompaniment of an harmonium!

The fact cannot be stressed enough, whichever department of Indian music is considered, that the old singers who die do not leave adequate successors. However tenacious certain traditions may appear, our present era

seems to have so strong an influence, that things of the past have no sufficient power of resistance. The waning of interest, even for one generation, is sufficient to cause the utter loss of those treasures, unless they are adequately recorded in time. The danger remains imminent so long as everything depends on oral tradition, the transfer from guru to pupil, from mouth to ear.

Naturally this danger of the waning of the interest and consequent loss of tradition is greater for some kinds of music than others, and the second division of Indian music—*viz.*, the classical music—is very much less threatened than Vedic music, or the third department, folk-music, about which I hope to say something later on. Much is being done to lessen the danger for classical music, which, however, is all the same in a difficult position. I have pointed out already how civilization in India entered upon a period of stagnation and deterioration after the fall of the Mughal Empire. Perhaps this may seem to have affected mainly Northern India, but the decline of that power really was a symptom more than a cause of the deterioration. The atmosphere of the times was such that no form of art could lead a vigorous and healthy life. This lack of strength and inner life was realized very keenly in the field of literature, art and architecture, with the consequence that a renaissance came, a new realization and creation of beauty, following a close study of the basis of Indian art and architecture. Only the realization of the defects that had developed within the respective forms of art enabled the artists to bring about this change, without fear of losing the very basis of Indian art.

This attitude is not adopted sufficiently generally by musicians. It is a good thing that music has become again a centre of interest for educated people, that students have shown such an impetus towards its study that many Universities have placed music on their curriculum. In many instances, however, there is danger that everything may be accepted wholesale, that any criticism is silenced at once, and that any suggestion of change is regarded as sacrilege.

have come across this attitude in North as well as in South India. Still this absence of a critical sense will not serve the cause of real music. As long as the musicians do not realize the fact that the bearers of the tradition from whom they have learned—the *ustads* in the North especially—have fallen away from the pure ideals; that their way of singing glorifies all the mistakes enumerated in the old Sanskrit treatises; that their practice of singing disregards the frailty of the instrument of the human voice by treating it like a stringed instrument that can be played for hours at a time, as long as they choose, and then sent to the bazar to be repaired when broken; as long as they close their eyes to the fact that the professionals have deteriorated since the patronage of nobility and royalty was withdrawn and their status has been gradually lowered; that the spirit of contest, the over-

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powering wish to outdo their competitors, has resulted in a loss of a sense of proportion, and the execution of vocal gymnastics that has gradually taken the place of the real service of the goddess Sarasvati; so long as all these things are not clearly seen, the danger for Indian classical music has not been averted.

The patient and intelligent study of the shastras will help to lead to an understanding of what has gone wrong. It is for this reason that critical editions like the Svaramelakalanidhi, issued under the auspices of the Annamalai University in 1932, must be welcomed and encouraged, because the original Sanskrit texts generally are not easily understood by those who study music. The renascence of Indian music cannot be complete without the realization of its own basis. This study and publication of the original texts, made intelligible for students of music, not merely for Sanskritists, will be of great service not only to India, but also to the West. Those who study the history of music there will greatly benefit by it. The fact is, that the music of India and that of the West are linked very closely together, and show great parallels in many respects. The eminent Mr. Fox-Strangways in his preface to that wonderful book *Music of Hindostan* says: "The study of Indian music is of interest to all who care for song, and of special interest to those who have studied the early stages of song in mediæval Europe or in ancient Greece. For here is the living language of which there we have only dead examples" (Preface, 2nd paragraph). This does not imply that Indian music is primitive. Far would it be from a man like Mr. Fox Strangways to sustain anything so absurd, and far would it be from me to suggest any such thing.

To illustrate the relationship between Western and Eastern music I have often before used a parable which it may be useful to repeat here. Two brothers lived together in their ancestral home for years and years, but at a certain moment one of them left their parents' house and went roaming through the world. He travelled for many years and discovered unknown lands. The other brother stayed at home, and kept the traditions of his fathers with the greatest care and developed them to the zenith of refinement and perfection. Many years afterwards it came about that the two brothers met again, and they looked at one another like strangers. The traveller, proud of his conquests, said: "Nothing can be more beautiful than what I have acquired." The other brother could see nothing but chaos in the beauty that enraptured the traveller, and was convinced that *he* himself had reached the highest summit of perfection in the tender and intricate beauty of his own art.

How far this relationship goes will not be settled before all Sanskrit sources have been made accessible and the actual living music has been

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analyzed. I need only point to the existing relationship in language, mythology, and social customs to make the suggestion acceptable that at the beginning there must have been a common stock of music as well.

Over and above this basic relationship one may accept, according to Greek tradition, the hypothesis that there has been a direct influence from India on Greece through Pythagoras and his school—the founders of the Greek theory of music. Strabo in his Geography (III., 17) says that the Greeks considered their music, melody, rhythm, and instruments as having been imported from Thrace and Asia. This tradition is borne out by some linguistic evidence that was pointed out first by Weber—namely, the connection between the Sanskrit “grāma” (defined as “svarasamūha,” *viz.*, cluster of notes) and the Greek “gamma” in the sense of musical scale. The derivation must have gone through one of the prākritis. Whatever the cause may be, the relationship is there, undeniable and well worth the study.

Naturally these resemblances are most visible before the differentiation of Eastern and Western music set in—*viz.*, the gradual development of polyphony and subsequently of harmony in the West, which, while opening new possibilities, did much to obscure their basic affinity. I will mention here only the most striking feature of this affinity—namely, “mode,” the basis of the whole Indian melodic system, and paramount in Europe till well into the sixteenth century.

The various modes are series of notes that differ from one another in the order in which the tones and semitones are grouped within the octave. One generally finds five tones and two semitones. In the series now adopted as the standard scale in India as well as in Europe—*viz.*, in North India Bilaval, in South India Shankarābharaṇa, and in Europe the major scale—those semitones are to be found between the third and fourth notes and between the seventh note and the first of the octave above. The theoretical difference existing between the Indian and European scales has no practical importance. From this series of notes other series are derived by starting from the second note, in which case the semitone comes between the second and third and sixth and seventh notes respectively, and so on. Taking the original third as a starting point, the semitone comes between the first and the second and between the fifth and sixth notes respectively. It is this mode that provides the basis underlying the North Indian ragini Bhairavi, called Hanumatodi in South India. In this way we recognized seven modes, but in the West this system did not develop its full possibilities, and, as a matter of fact, with the growth of harmony was reduced to two modes only, the major and the minor, the others having lost their individual importance, except in Church music, in proportion as the laws of harmony became supreme.

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It was India that, keeping to the old traditions, brought out all the possibilities of the modes by the development of what is known as raga and ragini in all their refined beauty and intricacy that baffle those not accustomed to them and give such a scope for emotional expression. With a certain mode as a basis, a raga or ragini develops complex melodic characteristics, such as special turns, sequence of notes, intervals, stressing certain relations between notes of the scale and the drone and each other, avoiding other combinations and relations. By this process a raga or ragini, which might thus be called a specialized mode, acquires a flavour of its own, very distinct, and connected with certain emotions, moods, time of day and year, colours, and even shapes and forms. Having regard to the whole trend of Indian civilization, it stands to reason that we observe a very strong tendency to specialization and the fixing of the minutest details, in which, however, different schools, and even different authors of the same school, express different opinions.

This subject of raga is always felt to be very strange by those coming from the West. Still, we have known it ourselves, though not to such an extent as we see it in India. The Greek modes, brothers of the jātis underlying the ragas, recognized certain laws (nomoi) that fixed certain turns and intervals as belonging to such and such modes. Their connection with emotions was well defined, to such an extent even that Plato proscribes certain modes in his State as having an effeminating influence, whereas other modes were highly recommended as having a strengthening influence on the student's character.

In mediæval Europe, long after the differentiation through polyphony had set in, the distinct character of the modes was still strongly felt. Even Luther remarks upon it; and Adam of Fulda, a monk living in the fifteenth century, has made the following Latin verse about the character of the different modes:

Omnibus est *Primus*, sed *alter* est tristibus aptus
Tertius iratus, *quartus* dicitur fieri blandus,
Quintum da lætis, *sextum* pie probatis
Septimus est juvenum, sed *postremus* sapientium.

There are even images of the different modes, with inscriptions that run: "This mode is the first as far as the singing of songs full of melody is concerned. That which follows is the second in rank and importance. The third portrays the suffering and glorification of Christ. Then follows the fourth mode; its chants portray sorrow." The statuettes represent female figures in different attitudes and of different expression. Consequently, it is only the later development which has estranged us from the basic idea, and makes us stare at the idea of portrayed ragas and raginis in Indian art. The classical

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Indian system at its height presents the beautiful spectacle of something absolutely perfect.

The roots of the later development are to be found already in Sāmavedic music. It is prescribed in it to use the lower register of the voice for the morning ceremony ; for the midday ceremony the middle or high pitch had to be used ; whereas the evening libations were accompanied in either high, middle, or low voice. In this custom the origin of the connection of ragas and raginis with the time of the day is clearly visible. Also the principle of the magic effect of the perfectly executed raga—as, for instance, the perfect “dipak,” producing fire, the perfect “megh,” producing rain—goes back at least to Vedic antiquity, if not much further.

This purely Hindu music developed, as far as we can judge, without hindrance for ages, being held in high esteem quite up to the eleventh or twelfth century of our era. Music is alluded to in the epics, in fables and plays, and forms an integral part of education. Anyone making any pretence of being educated in that period had to know music. The ass in one of the fables of the Pancatantra cites all the terms of entire theoretical structure, showing off to his friend the jackal. The Mahābhārata says (Udyogya Parvan 40. 10-11) :

ajokṣa candanam vīṇā adarṣo madhusarpiṣī/
viṣam aḍumbaram ṇakam svarnanābho gorocanā//
grhe sthāpayitavyāhi dhanyāni manur abravīt/
devabrāhmaṇapujārtham atithinām ca Bharata,

where Bharata is instructed that the vina, according to no one less than Manu himself, is enumerated between the objects that ought to be in the house to honour the Gods, the Brahmins, and the Guests.

In religion, of course, music had kept its important place.

The Bharatanāṭyaśāstra says (36. 22-23) :

çrutam mayā devadevād bhavataḥ ṇakaroditam/
snānajapyasahasrebhyaḥ yatra sangītavāḍitam/
yasmin naṭodyanāṭasya gītavādyadhvaniḥ çubhah/
bhaviṣyaty aḥubham deçe naiva tasmin kadācana//

In which Bharata the sage relates having heard from Shiva himself that the God valued singing and instrumental music more than thousands of ritual baths and prayers, and that, wherever the pure sound of singing and instruments penetrated, nothing impure could remain. The part music played in drama and the significance of the triad vocal music, instrumental music, and dance, originally comprised in the word sangīta, are sufficiently known, and need not be treated here in detail. Suffice it to recall to memory that without sangīta no drama was possible at all.

These facts demonstrate how important a place music occupied in ancient

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India. We may safely surmise that the situation was such up to the time of the Muhammadan conquest. One would have expected an enormous revolution in music when the terrific clash of two such different cultures occurred, but as a matter of fact no basic change took place. Changes were noticeable in details, but not in the principles. The Hindu music of South India and the North Indian Muhammadan music are basically one, notwithstanding many differences that have developed in the course of centuries. Far from being destroyed by the contact with the music imported by the Muhammadan conquerors, the idea of raga, for instance, was strengthened by the meeting. How can this strange phenomenon be explained? The answer is astonishingly simple. There was no clash, the idea of raga with all its associations was, under a different name, the basic characteristic of Muhammadan music as well as of its Indian sister.*

In the Muhammadan world, from Persia to its Western extremities, North Africa, including Morocco, we find this idea under different names. In Egypt it is called simply "melody" (najma); in Tunisia "character" (taba') in Algiers "work" (sanq'a); in Syria and Turkey it is called "maqam," really dais, in which the singers stand while performing at the palaces, and this is applied to the music executed just as is the case with the Indian raga Durbari.

For some reason writers on the subject have chosen this last-mentioned name, "maqam," as a general term for the whole phenomenon in the Islamic world. We find maqam to be the exact counterpart of raga, a series of notes in a certain fixed combination, with definite characteristics, at the disposition of the composers, who sing a song in such and such a maqam, exactly in the same way as Indian singers execute a song in such and such a raga. Like so many ragas in India, as, for instance, Kanhara, Gurjari, Gauri, Multan, the maqams often are named after their land of origin—*e.g.*, Hejazi. Or they bear names descriptive of their character. Further the maqams have the same spiritual power attributed to them as the ragas and raginis in India. They express moods of love, sadness or joy and generate the corresponding condition in the hearts of listeners. Or their effect is magical, like the maqam that, properly executed, attracts evil spirits.

The parallel between maqams and ragas even goes so far that we find that special maqams belong to certain times of the day. At festivals lasting from afternoon till morning the sequence of the different maqams is regulated by their relation to the hours of day and night. Also the way of execution is the same as in India. A composition in a maqam is never played by itself, but is introduced always by a prelude in which the characteristics of the maqam are given an exposition, exactly as is the custom in the ālāpa in India.

* Lachmann, *Musik des Orients*, pp. 54 ff.

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This introduction, called “synopsis” (muhtasari) in Persia ; in Egypt and Tunisia, “exposition” (taqsim); West North Africa, “getting acquainted” (istahbar), is, like the ālāpa in India, in a free rhythm, unaccompanied. Time only starts when the song proper begins. In India as in the Muslim world, this prelude gives full scope to the ingenuity of the singer or player.

It stands to reason that the meeting of two such kindred principles would not produce any radical change, but would only result in a change of style and alteration of details. I have no scientific foundation yet for the following suggestion, but I always feel that the strongly nasal voice-production, the preference for the very high registers with neglect of the natural tendencies of each individual voice, and the forcing up into these high regions, is a consequence of the influence of Islamic ideals, where the custom of singing almost all the time in a kind of falsetto voice, is held in high esteem. As far as I can learn, the Sanskrit treatises lay great stress on an even development of the voice from low to high, and on the proper use of the lower (breast) register, and of the basis of the voice production—the diaphragm, or navel as it is styled in the Sanskrit texts.

Of course, apart from the developments in vocal music, instrumental music received a great impetus from the meeting of the two cultures. Indian music always was strongly vocal by nature, the great majority of solo instruments, with the sole exception of the vina and the flute, are of Islamic origin.

There is one more striking parallel between the court singers of the Islamic world and the court singers (professionals generally) of India, and that is their contempt for the music of the people, from which they, however, in both cases, originally drew their inspiration.

Without the basis of folk-music art-music is unthinkable. In India this division between art- and folk-music is very old: (Sangītarparṇa, I. 4)—*mārgadeçivibhagena sangītam dvividham matam*—music is considered to be twofold by the division into mārga and deçī music. This has ultimately resulted in this very superior attitude of the official musicians. Folk-music, not deemed worth official notice, thus escaped the process of gradual petrification and degeneration that fell to the lot of art-music. It could develop freely and entirely as the Sanskrit çloka indicates (Sangītarparṇa I. 6) :

tattaddeçasthayārityā yat syāl lokanuranjakam
6. deçe deçe tu sangītam tad deçīyabhidhīyate

“Whatever music serves in the different countries for the enjoyment of the people, according to the custom of the land, is called deçī.”

It must be kept in mind that mārga music was considered as a means to reach salvation, and thus was infinitely higher than music that only served for the enjoyment of the people. Consequently India, with its endless variety of

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its countries and population, presents an astonishing variety of folk-music, from the most primitive songs of the aboriginal tribes, to the highly developed Kirtan in Bengal. Every phase of human life and social circumstances is represented in Indian folk-music from birth to death—*viz.*, work, family life, war, heroism, and, above all, the relation of the human soul to God. Very often this connection is represented under the simile Radha-Krishna, with an astounding amount of variations, but also in many unorthodox forms. This wide range of human expression gives its unique importance to Indian folk-music. The understanding of the real value of folk-music is very young everywhere, and its study for musical, sociological, and religious data has been inaugurated recently. In India it can hardly be said to be even in its incipient stage, and yet this very study would give results that would rejoice the entire scientific world.

Personally I think that the contribution that India has given the world in its religious, especially mystical, folk-songs would enrapture a circle much wider than that of the scientific world only. The beauty of the melodies and their intimate connection with the words that express the deepest spiritual truths in simple appealing words have something far more than only scientific value. Every province of India has given its contributions. To name a few: the south has its Tyagaraja; the west its Tukaram, the Princess Mirabai, and the saint Dadu; the Panjab its Guru Nanak; and the United Provinces, with its spiritual centre Benares, shows a real galaxy of great mystics, Kabir, Ramananda, Surdas, Jnanadas, Ravidas, and many others. Bengal, finally, has kept the mystical tradition more alive perhaps than any other province of India. The highly emotional, sensitive, and artistic temperament of the Bengalis perhaps finds its deepest expression in those mystical folk-songs alive to this day.

Muhammadans and Hindus alike have created the most wonderful songs. The Bauls, mystical singers of East Bengal, count among them many Muhammadans, and it is a very common sight in West Bengal to find a Muhammadan singing mystical songs couched in the terminology of Hinduism with great devotion. In the longing for the mystic unity the division between the two creeds is eliminated, which is true as well of singers of the other provinces, especially of course in Northern India.

Purely Hindu, but as strongly mystical, is the Kirtan of Bengal, different and more developed than what I have heard and seen under the name Sankirtan in other provinces. Bengal Kirtan is an outpouring of fervour, deep emotion, and overpowering bhakti. This form of music received its great impetus through the fervour kindled by the great religious reformer Chaitanya at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when, like a tidal wave

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religious renaissance swept all over Northern India. In certain families the tradition of Kirtan music as started by Chaitanya is kept alive still in our days.

Having regard to this mystical predisposition and musical enthusiasm of Bengal as a whole, the birth of a man like Rabindranath Tagore was possible in that province only. His genius is perhaps the most typical expression of the genius of the country, and his music, which has been certainly influenced by the classical Indian music, in great evidence in his ancestral home (and, for a short period, to some extent even by Western music, especially Irish and Scotch folk tunes), is firmly rooted in his own soil, and is unthinkable without the background of Baul and Kirtan music. The very fact that the direct inspiration of his beautiful and deeply moving songs is to be found in folk-music makes it unacceptable to musicians of the old style, who do not recognize anything not conforming to the rules of the now petrified system of ragas and raginis.

Tagore has always revolted against rigidity in every sphere of life, and the flow of his inspiration discards fixed rules, not through ignorance, for he knew the classical system thoroughly well, but because his destiny was to realize something else that was incorporated in the unrestrained beauty and direct appeal to the heart of the music of his own people. It is in this that lies his true greatness.

The fact that folk-music was unhampered and unrestrained and as such escaped the process of growing rigidity of the classical music, was a blessing seen from one angle. In this freedom, however, lies the source of the great danger that is threatening the folk-music of India. The system of rules and regulations gave to classical music a kind of coat of mail, by which it could ward off onslaughts from outside, even if it did not protect it against dangers threatening from within. Folk-music, however, was entirely unprotected and consequently the changing conditions of the present era have played and are playing havoc with the treasures it possesses. I have pointed out the great dangers in detail on several occasions, and also stressed the fact that an adequate systematic recording ought to be organized without delay.

The dangers are the natural outcome of present-day life, the magnet of the cities, the waning of interest in things of the village, the hankering after a post, be it a miserable small job in some office, and in connection with this a positive aversion from the village and everything appertaining to village life; the transplanting of the customs of the city to the village; the disastrous effects of imported instruments like the harmonium; the spread of cheap and unlovely records played in every boutique; all these combine to destroy the real life of the people and to ruin the very props of their spiritual being.

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The time will come when the need for those simple treasures will be felt once more. Let them be collected and preserved, faithfully and without bias, and in a spirit of love, that the great structure of Indian music may not be deprived of its basis, the fructifying source that is folk-music, without which no music can subsist. May India open her heart so that Indian music in all its divisions may regain its proper place in the whole structure of the Indian civilization in renascence, and may the West learn to appreciate these treasures of beauty and wisdom, so full of historical interest, so that she may feel once more the deep relationship that exists between India and our own Europe.

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INDIA SOCIETY

THE Council submit the following Report on the Proceedings of the Society for the year ended December 31, 1933.

LECTURES AND FUNCTIONS

A full programme of lectures and functions was carried out during the year. The complete list is as follows :

- January 21.*—Visit to the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum to inspect the rearrangement of the galleries and an Exhibition of Siamese Textiles sent by H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab to the India Society.
- January 25.*—Mr. Arthur Upham Pope on "Some Links between the Architecture of India and Persia," at the Royal Geographical Society. Sir Francis Younghusband presided.
- February 1.*—A joint meeting with the Royal Society of Literature at 2, Bloomsbury Square. Dr. Ranjee G. Shahani on "Shakespeare in Indian Literary Criticism." Sir Francis Younghusband presided.
- March 23.*—Mr. K. de B. Codrington on "Islamic Art in India," at the Royal Geographical Society. Sir Eric Maclagan presided.
- April 26.*—Mr. E. H. Hunt on "The Palampet Temple: a Mediæval Artistic Gem in Hyderabad," at the Royal Geographical Society. Sir Francis Younghusband presided.
- May 11.*—Professor H. G. Rawlinson on "A Visit to Mohenjodaro," at the Royal Society of Arts. The Marquess of Zetland presided.
- June 15.*—Countess de Coral-Rémusat on "Indian Influences in the Architecture and Decoration of Khmer Temples" (in French) at the Institut Français du Royaume-Uni. Sir Francis Younghusband presided.
- June 28.*—Mr. Kanaiyalal H. Vakil on "Creative Art of Ancient India," at the Royal Society of Arts. Sir Francis Younghusband presided.
- July 5.*—Mr. J. C. French on "Tibetan Art," at the Royal Geographical Society. Sir Francis Younghusband presided.
- September 18.*—Rev. Henry Heras, S.J., on "The Pallava Temple of Narthamalai," at the Royal Society of Arts. Sir Francis Younghusband presided.

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October 11.—M. Georges Cœdès on “Archæology in Indo-China: the Recent Work of the École Française d’Extrême-Orient,” at the Royal Geographical Society. Sir Francis Younghusband presided.

October 25.—M. Eugène Cavaignac on “The Seleucid Tradition in India and its Survival” (in French), at the Institut Français du Royaume-Uni. Sir Francis Younghusband presided.

November 8.—Tridandi Swami B. H. Bon on “Drama and its Influence on Indian Religious Life,” at 17, Bedford Square. Sir Francis Younghusband presided.

The Council again desire to express their sincere thanks to His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar for his continued support of the fund, which enables them to obtain the services of distinguished specialists on Indian art influences in other countries.

PUBLICATIONS

Early in the year the Society published “Ancient Monuments of Kashmir,” by Pandit Ram Chandra Kak, a former Director of Archæology in that State. The volume contains a Foreword by Sir Francis Younghusband and an Introduction by Professor Foucher.

Two half-yearly numbers of INDIAN ART AND LETTERS were issued to members.

Each of these publications have been well received by the English, the Indian, and the foreign press.

JACQUEMONT CENTENARY

By invitation of M. Martineau, late Governor of Pondicherry, the Society was represented at the Centenary celebrations in Paris of Victor Jacquemont, the famous French traveller, by Sir Francis Younghusband. A copy of the diary of the traveller has been presented to the Society.

KINDRED SOCIETIES

The friendly intercourse with kindred societies abroad has been well maintained. Special thanks are due to the Association Française des Amis de l’Orient in Paris and Strasbourg for their help in sending to the Society distinguished scholars to deliver lectures on the Art of Indochina.

The Kern Institute in Holland again issued a valuable Bibliography of Indian Archæology, and members took advantage of the special price at which this publication is made available to them.

COUNCIL

The following gentlemen were co-opted during the year under Rule IV. to fill vacancies on the Council :

Mr. Philip Connard, R.A., Mr. William Reid Dick, R.A., P.R.B.S., and Mr. Arthur J. Davis, A.R.A., F.R.I.B.A. The names of these gentlemen are now submitted to the Annual Meeting for election to the Council.

Further, under this Rule, the following members of the Council retire, but, being eligible, are proposed for re-election :

Mr. G. Eumorfopoulos, Mr. J. C. French, Sir Malcolm Seton, Sir John Thompson, and Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales.

DONATIONS

The Council record with gratitude the receipt of the annual grants of £100 from His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, and of £100 from His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, and of £50 from His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

The sum of £37 10s. was received from His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore towards the expenses of the Society's journal *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*.

HON. TREASURER

Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., intimated his desire to retire from the office of Hon. Treasurer of the Society on his return to India. His resignation was accepted, and the Council express to him their thanks for the services rendered by him. Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., kindly accepted the invitation of the Council to fill the vacancy caused by this retirement.

AUDITORS

The Council desire to record their thanks to the auditors, Messrs. Corfield and Cripwell (Incorporated Accountants), for valued services during the year.

EXHIBITION OF MODERN INDIAN ART

Good progress has been made in various parts of India through Regional Committees with the preparations for the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art, but it has been found advisable to hold it a few weeks later than was contemplated. The Exhibition will therefore be held under the Society's auspices at the New Burlington Galleries from December 3 to Christmas 1934.

Their Excellencies the Earl and Countess of Willingdon have expressed

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their desire and intention to promote in every way they can the success of the Exhibition, and the Society has been fortunate in securing as patrons of the Exhibition the Marquess of Reading, Viscount Halifax, Sir Samuel Hoare, and Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra.

So far as arrangements in India are concerned, the Council desire to express their appreciation of the action of the Provincial Governments who are giving the Regional Committees their practical support.

FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND (*Chairman*).

JOHN DE LA VALETTE (*Vice-Chairman*).

March 22, 1934.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1933

EXPENDITURE.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		INCOME.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
To Printing of Publications:											
Cost of printing "Ancient Monuments of Kashmir" ...	INDIAN ART AND LETTERS and Sundry Printing	376 12 0		293 18 9				80 12 5		337 19 1	
								2 12 6		77 19 11	
" Books Purchased for Re-sale ...				670 10 9		By Annual Subscriptions		15 14 0			
" Lecture Meeting Expenses:				... 3 14 8		Post Office Savings		0 15 6			
H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar's Lecture Fund ...		98 6 4				Bank Deposit				16 9 6	
General Lectures ...		36 16 1								12 0 0	
" Secretary's Honorarium				135 2 5		Dividends on Investments (less Income Tax)					
" Advertising ...				... 50 0 0		Annual Grants and Special Gifts:					
" Postage and Sundries				... 10 10 0		H.H. the Maharaja of Kashmir (including a special contribution of £160 towards the cost of printing "Ancient Monuments of Kashmir")		210 0 0			
" Office Rent and Administration Expenses				... 95 4 5		H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad		100 0 0			
" Audit Fee ...				... 70 0 0		bad		100 0 0			
" Subscriptions to Societies				... 7 7 0		H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar		100 0 0			
" Corporation Duty ...				... 1 1 0		H.H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar		50 0 0			
				... 2 1 2		H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore		37 10 0		497 10 0	
						Increase in Valuation of Stock of Books on December 31, 1933				80 15 0	
						Excess of Expenditure over Income for Year				22 17 11	
										<u>£1,045 11 5</u>	

(AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1933)

(AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1933)

[illegible]

F. H. BROWN, Hon. Treasurer.

We have examined the books of account of the above Society and vouchers in connection therewith, and we are of opinion that the above Balance Sheet exhibits the true position of the Society as at December 31, 1933.

We have also verified, through the Society's bankers, a Schedule of Investments, the values of which have been adjusted so as to appear at market prices ruling on December 31, 1933.

The majority of the Stock of Books on hand is held by the Society's agents, and letters certifying the numbers held have been produced and inspected by us.

CORFIELD AND CRIPWELL,
Incorporated Accountants.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

THE twenty-fourth annual meeting of the India Society was held on Wednesday, April 25, 1934, at 21, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7 (by courtesy of the House Management Committee). Sir Francis Younghusband presided.

The Chairman moved the adoption of the Annual Report. The motion was carried unanimously.

The Chairman then moved the adoption of the Annual Accounts. The motion was carried *nem. con.*

The Chairman moved, and Sir John Cumming seconded, the election of the following office-bearers of the Society :

President : The Marquess of Zetland.

Vice-Presidents : Sir John Marshall, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, Jonkheer de Maress van Swinderen, Mrs. Rhys Davids, H.E. The Persian Minister, Professor Paul Pelliot, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Dr. Denman W. Ross, Sir Eric Maclagan, H.E. The French Ambassador, H.E. The Japanese Ambassador, The Director of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Sir George Hill, The Viscount Halifax, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Sir Atul Chatterjee, Sir Denison Ross, The High Commissioner for India, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, M. Aimé Joseph de Fleuriau, H.H. Prince Bidya.

Hon. Secretary : Mr. F. J. P. Richter.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. F. H. Brown.

The Chairman moved, and Mrs. Polak seconded, the election of members of Council :

(i) New members : Mr. Philip Connard, Mr. William Reid Dick, Mr. Arthur J. Davies.

(ii) Members who retire by rotation, and were eligible for re-election : Mr. Andrews, Mr. Lanchester, Mr. Oldham, Mr. Wilkinson.

Mr. de La Valette proposed, and Mr. Polak seconded, the appointment as Auditors for the ensuing year of Messrs. Corfield and Cripwell (Incorporated Accountants). The motion was carried unanimously.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY (1932)

THE new volume of this valuable annual publication is now ready, and is again available to members of the Society on advantageous terms, thanks to the courtesy of the Kern Institute. The price to members this year is eleven shillings and ninepence post free. In case of fluctuation in the exchange value of the Dutch guilder it may be necessary to revise the price later. Members desiring copies should communicate with the Hon. Secretary of the India Society, and send the remittance to him. The following extracts are taken from the Foreword to the new issue :

"The Indian section shows, indeed, a marked tendency to rapid growth owing to the ever increasing number of publications.

"The introductory portion, which is meant to provide a survey of the most important discoveries and explorations in the vast field of Indian archæology, we wish to maintain at any cost. In the present issue it is, we believe, more representative than it has been in the preceding volumes of our Bibliography. It will, no doubt, add to the interest of the various contributions that in most cases the story of these discoveries is told by their own authors.

"In the leading article Professor Henri Frankfort compares the finds of Mohenjodaro with his own discoveries at Tell Asmar, the ancient capital of Eshnunna, in Mesopotamia, and draws important conclusions with regard to the history and nature of the ancient Indus Valley civilization. The second article we owe to the courtesy of Sir Aurel Stein, who supplies in it a fascinating account of his recent tours of antiquarian research in Southern Persia. We welcome this contribution not only on account of its intrinsic value but also as a renewed token of the keen interest which the distinguished explorer has so often evinced in the work of the Kern Institute and particularly in the Annual Bibliography. M. Joseph Hackin has honoured our periodical with a note on the explorations in Afghanistan which the French Mission under his able guidance has resumed as soon as the end of the civil war rendered archæological excavation, if not absolutely safe, at least practicable. Students of Indian numismatics will welcome the note which Sir Richard Burn has contributed for the second time to this periodical.

"Research work in India proper appears to have been greatly restricted in consequence of the financial stringency. This will account for the paucity of articles relating to archæological explorations in India. One of the most

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology (1932)

puzzling sites explored of late years is certainly the temple-mound of Pahārpur in Bengal, for which we may refer to Dr. Fábri's lucid summary. For a note on newly discovered frescoes in the famous rock-cut Buddhist monastery of Ajanta we are indebted to Mr. Yazdani, the able Director of Archaeology of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. His article, though brief, is full of interest. He has, moreover, favoured us with a number of photographs, reproduced in three of our plates, which add greatly to the value of his communication. Two of these plates contain photographic reproductions of the frescoes themselves, whilst the third consists of three delicate drawings from the able pen of Mr. S. Ahmed, the custodian of the caves. These drawings, in which a personal artistic touch is plainly discernible, are of immense help in tracing the linework of the ancient frescoes which have suffered irreparable damage through various destructive agencies, including human vandalism. For it will be seen from our Plate V. that the abominable practice of scribbling one's name on the walls of ancient buildings is common to both the East and the West. It is at least some comfort to know that in Ajanta this disgraceful habit has now been effectually stopped.

"Among the countries outside India which have been affected by the introduction of Indo-Aryan culture the Island of Ceylon occupies the first place. Here, too, archæological exploration has practically come to a stand-still as a result of the unfavourable economic conditions which have even withheld the Government from appointing an archæologist to succeed Mr. Hocart. In these circumstances it is particularly gratifying that not only important epigraphical discoveries continue to be made but that they are published in a scholarly fashion by Mr. Paranavitana, the learned editor of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. A note contributed by that able epigraphist to the present volume will convey an excellent idea of the great importance of those documents for the history of ancient Lankā.

"In Indo-China archæological research appears to have suffered less from evil times than in the other regions with which we are concerned. The vivid account of the work accomplished during the year under review which we owe to M. Cœdès, the distinguished head of the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, bears testimony to a remarkable and fruitful activity in various fields of antiquarian exploration, among which prehistoric studies take a prominent place. The imposing monograph on the famous temple of Angkor Vat with its beautiful series of well reproduced plates, to which Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers draws attention in a brief review, shows that the French School of Hanoi is also continuing its publications with undiminished vigour.

"In the restoration of ancient temples the French architects and archæologists of Indo-China have now adopted the same methods which have been

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followed with such signal success in the reconstruction of the Hindu monuments of Java. This is certainly the best vindication of the merits of these methods, once severely criticized in certain quarters, which the Director and members of the Archæological Survey of Netherlands India could have hoped for. This eloquent confirmation of their policy will be all the more welcome in circumstances so distressing for Dr. Bosch and the able officers of his Department. The economic crisis by which Netherlands India has been stricken, perhaps more severely than any other country of the world, has necessitated such serious curtailments in men and means, that the 'Oudheidkundige Dienst' has been reduced to a position of mere subsistence. No funds are now available for the continuance of that lofty task, in the discharge of which the Archæological Survey of Netherlands India has earned the gratitude not only of the indigenous population but of the whole civilized world.

"It is gratifying that in the prevailing unfavourable conditions the cause of Indo-Javanese archæology is still being promoted by private effort. In this connection we may quote the exhaustive treatise which Dr. A. N. J. Thomassen à Thuessink van der Hoop has devoted to the curious megalithic remains of Southern Sumatra. We have found the author willing to contribute a summary of his book to the present volume."

BOOK REVIEW

History of the Rāshtrakūṭas (Rāṭhōḍas). [From the beginning to the migration of Rao Siha towards Marwar.] By PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU, Superintendent, Archæological Department, Jodhpur. Marwar State Press, Jodhpur, 1933. Rs. 2.

The Archæological Department of Jodhpur is to be congratulated on the publication of what we believe to be the first monograph of this character appearing under its auspices, compiled by its learned Superintendent, who has devoted considerable research to the early history of Mārṇār. In this volume the author has assembled and amplified matter previously published in a historical work in Hindī and in two papers printed in the *JRAS*. All the inscriptions hitherto discovered relating to the several Rāshtrakūṭa dynasties and branches and the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj have been examined and discussed, and genealogical tables prepared from the information available. This is very useful work. But when the writer seeks to establish that the Rāshtrakūṭas were Sūryavaṃśīs, that they came down "from the north" (apparently from the region of what is now known as the Panjāb) and moved at some early period to Kanauj and on to Mahārāshṭra, that the Gāhaḍavālas were Rāshtrakūṭas (and that the very title "Gāhaḍavāla" was derived from Gādhipura, one of the ancient names of Kanauj!), he treads on very debatable ground. He is in no way daunted, however, by the contrary views held by other scholars, and puts forward his reasons for his own conclusions. Incidentally, in an Appendix, the unreliability of the *Prithivīrāja Rāso* for genuine historical purposes has been fully demonstrated.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE INDIA SOCIETY

“THE ancient history and the art of India are of unique interest in the history of human endeavour.” These words are taken from the reply of His Majesty King George V. to the address presented to him on the opening of the School of Oriental Studies on February 23, 1917. The India Society is anxious to give, within the limits of its opportunities and resources, practical application to this noteworthy utterance, and invites the adhesion of all who sympathize and agree with it.

OBJECTS

The INDIA SOCIETY was founded in the year 1910 by a small body of scholars, artists, and men of letters (both English and Indian) with the object of promoting in the West and in India itself a better appreciation and understanding of the historic culture of India, especially as represented in the Arts. During the years which followed the Society has won for its work the sympathy and active support of a distinguished body of members, including several of the ruling Princes of India, together with leaders in art, literature, and the public services in many quarters of the world.

It holds itself entirely aloof from the political controversies of the day, and seeks to unite its members, and all whom its influence can reach, in the study and admiration of those aspects of Indian culture whose beauty and nobility can be recognized and appreciated by all.

LECTURES AND CONFERENCES

Lectures at which papers are read by leading British, Indian, and Continental specialists, have become a regular and important feature of the Society's activities. In order that members resident abroad may be able to share in the benefit of these Lectures, papers and proceedings are published from time to time in *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*, together with additional articles from the Society's correspondents abroad, and book reviews. Visits to private collections of Oriental Art are also arranged. Exhibitions are organised from time to time.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP

The Annual Subscription for members who join after December 31, 1928, is One and a half Guineas (£1 11s. 6d.), payable on election, and on January 1 of each succeeding year. Life Subscription, Twelve Guineas. *Cheques should be made payable to "The India Society" and crossed "Lloyds Bank."* Forms of application for membership can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, 3 Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1. Members receive *free* in return for their subscription (i) the annual volume of the Society on Indian Art and Literature, (ii) the Journal of the Society, entitled *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*, and, when in Great Britain, invitations to the Society's lectures and meetings, or to those of the Association Française des Amis de l'Orient, whilst staying in Paris or Strasbourg.

Similar facilities on the Continent are offered to members by Les Amis de l'Orient in Brussels and Der Vereeniging Van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst in Amsterdam. Members should, however, in each case first write to the Hon. Secretary of the India Society for a letter of introduction to these foreign societies,

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Cheques should be made payable to "The India Society" and crossed "Lloyds Bank."

I enclose my subscription for { Life Membership, £12 12s. od.
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Messrs.*

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[The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. The India Society does not hold itself responsible for them.]

NEW SERIES. VOL. VIII., NO. 2

THE INDIA SOCIETY'S EXHIBITION OF MODERN INDIAN ART IN LONDON, DECEMBER, 1934

(REPORT BY THE HONORARY ORGANIZER)

THE great event of last year among the India Society's activities was the holding of an Exhibition of Modern Indian Art at the New Burlington Galleries in London, which Her Royal Highness the Duchess of York was graciously pleased to open.

The arrangements in England were made by the Council of the Society, and those in India by five Regional Committees, particulars of which will be found hereafter, Mr. John de La Valette acting as honorary organizer.

From the outset the undertaking enjoyed the support of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon and of the Provincial Governments in India, while the following gentlemen extended their patronage to it: The Most Hon. the Marquess of Reading, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.; The Right Hon. Viscount Halifax, P.C., K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.; The Right Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.B.E., M.P.; Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E.

Mr. F. J. P. Richter and Mr. F. H. Brown took an active part in the preparatory work, while the heavy task of arranging and cataloguing the exhibits was kindly undertaken by Mr. Lionel Heath and Mr. F. H. Andrews.

To Captain Gladstone Solomon and Mr. Barada Ukil, who came to London before the opening of the Exhibition, the Council is indebted for much assistance in the final arrangements of the Bombay and Northern India sections. For much helpful work in India in collecting and selecting the exhibits the Council has to express its thanks to the Regional Committees in India and to their Honorary Secretaries. If the final effect of the works upon visitors was as favourable as it was generally stated by critics to be, this result is due to the sound discrimination exercised by the Regional Committees in organizing their respective sections.

Some of the public activities which accompanied the Exhibition are

India Society's Exhibition of Modern Indian Art

enumerated hereafter. It will be seen that the Exhibition has amply fulfilled its purpose of acquainting the public in England with the healthy art movements which are developing in all parts of India, and future exhibitions of a similar kind are looked forward to by artists as well as the general public in England with keen anticipation.

PRESS LUNCHEON

Prior to the opening of the Exhibition Sir Francis Younghusband presided at a luncheon on December 7, 1934, at the Royal Societies Club, to a number of representatives of the Press, and acquainted them with the general aims of the Exhibition, after which Mr. de La Valette addressed those present in the following terms :

I am doubly glad to have the opportunity of seconding Sir Francis Younghusband in wishing a hearty welcome to the representatives of the Press, because I feel that the occasion which brings us together sets its seal on the efforts of the India Society throughout the well-nigh twenty-five years during which it has been my privilege to have been associated with its work.

As you are no doubt all aware, when the India Society was founded in 1910 by a number of English and Indian lovers of the art of the East, the words Indian and Art were almost looked upon as contradictory. If Indian work was accepted as being good art, it was generally assumed to be either Persian or Chinese or anything else except Indian. I may say that the immediate cause of the founding of the Society was a remark to this effect made by an eminent authority who, alas! is no longer with us, and consequently unable to admit with the fairness which was his outstanding characteristic that the views which he then expressed were unfounded.

The interest in Indian art which has been growing during the last twenty-five years has been greatly stimulated by the work done by the Archaeological Survey of India since its reorganization by Sir John Marshall under the ægis of Lord Curzon. It is not only that the actual discoveries made by Sir John Marshall and his enthusiastic collaborators have provided materia

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for the forming of a truer judgment on the valuable contribution made by India to the art treasures of the world, but the interest aroused by the work of the survey and the enthusiasm which it has stimulated among Englishmen and Indians alike have caused many of the important Indian States to take a systematic interest in the artistic movements within their borders, not only those of the past, but also of the present.

Foremost amongst them is of course Hyderabad State with its famous treasures at Ajanta, Ellora, Warangal, Bidar and elsewhere in the Nizam's dominions. Interesting work of conservation was also done in the case of the Bagh Caves in Gwalior State.

The outcome of all this research into past achievements and the support of present-day artistic activities has been a renaissance of Indian art in all parts of the Peninsula both in British India and in the States. At the beginning of this century a vigorous movement of artistic revival started in Calcutta under the inspiring lead of several members of the Tagore family which was based upon a continuity of tradition with the artistic past of India. This movement spread outside the borders of Bengal, partly through Bengali artists who settled in other parts of the country, and partly because young artists from other parts of the Peninsula visited the School of Oriental Art at Calcutta and the Institute founded by the poet Rabindranath Tagore at Shantiniketan.

During the same period an equally vigorous revival of Indian art took place in Western India under the influence of the Sir J. J. School of Art at Bombay, which during the last fifteen years has been under the energetic leadership of Mr. Gladstone Solomon. The underlying principle of this artistic movement was that Indian art students should avail themselves of European technique and methods for the purpose of acquiring greater skill with which to give effect to their artistic aspirations, whether these were based on purely Indian conceptions or influenced by a European outlook.

In view of the strong local traditions in all the arts and crafts which have persisted in India from remote times to the present day it is not surprising to find that the foregoing trends of artistic development should have been modified in other parts of India by local influences to the extent of representing more or less well-defined local schools of artistic thought and achievement. In Southern India, for instance, the traditions which have existed in the great States of Travancore and Mysore, and the patronage extended to the arts by their rulers, have exercised a definite influence on the art of Southern India, of which you will find indications in the works sent in by the Regional Committee of Madras. At the other end of India in places like Lucknow and Lahore the influences of the Moghul invasion have survived

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in so many vigorous examples that they are bound to affect the artists of those centres. At Delhi, now the capital of the whole of India, there has also in recent years grown up a strong local artistic movement in which the brothers Ukil, themselves offshoots of the Bengal School, have taken an active part. Finally, one might perhaps again refer to Hyderabad and say that the interesting collections of pictures, assembled by that great art lover Sir Akbar Hydari, and the researches to which they have led, have made it clear that there has existed in the Deccan a local tradition of painting holding an intermediate place between the Moghul painting of the North and the Southern Schools and which has persisted with an unbroken tradition, if not always at the same level of achievement, down to our day.

The problem of the India Society in arranging the present Exhibition has been to try to combine within one London art gallery a bird's-eye view of so much of all these different schools of thought and achievement as has preserved or recently developed its strength and vigour.

For this purpose the Council of the Society got in touch with its good friends in all parts of India with a view to forming Regional Committees which were to arrange for really representative collections being sent from their respective regions. In Bombay the assistance of Mr. Gladstone Solomon, the Principal of the Bombay School of Art, and Mr. Kanaiyalal Vakil was forthwith secured on the practical side, while Sir Pheroze Sethna, Mr. Jayakar and others extended the benefit of their experience and their enthusiasm as art lovers to the undertaking, with the result that an influential Regional Committee was formed for Western India under the patronage of the Governor of Bombay, Lord Brabourne. In Calcutta, with the support of Mr. Mukul Dey, the Director of the School of Art, various members of the Tagore family and other art lovers in Bengal, a similar Representative Committee was formed under the patronage of Sir John Anderson.

In Madras equally satisfactory and helpful arrangements were made for us through the kind assistance of Professor Krishnamaswami Aiyengar and Mr. Roy Chowdhuri, the Principal of the Madras School of Art, with the support of the Madras Government.

At New Delhi we were fortunate in securing the energetic services of Mr. Barada Ukil, one of three artistic brothers, to whom the present art movement in that part of India owes much of its vigour. Through the support of Mr. J. N. G. Johnson, the Commissioner for Delhi, and many influential art lovers, both Indian and British, Mr. Ukil was able to bring to London a very noteworthy collection of works not only from Northern Indian artists, but also from the private collections of Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Patiala and Indore.

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At Lucknow the Director of the School of Art, Mr. Asit Kumar Haldar, himself a delicate artist, supported by the Provincial Government, likewise sent in a collection of the excellence of which you will be able to judge for yourselves in the Galleries. From the Art Schools of the States of Baroda, Kashmir and Jaipur works were also received, which add to the interest and comprehensive character of this display.

Finally, we have to acknowledge the courtesy of art collectors in this country for lending us some of their treasures. Foremost among these is Her Majesty the Queen, who graciously granted permission for the inclusion of two interesting paintings, one by Mr. Fyzee Rahamin and the other by Mr. Ranada Ukil.

I think you will see from the foregoing that the India Society has made a serious, and I hope you will find a successful, effort to present for the first time outside India a truly comprehensive survey of all the artistic movements which are alive in India to-day.

How you are to judge the results is a matter on which fortunately it is not my duty to advise an illustrious body of critics. But I may, perhaps, be allowed to sympathize with you in the difficulty of your task, especially in view of the great importance which will be attached to everything which you will say. The difficulty for a European art critic in trying to assess at its proper value the achievements of artists whose outlook, aims, and motives are so different from any with which Europeans are familiar must singularly complicate your present task.

As for the responsibility which you bear in passing judgment, it is accentuated by the fact that Indian artists are rarely afforded a chance to have their achievements judged by independent critics not already intimately acquainted with, and perhaps biased by, certain specific currents in Indian art. I believe that what Indian artists need before all else is sound criticism; criticism which will be neither warped by preconceived European notions nor, as is sometimes the case in India, by equally biased nationalistic conceptions. Art may well be a universal language, but the ideas expressed by specific works of art are not necessarily of equal universal appeal in all countries. Nor can they always be freely understood without some philosophic or religious preparation. Take, for instance, the Italian primitives. What we in the India Society have found is that there is a large body of men and women in this country who are genuinely interested in what Indian artists have to say and the manner in which they say it. What we hope from the work of those of you who are present here to-day is that on the one hand you will add to the understanding of Indian art by the people of this country, and on the other that you will be helpful to Indian artists by your unvarnished,

India Society's Exhibition of Modern Indian Art

and yet friendly and constructive, criticisms of their achievements or their shortcomings.

For true friendship should prove itself as much by praise as by just correction.

To the extent that you will succeed in these two directions you will, I can assure you, have rendered a great service both to this country and to India, for you will have made for a better understanding between the two peoples at a time when such understanding was more valuable and more urgently necessary than at any other time in this country's history.

OPENING CEREMONY

On Monday, December 10, 1934, at noon, Her Royal Highness the Duchess of York, attended by the Lady Helen Graham, opened the Society's Exhibition of Modern Indian Art at the New Burlington Galleries.

Her Royal Highness was received by the Marquess of Zetland (President), Sir Francis Younghusband (Chairman), Mr. John de La Valette (Hon. Organizer of the Exhibition and Vice-Chairman), and members of the Council.

The Maharaj-Kumari Sudharani of Burdwan presented Her Royal Highness with a bouquet.

Members and guests who accepted invitations to be present included :

The Marchioness of Zetland, Lady Younghusband, the Marquess and Marchioness of Reading, the Duchess of Atholl, Lord and Lady Amptill, the Maharaja of Burdwan, the Maharaj-Kumar of Burdwan, the Chinese Minister and Madame Quo, Sir Austen and Lady Chamberlain, Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, the Hon. W. G. Ormsby-Gore, Lord and Lady Iliffe, Sir William Llewellyn (President of the Royal Academy), Lord and Lady Augustus Loftus, Lord and Lady Lloyd, Mr. J. A. Milne (Chairman of the Royal Society of Arts), His Excellency the Nepalese Minister, Sir Basil and Lady Blackett, Sir Denys and Lady Bray, Sir Felix and Lady Brunner, Sir Albion Banerji, Sir Charles and Lady Bayley, Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., and Mrs. Butler, Lady Butler, Lady Beauchamp, Sir Ross and Lady Barker, Lady Carmichael, Sir Atul and Lady Chatterjee, Sir John and Lady Coleridge, Sir John Cumming, Sir William and Lady Crawford, Sir Hugh and Lady Cocke, Lady (Alexander) Campbell, Sir Alfred and Lady Chatterton, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Louis and Lady Dane, Sir Weldon and Lady Dalrymple-Champneys, Lady Dawkins, Mrs. John de La Valette, the Hon. Mrs. Grant Duff, Lady Eckstein, Sir William and Lady Foster, Sir Charles and Lady Fawcett, Sir Hamilton and Lady Grant, Sir Reginald and Lady

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Glancy, Sir Edward and Lady Gait, Sir Murray and Lady Hammick, Lady Hartog, Sir Stanley and Lady Jackson, Sir Reginald Johnston, Sir Cecil and Lady Kisch, Lady Keymer, Mr. and Mrs. Rudyard Kipling, Sir Walter Lawrence, Sir Edward and Lady Maclagan, Sir Reginald and Lady Mant, Sir Henry and Lady McMahon, Lady (John) Marshall, the Hon. Mrs. M. Meade, Sir Francis and Lady Oppenheim, Lady Pearson, Sir Abdul and Lady Qadir, Mr. Ranganatha Rao (Mysore Trade Commissioner), Sir Frederick and Lady Sykes, Sir Malcolm and Lady Seton, Sir Findlater Stewart, Sir Ronald and Lady Storrs, Lady Solomon, Sir Charles and Lady Tegart, Sir Brumwell Thomas, Mr. F. H. Andrews, Mr. and Mrs. S. K. Brown, Mr. F. H. Brown and Miss Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Beresford, Mr. and Mrs. K. de B. Codrington, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Davis, Mr. J. H. Drummond, Mr. R. B. Ewbank, Miss Christina Foyle, Miss Margaret Farquharson, Mr. and Mrs. Basil Gray, Mr. and Mrs. O. M. Green, Sheikh Abdul Hamid, Mr. and Mrs. Lionel Heath, Mr. Leonard Jennings, Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Jerrold, Miss de Laredo, Mr. and Mrs. Philip de Laszlo, Mr. and Mrs. H. V. Lanchester, Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P., Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Montgomery, Colonel and Mrs. W. G. Neale, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Polak, Mr. George Pilcher, Mr. P. J. Patrick, Mr. Gladstone Solomon, Mr. R. R. Tatlock, Mrs. Patrick Villiers Stuart, Mr. Barada Ukil.

The following speeches were made upon this occasion :

LORD ZETLAND (President): Your Royal Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Not only the organizers of this Exhibition, for whom I am particularly authorized to speak, but the artists whose works are displayed around these walls, and many of their fellow-countrymen who appreciate the significance of the flowering of art which has been one of the features of the intellectual life of India during recent years, will be more than grateful to your Royal Highness for the sympathetic interest which you are showing in the movement by your presence here to-day.

What, it may be asked, is the significance of the recent art movements in India? The first question to which one naturally seeks a reply, when trying to assess the value of any particular movement, is this: Is it creative, or is it merely imitative? Is it the outcome of a genuine and instinctive impulse towards self-expression, or is the motive force behind it merely a desire on the part of the artist to taste the enjoyment which is always to be derived from the conscious mastery of a particular technique?

I have no hesitation in placing the modern art movement in India in the first of these two categories.

The art of India has certainly been affected by contact with the art of Europe, more particularly perhaps in the west of India than in the east, and

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there have perhaps been occasions on which it has been in danger of becoming merely imitative. But whenever such a tendency has displayed itself, the movement has always languished.

Speaking from my own experience, which I admit is confined almost entirely to developments in Bengal, I have no hesitation in saying that the art of India of to-day is true to what may be described as having been throughout the centuries the distinguishing characteristic of Hindu as compared with European art—namely this, that it has been the aim of the artist to give expression to mental concepts rather than to reproduce the objects of the external world which he sees around him.

But there is much more behind the movement than a very natural inclination on the part of the Indian artist to base himself upon the art canons of his own people. The driving force behind the movement which was set on foot at the beginning of the present century by two members of a very remarkable family, Mr. Goganendranath Tagore and Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, was undoubtedly a spiritual impulse which was the outcome of a growing realization upon their part that not politically only, but in the sphere of culture also, their country had fallen under the domination of an alien ideal. It was the same spirit of revolt against the undue Westernization of India that played so large a part in the Nationalist movement that inspired the little circle of men who brought into being the modern School of Art in Bengal.

"The National movement," to quote the words of the late Mr. C. R. Das, "has no justification if it does not carry with it some hope of a new manifestation of the Indian genius in relation to the real needs of life," and it is interesting to recall the fact as an indication of the subconscious nature of the impulse which drove the brothers Tagore upon their way that they were at that time ignorant, as they themselves have told me, of both the tradition and the formulæ of the *Silpasastras*, the ancient Indian classic of fine art.

I have recalled these few facts for the purpose of showing that there is good reason for the view that I have expressed, that the work which you will see exhibited round these walls is a thing of the spirit and that it is consequently of high significance.

It would, of course, be easy to talk at great length upon that aspect of the case, but I must not trench further upon your Royal Highness' time. There are one or two gentlemen whom I desire to invite to say a few words before I ask your Royal Highness to declare the Exhibition open.

There is Sir William Llewellyn, President of the Royal Academy, who is here to extend the hand of friendship from the artists of this country to their colleagues in India; Mr. R. A. Butler, who, in the unavoidable absence of Sir

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Samuel Hoare, is here to accord to them a hearty welcome from the Government; and the Maharaja of Burdwan, a generous patron of Indian art, who will welcome in England the opportunity which this Exhibition is affording to his fellow-countrymen of exhibiting their work at the very heart of the Empire to which they belong.

Let me only add these words—that a very special measure of gratitude is due to Mr. de La Valette, the honorary organizer of this Exhibition, without whose powerful aid we should scarcely have found it possible to bring our enterprise to a satisfactory issue. (Applause.) Also to Mr. Richter and Mr. F. H. Brown, the honorary secretary and the honorary treasurer of this Exhibition respectively, for the time and ability which they have devoted to the work of organization (applause); and to Mr. Lionel Heath and Mr. F. H. Andrews, who shouldered much of the burden of arranging and cataloguing the exhibits.

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND read a telegram from Lady Willingdon, expressing all good wishes for the Exhibition, and grateful and respectful thanks to the Duchess of York for her presence.

SIR WILLIAM LLEWELLYN: I would wish to add my voice to the welcome which is given to this Exhibition which you see here to-day. You have heard that it is the first complete survey of modern Indian art that is presented in this or any other country. It is right that London should be the first place in which such an Exhibition should take place—outside India, that is to say. Great praise is due to those who have promoted it—to the India Society, to the Regional Committees which have gathered together the work, and especially, as Lord Zetland has said, to Mr. John de La Valette, the organizer of it.

I am sure that English artists will be very interested in this Exhibition, and that should be to Indian artists, I think, a matter of concern. English artists have an opportunity on every side of acquainting themselves with art trends in Europe, but they have had very little opportunity of knowing what was taking place in India, and this Exhibition will from that point of view alone be of great interest to them.

In to-day's *Times* you probably all read the notice, which was, I thought, a very nice notice. It says that it proves that, "practically all over India, the native talent familiar to us in works of the past survives and is well worth cultivating."*

That, of course, is a very, very important point. The tendency to-day is to communize everything, to universalize everything in all matters of life, and art does not escape. Means of communication, in fact all the modern inventions of which we are well aware, tend to make countries come so close

* The notice referred to appears on a later page.

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together that they are becoming all alike. We all more or less dress alike all over the world, and we have the same kind of vehicles to travel about in, and in every way possible life in all countries is becoming the same as in all others. This tendency to-day to universalize art will have a very great influence upon the art of the future, but I hope it will prove to be an absolute impossibility: for when countries give up their characteristic arts there is an end to their individuality. Art is really the revelation of the life of the country in which it is produced, and so we hope that in India we shall find work characteristic of that country.

It is impossible that much good can come to Indian art from the mere copying of Western methods. Nothing I have seen in the Exhibition gives cause for this fear. Students may come here—a few do—to train themselves, to get technical knowledge with which to go back to their own country, but it is the spirit that is in them and that belongs to their country which will enable them to produce characteristic work.

There is bound to be some Western influence, but I hope that it will not be carried too far, and that it will be used as a means to improve technique and not as a substitute for native inspiration.

We are glad to see all around us work that indicates that India is developing on her own lines. I am sure that there will be other Exhibitions of this kind over here, and English artists will cordially welcome them.

MR. R. A. BUTLER, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for India: I am very grateful for the opportunity of saying a few words on the occasion of the opening of this representative Exhibition of Indian Art. Its importance has been shown by the presence of your Royal Highness and your kind consent to open the Exhibition.

The India Society, since its foundation in 1910, has done great good work and rendered invaluable assistance in promoting interest in the culture of India and in her art, not only in this country but in Europe. It is no mean feat to have organized in London out of India so comprehensive an Exhibition as this, and if I may say so the India Society has surpassed itself. (Applause.)

I am very glad of this opportunity for voicing on behalf of the Government of India, on behalf of the various Provincial Governments, and on behalf of my Right Honourable friend the Secretary of State, who is unavoidably prevented from being here to-day owing to his impending activities this afternoon in Parliament on the occasion of the historic debates that are to take place there—I am very pleased to have the opportunity to speak on behalf of those Governments and my Right Honourable friend, and to express their gratification to the Society for what it has achieved to-day, and their congratulations to India on this magnificent Exhibition which we see around us.

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I do not think it would have been possible to collect from every corner in India so many typical examples of the work of Indian artists, had it not been for the kindness of collectors, headed by Her Majesty the Queen, who has lent two of her works on this occasion, the Provincial Governments, and several of the Princes, themselves patrons of the arts, who have so generously lent examples of their own treasures.

It is refreshing to some of us, who think of India very often in terms of politics, to realize her achievements in other fields, and to realize that some of the treasures which we see to-day are in fact the legitimate successors of those which were there before the time of British rule.

In this connection I think it right to refer to the great work which the British Government has itself tried to do. I need only mention two names, those of Lord Curzon and Sir John Marshall, and the work that they have done in aiding India to conserve these treasures and to develop the treasures which she already had.

It is very valuable for us, too, to realize the importance of art and its place in the daily life of India, its effect on Indian character and on the Indian manner of living. This understanding is essential at a time when this country is taking so deep an interest in all that India does and means.

It is a fact in history that a political awakening is often accompanied by a resurgence of the arts ; and if the extent of this political awakening can be gauged or measured by the extent and range of the artistic treasures which we see around us, I think it will be a great encouragement to those of us who are interesting ourselves in this era of India's development that it should be inspired by such a luxuriant and artistic growth as we see around us in this Exhibition. I hope it will be the forerunner of many other Exhibitions of the same sort. (Applause.)

THE MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN : It is a matter of very great gratification to me to-day to find that the President of the India Society is the Marquess of Zetland, who as Earl Ronaldshay took such an active and live interest in the art of Bengal. It is true that less than half the room here has been labelled as of the Bengal School, but it is equally true that the majority of the pictures which hail from Northern India and Lucknow are by Bengali artists, which shows that the influence of Bengal is not limited to its province.

When your Royal Highness entered this Exhibition, you came through the Hall of Bombay. Bombay being the gateway of India, the Western influence would be seen there more perceptibly than in this room. Bombay is fortunate in having a prophet in Mr. Solomon, and one who is wide awake to the fact that Indian artists can learn many useful things from their Western colleagues, so long as they keep their own spirit alive.

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These Exhibitions have not only a great educative value, but they have this additional value that those of us who wish to see the relationship between Britain and India closer consider it a great honour to India that her first Exhibition of this kind should have been held in the metropolis of the Empire.

There is one thing more to be said about these Exhibitions, and that is that in spite of the influences both from the Far East and the West, the modern school of painting in India is trying to build up on its own traditions.

I only regret one fact, and that is there are not enough Mohammedan competitors here. When I was in Bengal I often used to encourage young Mohammedans from Lucknow and elsewhere to carry on their ancient art, and I hope that in a future Exhibition we shall see the spirit of Moghul and Indo-Persian painting more fittingly depicted than we find it to-day.

In conclusion, may I say to your Royal Highness that the Royal Family have always taken an interest in India, and it is a great compliment to India that your Royal Highness should have come here to-day to open this Exhibition. (Applause.)

H.R.H. THE DUCHESS OF YORK then declared the Exhibition open, saying: I am sure that many people will be most grateful to the India Society for assembling in London such an interesting collection of modern Indian art, and in declaring the Exhibition open, I hope that it will meet with the encouragement and the admiration that it so fully deserves.

For the convenience of readers the notice in *The Times* of December 10, 1934, referred to by Sir William Llewellyn, is here reproduced by permission:

MODERN INDIAN ART

EFFECTS OF WESTERN INFLUENCE

EXHIBITION IN LONDON

To be opened to-day by the Duchess of York, at the New Burlington Galleries, the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art which has been organized by the India Society was well worth the effort. It is a much better exhibition than the somewhat scrappy representations of contemporary Indian art that we have had hitherto in London would have led anyone to expect, which is to say that it has completely fulfilled its purpose.

To prevent misunderstanding, the exhibition does not contain many works that can be called masterpieces, but it does prove that, practically all over India, the native talent familiar to us in works of the past survives and is well worth cultivating. So far as can be judged the representation of the different parts of India is fairly well balanced, and it is unlikely that anything of special significance has been ignored.

The exhibition consists of nearly 500 works in oil and water-colour painting, drawing, engraving, sculpture, and architecture—represented by drawings and photographs. A good many of the works are loans. Thus, the Queen has lent two paintings, one by Mr. Fyzee Rahamin

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and one by Mr. Ranada Ukil, and other works are from local art schools and museums and the private collections of native Princes, the Maharajah of Patiala in particular, and British officials.

The works are grouped according to States and Provinces. This makes for convenience, though it would be extremely rash for anybody but a person thoroughly well acquainted with the whole history of Indian art to attempt a definition of local styles. The broad division is that between the work of the Bombay school and that from other parts of India. It is at Bombay that the application of Western methods of teaching has gone farthest. Speaking generally, it can be said that the results—in the first gallery—seem to show that such teaching can be digested without serious disturbance to the native tradition. A fair statement of the case would be to say that, having regard to contemporary conditions, the work from Bombay strikes one as being more businesslike, but that many of the things of the highest artistic interest are to be found elsewhere.

Examples which may be quoted are "Goddess Durga," by Ranada Ukil; "Saptasur (The Seven Tunes)," by Sarada Ukil; "The Midnight Offering," by Sudhir Khastgir; "Mythic Dance," by Roop Krishna; "The Zita Player," by Asit K. Haldar; "The Lost Tune," by Kiranmoy Dhar; "Illustrations to the Arabian Nights," by Abanindranath Tagore; "The Storm" (anonymous); "The Morning Flower," by S. Ch. Sen; "The First Lesson," by Jamini Roy; the etchings by Mukul Dey and the compositions in black and white by G. N. Tagore. He and Roop Krishna are the two artists who excite the greatest interest. On account of its authorship, the drawing "Devatatma Himalaya," by the poet Rabindranath Tagore, should not be overlooked.

LINE AND COLOUR

The prevailing impression of the exhibition is that of line and colour. In speaking of "line" it may be well to remark that, whereas in Western drawing line bears first reference to the forms enclosed, in the hands of Indian artists—of Oriental artists generally—it is pursued as a means of expression in itself. The colour, again, is what we should call "decorative," though it is probable that it has also a symbolical meaning. This, however, is not a point to be touched upon by anybody unversed in Indian philosophy and religion. But, taking line and colour as the tradition, it is in its effects upon them that Western teaching is to be judged. "Cartoon for Mural Decoration," by V. S. Adurkar, Bombay, seems to show that relief can be attempted without injury to the native conduct of line, though it is questionable if this drawing is more truly "plastic" in effect than "Trimurti," by M. G. Solegaonkar, also Bombay, which is in pure line. Perhaps the most successful reconciliation of Eastern and Western ideals is seen in the pastel study of "Marwar Beauty," by V. H. Rajwadkar, though "Sir Jamsetji Jeebhoy, First Bart.," by M. F. Pithawalla, is a good portrait, pleasantly reserved in colour, on academic lines; and there is a singular charm in "Moharram Offerings," by N. S. Bendre. But one cannot help feeling that "Divine Love," by G. H. Nagarkar, which, though in oil, is practically a painted drawing, represents the most effective kind of compromise for Indian artists. In water-colour one wishes that Indian artists could be weaned from the trick of misty gradations, which seems to have crept in from Japan, and obscures the linear merits of their work. In sculpture, the most impressive works are the groups by R. C. Roy and R. P. Kamat, traditional and Westernized respectively. The Bombay Architectural Section is of general interest, but it does not present anything remarkable. The India Society and Mr. John de La Valette, the honorary organizer, are to be congratulated heartily on this exhibition.

BROADCAST

On December 18, at 4.30, Mr. John de La Valette broadcast a short account of the Exhibition to India from the London studios of the British Broadcasting Corporation, of which the following is the text :

India Society's Exhibition of Modern Indian Art

The New Burlington Galleries are only a stone's throw off Bond Street, and therefore in the heart of the West End. On the well-lit top floor have been brought together in adjoining rooms some of the best work of present-day Indian artists. From Western India, where the Bombay School of Art has exercised such a marked influence, outstanding works have come, and from Bengal, where Calcutta has been the centre of the modern artistic revival. From Madras in the south, from Delhi, Lucknow, and Lahore in the north, beautiful pictures have been sent, whilst interesting pieces have been lent by the Maharajas of Patiala, Indore, and Jaipur, and the State Schools of Art in Baroda, Kashmir, and Indore.

In the first gallery the effect of Mr. Gladstone Solomon's teaching at the Bombay School of Art is clearly visible in the excellence of the drawing and the frequent use of European technique. Nevertheless, the graceful treatment of individual figures, the ease with which large groups are composed, and the general tendency of aims and ideals remain essentially Indian. Of historical interest is a big portrait in oils of Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy, who was not only the first Indian to be created a baronet, but also the founder of the Bombay School of Art.

The second gallery has on its north wall a very representative collection of water colours from Northern India, prominent among which are the works of the three brothers Ukil. In some cases we notice a tendency to exaggerate the wash-process of water-colour painting, which modern Indian artists have derived from Japanese rather than from Indian sources.

Further on are three exquisite water-colour figures by that brilliant artist Chughtai, which cannot fail to appeal. The Lucknow collection is rich in small paintings, some of them on silk, in which the line work is as delicate as the blending of the colours.

The south and part of the east walls are taken up by the Bengal school. The works here shown of the Tagore brothers explain why they exercised so great an influence on their contemporaries as to account for the modern renaissance of art in Bengal.

Dr. Abanindranath Tagore's set of illustrations for the Arabian Nights tales deserves to be used for its intended purpose, while Goganendranath Tagore's sepia drawings have many of the qualities which European modernists strive after. The younger exponents of this school show that they are versed in their native traditions, and yet not insensitive to modern artistic conceptions.

Madras sent only a few pictures, but every one of them perfect in quality. Perhaps the dismal crow on a dripping branch, entitled "After the Storm," by Mr. Roy Chowdhuri, Principal of the Madras School of Art, deserves to

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be singled out for praise. The black-and-white room includes a masterly large-size cartoon for "Asoka's Last Gift," by Mr. A. K. Haldar, the head of the Lucknow School of Art, excellent etchings by Mr. Mukul Dey, Principal of the Calcutta School of Oriental Art, and a vigorous mezzotint by Mr. Gupta, who leads the art movement in Lahore.

The progress of architecture in Western India is demonstrated in the long corridor, and there are interesting sculptures from Bombay and Lucknow.

For the British visitor the most irresistible, and perhaps the most surprising, impression is that of the underlying unity of aims and ideals which this all-India Exhibition demonstrates. This seems a most valuable lesson to learn at this particular moment, when it is more than ever important that the peoples of India and of this country should understand one another.

We have so often been told to think of the peoples of India as cut up into numberless races, creeds, and castes with mutually exclusive aims and ideals, that it can only be helpful to be made to realize beyond the need for words how great is the fundamental similarity of thought and aspiration which links the King's subjects in all parts of his great Indian Empire.

Through modern Indian art we become aware of a spiritual unity among Indians which transcends whatever political differences may ruffle the surface of Indian thought. For nowhere are Indian thought and the Indian outlook upon life more faithfully reflected than in the art of that great country.

MODERN ART IN WESTERN INDIA*

BY W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON, K.-i-H., R.B.C., I.E.S.

(Director Government School of Art, Bombay ; Curator, Art Section, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India)

CHAIRMAN (MR. JOHN DE LA VALETTE) : LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

To those who are present to-day as members of the India Society Captain W. E. Gladstone Solomon will need no introduction, but for any of you who are here as guests to-night I ought, perhaps, to say that Captain Gladstone Solomon is the Principal of the School of Art in Bombay, and that we in this Society owe him a special debt of gratitude for the work he has been doing recently in organizing a Regional Committee in Bombay to help us in getting together a good selection of modern Western Indian pictures for the Exhibition which we shall be seeing next month at the New Burlington Galleries.

I believe I am right in saying that Captain Gladstone Solomon had his first training in art at the Royal Academy School, and that his first contact with the East came not through the arts of peace, but through those of war. It was during his five years of service that he first got in touch with the Near East, starting at Gallipoli, eventually proceeding to India, where after the war he became Principal of the School of Art in Bombay.

In that capacity he did a great deal of work about which he will be too modest to tell you much himself, but I hope that in what he is going to tell us to-night he will show us the justification of his work by its results.

There is one thing I ought to tell you about him before I sit down, and that is that in my opinion he has done the most astounding thing any Englishman has ever done. He has persuaded a British Government that Art is a respectable thing in its own right. (Applause.) I do not want you to think lightly of that, because it is a remarkable achievement. As a rule, in this country we look upon beauty and art as dangerous things with which people should be allowed to play only under proper guidance. We therefore invariably put the management of our artistic affairs in the hands of the Educational Authorities.

I wonder whether that is quite right, because education, as I see it, attempts to make as large a number of people as possible superficially competent enough to pass certain standardized examinations, whereas the mastering

* Lecture delivered before the India Society in the Lecture Hall of the Royal Society, Burlington House, on November 21, 1934 ; Mr. John de La Valette presided.

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of art makes a few exceptional people so terribly competent that they can do things which nobody else can do.

Captain Gladstone Solomon, as I say, has actually achieved the feat of getting the Government of Bombay to see that it was worth while to delegate the whole of the art side of the activities in their Presidency to a separate Government Department. In Bombay the School of Art is no longer under Education, but is a separate Government Department, and the Principal of the School of Art as such is Director of the Department.

I think that is such an unusual achievement that I am sure you will be eager to hear the man who brought it about, especially as he is going to follow up his lecture by showing us some most interesting slides.

Captain Gladstone Solomon then gave his paper :

MR. DE LA VALETTE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The subject of Modern Art in India may seem rather more novel than natural to those who have been accustomed to survey the art of India from a standpoint that is essentially retrospective ; and others, perhaps, while admitting that there is such a thing as modern art in India, will consider that the New Bengal School is the only school of painting representative of India to-day.

The Bombay School, which in recent years has once more emerged into prominence, is a distinct and open departure from the Bengal School of exclusive Indian archaisms, and as such should not be judged by the same standards. It is my agreeable task to tell you something to-night about the methods and ideals of art in Western India to-day, for I have had the privilege of spending seventeen years on that side of the country, and have been for the past fifteen years in charge of a very large Indian art school.

The Bombay School of Art was founded in 1857 by the Government in response to a generous donation which the Parsee philanthropist, Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy, and his family presented for that purpose, and has borne the name of the donor ever since.

We are aware, of course, that there are people who object to art schools on principle, just as there are people who object to academies of art or to all attempts to organize the profession of the fine arts—people who look upon anything resembling organized art as a wolf masquerading in sheep's clothing. And we know that some others, not so prejudiced, yet think it is a pity that we should give art schools to India when her own art is so much more interesting than that of Europe. The latter objection would only be understandable if the objectors were in a position to provide an alternative which would really make schools of art, which have become more and more numerous in Europe in modern times, superfluous in the Eastern hemisphere.

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But, unfortunately for these idealists, India, although the most artistic and romantic of lands, is not immune from those pressing economic problems of supply and demand which beset the artist elsewhere. The Indian art student also must produce credentials and guarantees of his training, knowledge, and skill before he can obtain commissions or employment ; and when he cannot obtain his testimonials in India, he has to go to Europe for these guarantees of artistic capacity, so it is mere common sense to make it possible for Indian students to obtain a training in art in their own country. Once this question is conceded, the only question for those interested in art in India is whether the Bombay Presidency, which has twenty millions of inhabitants, and holds different views on the subject of art training to those which have been promulgated from Bengal, gives the sort of training in architecture, sculpture, painting, and the applied arts which is most helpful to the large number of students who pass through the curriculum. For, of course, it would be impossible to develop and maintain so comprehensive an institution without the strong support of the people of Western India.

The root principle which is the foundation of the Bombay School of Art is that all art is one, and that, however distinctive its Indian aspects may appear, these interesting distinctions are not necessarily destroyed, but may be appreciably strengthened by contact with the West. We do not ignore the fact that the picturesque theme of India's Oriental exclusiveness is a fascinating one for discussion. Nothing is easier than to expatiate upon some of those qualities of colour and decoration which really do differentiate East from West, and which really are to be met with in the marvellous pageant of external beauty which constitutes—India ; and nothing is easier than to dilate upon the elusive and compelling note of mysticism which vibrates in that land of mystery and ancient wisdom. I also could tell you, as others have told, that India does in art by occult means what the West cannot do by the materialistic study of nature, form, and pictorial composition, and by perseverance. I could talk, though of course I cannot practise it, of Yoga as the only inspiration of the Indian artist, whether Hindu, Mohammedan, Christian, or Parsee, and I could quote translations of ancient temple rituals, spells, and incantations, or Sanskrit manuals many centuries old, to show how utterly different the methods of Indian art once were, and therefore must ever continue to be, to those of art in Europe. But Bombay does not regard Indian art as consisting of a repetition of the old Buddhist or Persian conventions ; nor as magical, unless indeed the finer ebullitions of human genius may be so described. The Indian artists of the Ajanta Caves produced some of the best mural decorations in existence by human methods, and I am unable to agree with Mr. Laurence Binyon that those decorations are due to some "occult

means." In speaking to-night I shall deny myself the tempting opportunity which the occasion offers for calling spirits from the vasty deep: unless indeed they be those aerial forms which are said to typify consciousness—the lovely nymphs of Hindu allegory, who can endow the artist with powers of perception, and may best be invoked by energetic and whole-hearted application to his work. The practice of painting, architecture, and sculpture is an art as well as an inspiration in India as elsewhere, and the Indian was a craftsman before he became an artist.

These conclusions, which you will probably think obvious enough, have had to be stressed again in recent times, although they were always admitted in the old days by foreigners who worked for the furtherance of art in Western India, where the modern revival began. Among the early British pioneers who guided the destinies of the Bombay School of Art in its infancy were Mr. Terry, who revived an attractive type of essentially Indian pottery; Mr. Lockwood Kipling, who later started the Lahore School and taught sculpture in Bombay, where it has flourished chiefly ever since; and Mr. John Griffiths, who revealed the Ajanta Caves to the world by means of his book illustrated by his Indian students during eleven years of study. Then there were eminent writers, like Fergusson, Burgess, and Birdwood, who also maintained a view of essential unity in all art; they were keen admirers of the past, but did not attempt to hamper progress in India by reactionary theories of harking back to ancient times for the mandates and forms of her modern artistic expression. And, when all is said and done, this does seem a sensible line for European friends of India to follow. In Bombay we have maintained the liberal and untrammelled view of art training, and since I took charge of the school in 1919 I have been privileged to participate in larger and more extensive developments.

In his book on the Ajanta Caves, to which I have referred, Griffiths included a plea that the rediscovery of the aptitude of young Indians for a form of art—mural painting—"which is still congenial to the Oriental temperament and hand" should entitle Indian students to be given work of the same kind on an original basis. This conclusion was only given practical effect in recent times when the class of Mural Painting was founded in the Bombay School of Art through the keen interest of Lord Lloyd, when that well-known admirer of art was Governor of the Province. This class was based upon scholarships and supported by other improvements, including more advanced training from nature in painting and sculpture, as well as closer study of Indian design in all sections of the school. The object of the class of Mural Painting has been to guide rather than to instruct art students of special capacity towards applying the remarkable Indian talent for space-

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filling and design to the decoration of buildings ; and the class is based both on the study of the past triumphs in Indian art in this direction, and the urge of modern requirements.

All methods of instruction in art in Western India are greatly facilitated by the fact that the greatest monuments of Indian sculpture and painting are to be found in the Bombay Presidency or the adjoining Indian State of Hyderabad. Unrivalled shrines of Indian art—the Ajanta, the Ellora and the Elephanta Caves—are all within easy distance of Bombay and frequently visited, of course, by our students. For a practical rather than a literary note has always characterized art in Western India. These local advantages bring us to a point which should not be lost sight of while we are considering the subject which is often too summarily described as “Indian” art—namely, the vast size of India, the great distances, and the divergence of manners, customs, languages and methods of artistic expression between far-separated districts. You cannot correctly speak of Indian art as split into the two camps of Calcutta and Bombay, as Mr. Havell does ; for art is split into a thousand camps in India, and this fact is at once the artistic strength and fascination of the country at the present time. I have seen no country which can compare with India for the diversity of its peoples and the protean aspects of their art, in the widest sense of the term ; and any attempt to make Indian artists as a whole conform to the style of any artist or school, however interesting, is fantastic and out-of-place. India, in fact, should be visualized as an inexhaustible mine of art and Western India as but one of its richest veins. In that part of the country the craftsmen, though extremely poor and disorganized, are still producing their beautiful things, such as cotton-weaving, carpets, calico-printing, pottery and tiles, embroidery of many kinds, inlaid work, ivory, and wood-carving, cabinet-making, lacquer, metal, jewellery, stone-cutting, etc. The people's talent for craftsmanship is the foundation on which the Bombay School of Art has been erected, and in that school the sons of the craftsmen take their training, being taught to work not only from a model, but also from drawings, which is an advantage they do not secure outside the School of Art.

I have indicated that the present system of training in the Bombay School dates from the reawakening of public interest some fifteen years ago, since when the idea of absolute freedom for Indian art students in India, so far as art education is concerned, has been strongly advocated through this movement. The reproach that everything done to bring India into closer touch with world opportunities is de-Orientalizing Indian art ; that, however good our students' work is, it must not be classed as Indian because certain protagonists of the New Bengal School choose to interpret the word in a very

restricted sense ; and the combating by critics who live far outside the area of our work, and who never see it, of the constructive ideas put forward from Bombay in recent times, have compelled the workers for art in this very senior province to reply in some degree, though with considerably less asperity. A factor that needs emphasis is that while in recent years the Bombay Presidency has published comparatively few books on art, it has produced practical evidence of the strength of public opinion on the subject, such as no other province in India has approached. The reality of this enthusiasm, as contrasted with literary fashions which have too often passed for the current coin of Indian opinion where art is concerned, has been demonstrated by the agreement of both nationalist and official organs of public opinion on this subject—which is, I think, the only subject on which they do agree—and by the enthusiastic public demonstrations which have occurred whenever the Bombay School's existence has been seriously threatened. It should also be remembered that the Bombay Movement in its strongly progressive form is comparatively young ; and that the new Bengal School never had to meet the determined hostility with which we were confronted from the very outset. The School has fortunately survived the onslaught, and is to-day engaged in blazing a trail for the discovery of new modes of expression in art, whereas the new Bengal School reached the end of its development on the extremely narrow lines its supporters have advocated some fifteen years ago. Bombay has begun the vital movement towards restoration in Indian art, not in a negative process of exclusion, but by an inclusive synthesis.

It was this Province which bore the burden of the attempt to secure opportunities for the Indian art schools and for Indian artists in the decoration of New Delhi. Members of this Society would recall the occasion when, under its benign ægis, a conference was held on the subject at Wembley, and how Lord Lloyd, who had lately finished his term of office as Governor of Bombay, voiced Bombay opinion on the subject of utilizing New Delhi to a moderate extent for the benefit of Indian painters. A lot of work was needed to secure this encouragement, in which eloquent leaders from Western India, like Sir Phiroze Sethna and Mr. M. R. Jayaker, and that most constructive of art critics, Mr. Kanaiyilal Vakil, among many others, played a strenuous part. It is one of the interesting features of this movement, and a great compensation, that the Bombay School has enjoyed support, not only from public leaders in Bombay, but from Governors of that Province. Lord Lloyd, whose wonderful flair for genuine art patronage and work for the Bombay School has caused him sometimes to be compared with Marshal Lyautey, the gifted reviver of the arts and crafts in Morocco, was succeeded by Governors who have been invariably most sympathetic and helpful: Sir Leslie Wilson, Sir

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Frederick Sykes, and the present Governor, Lord Brabourne. All these efforts were long overdue and greater ones are needed. For we are aware of the indigence of the Indian craftsman ; we believe that there is a market—an Indian and a world market—for the Indian arts and crafts, and that no opportunity should be lost in that country for encouraging the decorative arts, or those more realistic forms of art which modern conditions have produced in portraiture, landscape painting and commercial art. For that reason Bombay has welcomed the suggestion of the India Society for holding an exhibition of modern Indian art in London, because this enterprise will strike a new note by revealing in London not only one or two schools of Indian painting, but a glimpse, confined of course within the limited scope and capacity of this exhibition, of what many different districts in India are doing. This is sure to provide fresh impetus for many thoughtful commentators in England, and will, I hope, interest a great many people in this many-sided subject. But, naturally, the claims of modern art in Western India do not rest upon any collection of pictures, sculptures and architectural drawings, however careful and conscientious the regional committee which selected the works has been. That committee for Bombay includes representatives of the several art groups—the Bombay Art Society, the Art Society of India, the Architectural Association, and others ; and these societies, of course, include professional artists, some of whom have links with an older régime. For instance, the veteran Parsee artist, Mr. Pestonje Bomanji, who was a student under Mr. Lockwood Kipling, is still with us, and remembers his famous son, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, who was born in a house in the school garden, and who occasionally made his youthful presence felt in various lively ways. The Bombay Committee of Selection also comprises the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, which has undoubted influence upon art in Bombay through the fine collections bequeathed to the Museum by the late Sir Ratan Tata and his brother the late Sir Doran Tata, and considerably augmented by Lady Ratan Tata's munificence. The Tata Collections play their part in art education, for they contain many fine examples from Europe, as well as from Asia, and are very popular with the public. With reference to this subject of the realistic as well as the decorative aspects of painting and sculpture, it is interesting to record that only last year one of the past students of our School, Mr. R. P. Kamat, who is, I hope, here to-night, won the biennial Gold Medal and a travelling studentship for sculpture at the Royal Academy Schools, after only two years in that institution ; while two other holders of the Bombay School's diplomas, Mr. Acharekar and Mr. d'Cruz, had the honour of being commissioned to paint a portrait of the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, and the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Philip Chetwode ; so that you

see the life classes of the Bombay School are neither negligible nor super-erogatory in India at the present time ; and we gratefully acknowledge that patronage is kept alight by such timely examples from such exalted quarters. I have mentioned very few names, because however many supporters of the Bombay Movement I were to tell you about, there would be bound to be far more omissions, and you must try to visualize the natural variety of support which this Movement has fortunately obtained and which has made it live, not as a mere literary fashion, but as a vital expression of national feeling for art.

Art in Western India rests finally upon that permanent basis of circum-ambient beauty which surrounds one in that country like a sea of light. In my remarks to-night to which you have been so good as to accord your kind attention I have had to deal with practical difficulties surrounding a subject which, in its inmost essence, is not *only* a practical issue. The country of which I am chiefly speaking is itself the basis of our artistic faith ; and I only wish that I were able to transport you with me to the scene which is the fertile soil for budding art, revival and progress, because I do feel that a sight of Western India would give you far more confidence in the vital fact that Indian art is an existing power than any words of mine. I would like you to see some of the great festivals in Bombay—for instance, the day of *Nagapanchami* or Festival of Serpents, when the people paint the cobra on the walls and furniture of their houses, and when, surrounding the temples in Bombay, you see moving thousands who come to do reverence to the symbol of the Naga deity. On that busy occasion the snake charmers parade the Indian quarters of the city in hundreds, and the women present flowers and milk to the sacred serpents. You would see the charmers sitting in long rows down the streets, and the people in their brilliant costumes showering coins or flowers into the basket wherein sits the *cobra di capello* with hood expanded while his custodian recites aloud the praises of the charitable. A scene like that is the artist's inspiration and despair, for it is impossible to do any pictorial justice to such a wealth of colour.

Or you might see the goddess Gauri, enthroned in the homes of the people, clothed in glittering ornaments and brilliant robes, and surrounded by the fruits of the earth and the burning lamps as a sign that she has been installed as the presiding deity of the house ; and you would notice the golden footprints of the goddess on the floors and up the staircase, and the marks of her hands upon the walls where she has blessed the dwelling and its inmates. You would see the jolly elephant-headed god being carried in procession by thousands of people towards the sea at Chowpatty ; or the women and girls drawing wonderful pictures in vivid colours upon the thresholds of their

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houses ; for drawing is still a natural form of national expression which permeates the festivals of the people.

And then I would like to take you to see those "far-off things," the ancient shrines of the country's art, such as the Elephanta caves, with their strange vistas of gods and goddesses carved in the rock, whose base is washed by the waters of one of the most beautiful harbours in the world ; or to the Ajanta Caves, where one can almost feel—such is the spell of the still-living frescoes—the presence of the long-robed Buddhist monks, and hear their sacred hymns above the tinkle of the cascade which falls into that sequestered valley. Or to Ellora—for these places are only 300 miles from Bombay—where the temple of Kailasa, with all its vast embellishments of carved elephants, flying Apsaras, gods, and monsters, carved out of the heart of the hills, is one of the wonders of the world. If you could only see these things you would realize that the well-springs of art in India have by no means run dry ; that the dexterity which enables the Indian girl to draw *upwards* instead of *downwards*, as is the method in the West, is but one of the many emanations of the ancient endowment of art which still permeates the people, whether Hindu, Mohammedan, Christian, or Parsee, to a greater or lesser degree, which, in its modern forms of expression, is seeking for fresh woods and pastures new wherein to re-establish the old authority.

I should like to bear my tribute most cordially to the India Society's resourcefulness in organizing this exhibition, in which the Chairman at this meeting, Mr. de La Valette, who is also the accomplished organizer for the Royal Academy at its forthcoming exhibition of industrial art at Burlington House, has taken a leading part, and to Mr. Richter, the talented and no less tactful honorary secretary of the India Society, for all that he is doing to make this matter a success. In the past Bombay has sometimes agreed with the India Society and sometimes differed from it ; but so far as differences between us are concerned, I think Mr. de La Valette will admit that they have not been on the fundamental question so much as on burning topical ones. The object of the India Society is to help art in India ; and as I envisage this Society's future, I can see in it an increasingly valuable intermediary and interpreter of Indian ideals to Europe, an active advocate of patronage and technique as the only best gifts which the West can offer India to-day, and a disseminator of the gospel that art is at least as important in India as politics, and that the world, and India itself, stand to gain by the fuller recognition of this wonderful cultural asset of our Empire.

With your permission, ladies and gentlemen, I shall now, if somewhat tardily, acknowledge the principle that deeds speak louder than words by showing on the screen a few slides of some recent work executed by the

students of the School of Art, which I happen to have with me, and which the India Society have kindly allowed me to display to-night.

CHAIRMAN : I think you will all agree that we have listened not only to an extremely eloquent but a very interesting statement on a number of facts, which, I fear, are far too little known to most of us.

We are therefore extremely grateful to Captain Gladstone Solomon for going to the trouble of coming here to tell us of these matters, and I now hope that some of you will say something about the work done in Western India.

There is one member here in particular on whom I would like to call, because I was referring to him in the early part of my remarks when I pointed out that the Government of Bombay had detached art from the administration of education and established it as a respectable and decent thing in its own right. The Governor responsible for that step, Lord Lloyd, is here to-night, and will perhaps do us the favour of saying something about the work of the Bombay School, of which he knows so much, as he was responsible for much of the support that has been given to it.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD LLOYD : I must apologize for having come in very late. I was the loser, because I did not hear the beginning phrases of Mr. Gladstone Solomon's very interesting lecture.

I think, if you would allow me to, I might tell you one or two home truths and secrets about Mr. Gladstone Solomon which he did not tell you during his lecture.

I can illustrate them from his lecture. I think Mr. Solomon's tact has had a great deal to do with building up the school. We saw a very good example of it this evening. We who are the guests of this Society in this hall must not criticize it, but I do sometimes wish it had better projecting facilities. I noticed that Mr. Gladstone Solomon, with great tact, said he was sorry his photographs did not fit the screen.

He is also a very skilful person, because I know that on many occasions he put into my mind and the minds of my successors ideas for the development of the School of Art, and then went about praising us for having done the things he suggested to us. That is the height of skill. So when he tells you that I or any other Governor helped the School of Art, it means that he with great genius and skill put into our minds good desires and himself carried them out.

But I do want to say a word about the work of the School of Art, if I may. Before Mr. Gladstone Solomon went there, it is perfectly true that the School of Art in Bombay had done good work. But there was not in it—I think everybody who knows will admit it—the real enthusiasm that he was able to infuse into it afterwards. Before he came, it was just a Government Department with all that that means—no more and no less. Mr. Gladstone

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Solomon made it into an institution that was really alive ! He knew how to strike the sparks of genius and to inflame desire for artistic discovery in the spirit of youth, and to awaken all the real spirit of art that we know exists so much in India and its peoples. Mr. Solomon has shown us in his slides the really beautiful work that is being done by his students.

I need not say that the result of his work has been to double the numbers, or more than double the numbers of the school, while he was there. He has triumphed over departmentalism. He has carried on many a fight for his school, and I am glad to say that he has won a great many of them, and I believe the School of Art is now on a solid and enduring foundation. He has welded together every school of politics in Bombay, and combined all those schools in support of art. That is what it should be, for there are no political divisions in art.

But, gentlemen, we want to see both in India and outside of it patronage for Indian artists. In any part of the world, from the days of Velasquez onwards, art has never been able to develop unless wealth has patronized the artist.

I must say I think there is a great deal to be done in England in this respect, and I hope that this institution will help a great deal. But also—I was never tired of saying it when I was in India, and may I say it again ?—we look to people in India also to patronize Indian art. There are still a number of people with wealth in India who could do more to help the Indian artist than they do to-day. I would appeal to them to encourage and help their own artists and show a real Swadeshi spirit in its support.

Another thing is, we want all the various Schools of Art in India to have an equal share of the opportunities for showing true talent as the various opportunities present themselves. At one moment it may be New Delhi where opportunities for the artist may occur. Then we want to see the Government summon for the decoration of New Delhi with equal hand all those who are doing the best work in India. Similarly in India House here we want to see all the Schools of Art who have talent and genius and enthusiasm ; we want to see equal opportunity for them all.

But my desire was not to talk about Indian art, of which I know only too little, but of the one thing I do know, which is that the School of Art and successive Governments of Bombay all owe to Mr. Gladstone Solomon an enormous debt of gratitude for the work he has done for Indian art. The affection and loyalty which he has inspired amongst his students is the best proof of his work ; but I do want to take this opportunity of saying “ Thank you ” to him for the great work he has done, and to add what a pleasure it is for me to watch the school progressing from strength to strength.

MR. S. FYZEE RAHAMIN : I only want to say one thing.

One thing that might cause a little misunderstanding was the reference to the Bengal School. The Bengal School never reached its zenith. They tried, just as Mr. Solomon tried, under the Western method. The Bengal School tried in the same way their own method. They have not failed ; they have not given it up. But when you see the good works produced in Mr. Solomon's school, they do resemble the same work which Bengal has done, and Bengal has done no crime.

Mr. Solomon has done very fine work in his own way. He is doing it. It is appreciated by the people of that section. But I do not believe that Bengal, in taking up the attitude of trying to work on the basis of the Eastern mind, has failed. I certainly thank Mr. Solomon for the good he has done to the Bombay Presidency.

MR. YUSUF ALI : I did not intend to speak to-day because I am afraid my contact with Bombay in recent times has been very slight. But as I saw these slides, and as I heard the comments on them of Mr. Solomon, and afterwards the splendid stirring speech of Lord Lloyd, who did so much for Bombay art, I could not help thinking that some things are being done in Bombay which might well be emulated elsewhere. There are different art movements in various parts of India which are not sufficiently brought to focus. I think it would be a great service if some central authority, stimulated by the India Society, were to take up seriously the question of art as apparently the Bombay Government has done.

I have seen the decorations in Delhi and admired them, but I did not realize that so many of them came from Bombay.

I am very glad indeed to see this feather in the cap of Bombay, because I myself spent my youth in Bombay, and I have the happiest memories of that great city of commerce, and also, it appears, of art.

There is only one further remark I should like to make. Lord Lloyd has very kindly made an appeal for the encouragement of Indian art both in this country and in India. Would it be possible, when this Exhibition closes, for the India Society to embody the results of that Exhibition in a well-illustrated report or pamphlet and send it out broadcast all over India?

I visit India every year, and as far as lies in my power I shall help that movement if the India Society wishes me to do so.

DR. K. N. SITARAM : After so many eloquent speakers have spoken about the subject I will not take up much of your time, but fortunately it so happens that I have been in charge of art exhibitions not at Bombay, but at Lahore. There we find there is no quarrel between the schools from Bengal or Bombay.

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I also happen to know not only Mr. Gladstone Solomon's work, but also several of his disciples and pupils.

The Indian School of Art is masculine and not emasculated, and never feminine. It is 100 per cent. virile and full of flesh and blood.

The Bombay School proves that the people are still as virile as in the old days. The Bombay School of Art can do as admirable work, as beautiful, if not better, than the Bengal School itself; but still their venue lies in another way.

So far as the Bombay School is concerned, I give them prizes every year. I have no partiality, because I happen to be the friend of all the artists, and for the last six or seven years I have been giving prizes.

This much I might say, that to Captain Gladstone Solomon and other people we Indians owe a debt of gratitude. We all love him not as an Englishman, but as an Indian who appreciates India at its best, who takes the perfume from the lotus and spreads it outside.

CHAIRMAN : I think you will all have been interested in the enthusiastic statement made by Dr. Sitaram of the Museum in Lahore.

Prior to that we heard Lord Lloyd, Mr. Yusuf Ali, and Mr. Fyzee Rahamin. From what I can gather, their view seems to be that there is a separate art movement in Bengal, another in Bombay, and a third in Lahore, and that, in fact, the art movement is very much alive all over India. That is the thing that matters. What particular methods of expression are chosen depends on the artists. What training they get is more or less a matter of predilection, and I do not see why anyone should wish to lay down that they are only to be trained according to one system and no other.

There are some important points that arise out of Mr. Solomon's address.

Mr. Solomon has shown us to-night very convincing examples that life schools need not spoil a good artist when you have got one.

The technical methods of training a budding artist to become a qualified artist are very much bound up with tradition, and it is on that account that people who do not understand exactly what the methods of the Bombay School of Art are have been declaiming against it.

The real difficulty about the teaching at the Bombay School of Art, it would seem to me, is not so much that they follow certain European methods, but how they are going to keep in touch with the European art movements which underlie their methods. This difficulty is bound to be experienced wherever one country works on ideas derived from another. At Bombay, if I may judge from the few things I have seen of the work of the Bombay School of Art, they appear to have struck a happy medium.

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They have chosen certain European methods of training artists, but they have not tried by force to Europeanize the work of those who think along different lines.

In this way Captain Gladstone Solomon has given great strength and a feeling of certainty to his students, without spoiling their desire to achieve that which it is traditional for them to wish to express.

I think, for instance, that the sense of space in their decorative design, and the sense of rhythm in their pictures generally, are distinctly Indian. If one bears in mind that this is the work of students, of unfinished artists, one will doubly appreciate in it those things which are greatest in Indian art—namely, the gift of dealing effectively with spaces and line. The sense of decorative spaces and the flowing rhythm with which they treat subjects, whether static or dynamic, is extremely effective. It seems to me that a great deal is being done by the Bombay School of Art that is helpful and useful.

What interests me most about this forthcoming Exhibition of Modern Indian Art is that we shall there see, not so much the work of students, as that of the men who are considered in their respective parts of India, by those who take an interest in art, to be at the head of their profession. I was discussing with Captain Gladstone Solomon this evening the rules which had guided the selection so far as the exhibits are concerned that have been sent from Western India, and he pointed out that they were very anxious to show only mature work and the best work.

If that is done by all the Regional Committees, and if we hang the exhibits in a telling manner, I think you will get for the first time in this country an opportunity of seeing what good work is being done in the different parts of India.

Captain Gladstone Solomon has referred to the practical side of art. I have been engaged on that for the last two years in connection with a thing called by the very awkward name of "Art in Industry." It is an unpleasant name, but a good thing. It is the answer to the question whether, given the right artist and the right opportunity, we cannot bring beauty into all the objects which we see about us or which we handle and use. I think that is a very important matter in India too, and one in the furtherance of which the Bombay School of Art has taken a prominent part by fostering the artistic crafts.

Lord Lloyd was speaking about the patronage of art. It should be possible to secure a certain amount of patronage in this country for Indian painting and sculpture if it follows the vigorous lines which we have seen. But, inevitably, it is in India among Indians that it must in the main be found.

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Another matter which interested me was the discussion about mural paintings. I seem to have heard about mural paintings at Viceregal Lodge and at India House. I wonder if one bears sufficiently in mind that all those mural paintings have been carried out by students, by young men who, if they live a bit longer and go on working, will do better, and if much longer might conceivably do very much better, and whether we ought not to follow the method of the Italian authorities in providing fresh opportunities.

When I visited the Milan Exhibition last year, I saw gigantic wall surfaces smothered with wall paintings. One of the Italian authorities asked me whether I liked them. Having looked at his face, I felt I could safely say I did not. He said, "Well; they are by our best budding artists."

I asked, "What will you do with them?"

He replied, "I do not know what we shall do with the artists, but we have given them a marvellous opportunity, and before the next Exhibition comes on we shall probably whitewash these walls and give them another chance!"

It seems a very good plan to give the same men or better men a chance of using the same wall surfaces, until something so good is produced that everybody raises his hands in horror at the thought of wiping it out. I believe that an occasional coat of whitewash over the work of young men would be extremely helpful to spur them to greater achievement.

Without wishing to make this a recommendation to the Government of India, I would ask those interested in wall surfaces to place them at the disposal of young artists, subject to their right to whitewash them after a few years if they feel so disposed.

Captain Gladstone Solomon referred to the India Society and its policy. I do not want to say anything about that excepting on one matter. The India Society is twenty-five years old. That represents almost a generation; so whatever the Society is to-day, it is not what it was when it started. The justification is no longer the same. Whether we have carried out our task with more or less success is for you to say, but that the task we are aiming to fulfil to-day is a different one from that with which we were concerned at the start is a fact.

The foundation of the India Society was due to the remarks of an eminent gentleman who referred to Indian art as a contradiction in terms: it was either Indian or art, but it could not be both. That was a good justification for starting the Society, but it no longer applies.

What we have to do in the future is to be of use to India, as well as to the large number of English people in this country who are interested in that great part of the British Empire, by doing the kind of work of which this

Exhibition is one example—that is, to give an unbiassed opportunity of seeing what is being done in India at present and what has been done in the past. The two things are both important, and in referring to India's past I need hardly remind this audience of the work already done, and that still lies before the India Society, not only in studying the ancient sculpture, painting, crafts, literature, and music within her borders, but also in tracing the powerful influence she exerted through the centuries on the art of the other countries of Asia. It is quite right that to keep the living alive should be held an important thing; but it is not worth keeping the living alive unless they live up to the highest traditions of the past and aim at greater achievement in the future.

I do not mean that in the slightest as an indication that one ought to go on imitating the past. On the contrary, I look upon tradition in contemporary art, not as an imitating of the past, but as a stepping on the shoulders of the past to reach to something higher. There are two methods by which people may differ from their predecessors. One is by standing on their shoulders, the other by treading on their toes, the former being clearly the most effective.

I feel that in the future the India Society's task will be to give a fair survey of what is best in Indian art, both in the past and in the present, and to leave India herself to hammer out what her artistic destiny is to be.

I do not believe that anybody can say whether the Bombay School, or the Bengal School, or any other School of Indian Art, has got hold of the right lines until you know what developments the future of India will bring to the whole outlook of its people. For art must be linked with the life of the people if it is to have any meaning at all. If art is anything at all, it is either the telling of stories or the making of statements and suggestions. Abstract art, the conception that one should go to a great deal of trouble to say nothing, is a thoroughly Western notion which has not yet polluted India.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is about as much as I can add to this discussion beyond saying how extremely grateful we are to Captain Gladstone Solomon not only for having come here to-night to give us this eloquent and lucid account of what he has tried to do for Indian art, but also for the work he has done out there.

I feel sure you will wish to pass a hearty vote of thanks to Captain Gladstone Solomon. (Applause.)

ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS IN INDIA, 1932-33

BY RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI

(Director-General of Archæology)

A SUM of about Rs. 20,000 was spent during the year 1932-33 on excavations. Apart from important architectural remains and other historical evidences brought to light by this year's excavations, they have yielded a wealth of portable antiquities sufficient for a small museum. The following paragraphs contain a résumé of the principal results obtained.

Owing to the retirement of Dr. E. J. H. Mackay and lack of funds no excavations were carried out at Mohenjodaro. His volume on *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro* is, however, in the press. At Harappa Mr. Vats brought to light more houses, comprising workmen's quarters, similar in some respects to the potters' quarters of the sixth century B.C. at Athens. The Indus Valley script has not yet been deciphered, but it may be of interest here to refer to an interesting article entitled "Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur," published by Mr. C. J. Gadd of the British Museum in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XVIII., London. Special interest attaches to one of the eighteen seals described in this article, as Mr. Gadd believes it to be a local imitation of the Indus Valley type made at Ur, with a legend in the archaic cuneiform writing instead of in the usual Indus Valley script. From this it seems reasonable to assume that the latter script must have been understood in Mesopotamia, and we may hope for the discovery sooner or later of a bilingual inscription in Mesopotamia or in the Indus Valley itself. Mention may also here be made of Mr. M. G. de Hevesy's discovery that the script of the Indus Valley was identical with that of the legends on a number of wooden tablets discovered in the Easter Islands in the Pacific Ocean. Professor Hevesy finds close similarities between three hundred signs of each of the two scripts.

In his *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization* Sir John Marshall referred to the widespread diffusion of the chalcolithic culture and to Mr. Hargreaves' and Sir Aurel Stein's explorations of numerous sites of the early period in Baluchistan and Southern Waziristan. Since then Sir Aurel Stein has, with the support of the Harvard University and the British Museum, carried out extensive researches in Southern Persia and in Fars, the ancient Persia, resulting in the discovery of abundant remains of the chalcolithic period, which show close relation to the culture of the Indus Valley.



FIG. 1.—LE-BU-QUIST MONASTERY AT KU-AWAN, TAWILA: CENTRAL VIEW OF EXCAVATIONS LOOKING NORTH.



FIG. 2.—BRONZE IMAGE OF THE BUDDH VAJRASATTVA, FOUND IN MONASTERY 9, AT NALANDA.

C. J. G. S. 1911



FIG. 3.—NALANDA: BRONZE IMAGE OF BODHISATTVA MANJUARI, FOUND IN MONASTERY 9, AT NALANDA.

C. J. G. S. 1911



FIG. 1. NALANDA: BRONZE IMAGE OF TRILOKVARIJAYA TRAMPLING UPON MAHESVARA AND GAURI, FOUND IN MONASTERY 9.

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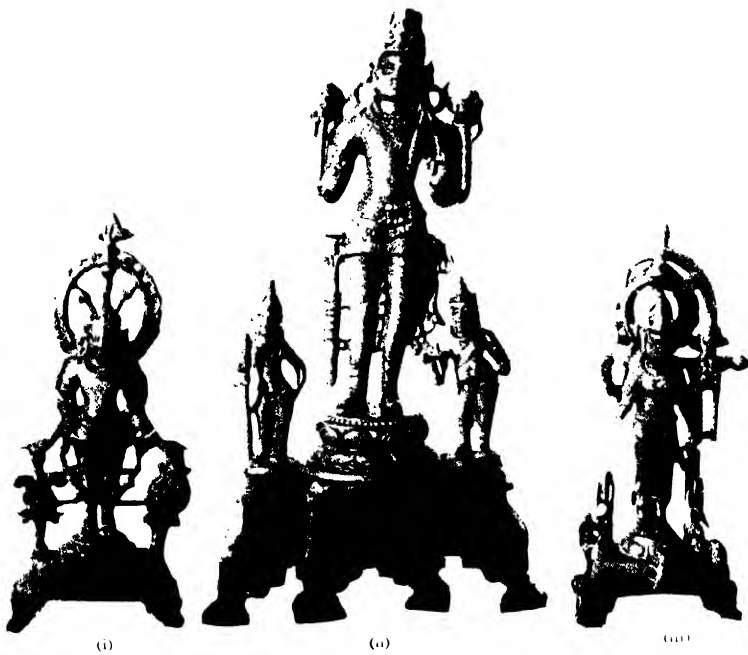


FIG. 5. NALANDA: BRONZE IMAGES OF (i) VISHNU, (ii) SURYA, AND (iii) CHARDI FOUND IN MONASTERY 9.

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FIG. 6.—MINIATURE CLAY *GHATTA* FOUND IN A STUPA AT NALANDA.

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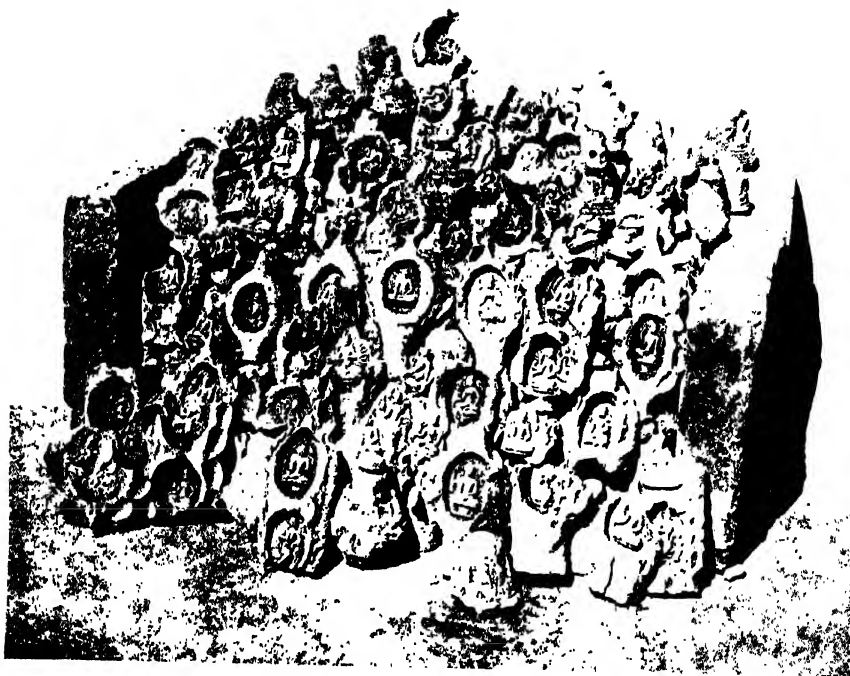


FIG. 7.—A HEAP OF UNBURNT CLAY IMPRESSIONS OF BUDDHIST SEALS, FOUND
IN A STUPA AT NALANDA.

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FIG. 8.—BIJAI MANDAL AT OLD DIGHI, WHOSE IDENTITY AS PALACE OF MOHAMMAD-BIN-TUGHLAQ IS NOW ESTABLISHED BY EXCAVATION.

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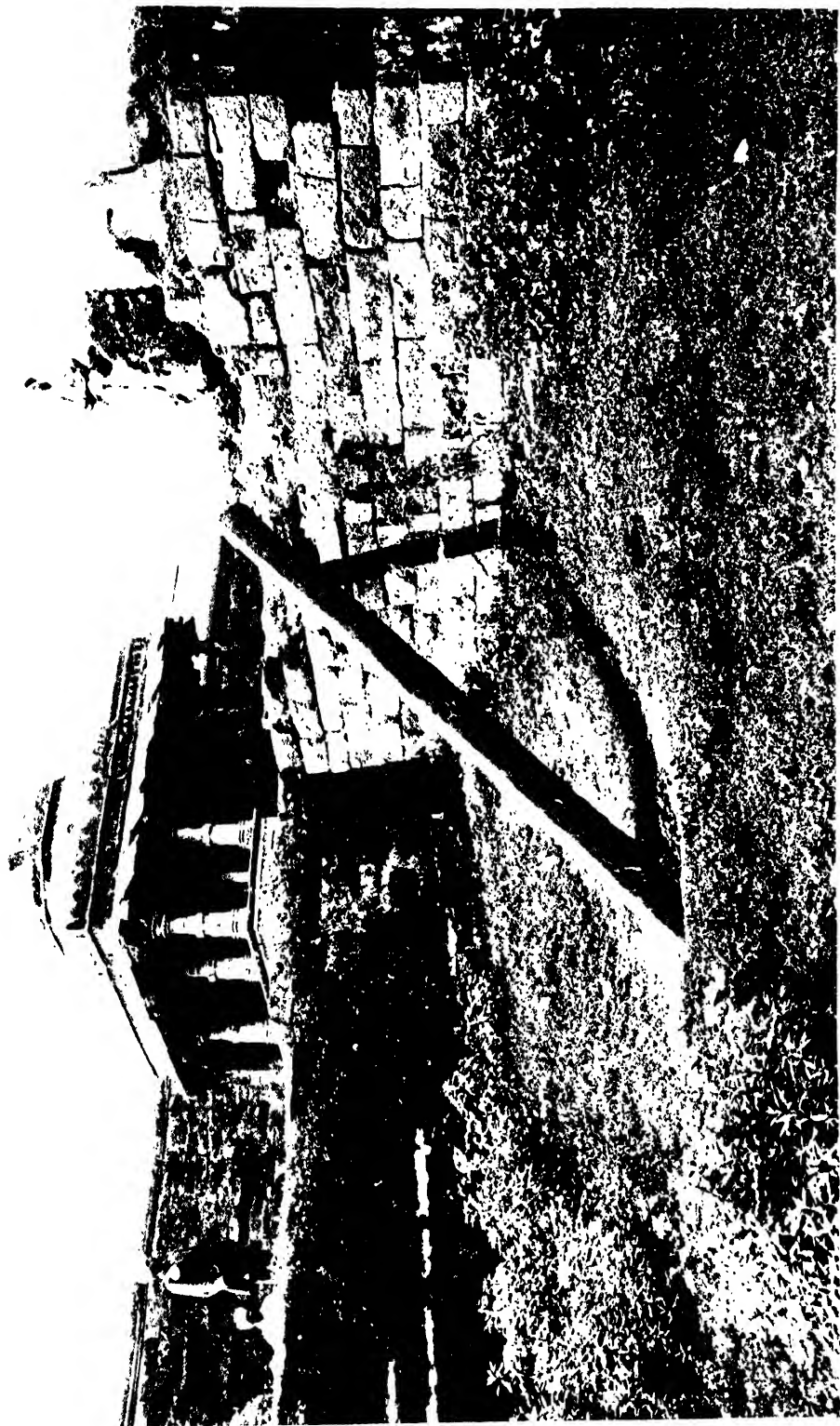


FIG. 9.—ONE OF THE THREE PIECES OF THE IRON FILIAK A: PHAR WITH THE KANAL MANLA MOSQUE IN THE BACKGROUND.

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FIG. 10. KOSAMBI TERRACOTTA TOY-CART, c.250-1 THIRD CENTURY A.D.
(Allahabad Municipal Museum.)

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FIG. 11. DOOR LINTEL CARVED WITH TWO OF THE FOUR NOBLE ANIMALS OF THE BUDDHISTS,
FROM KOSAMBI (ANCIENT KAUŚAMBI).
(Allahabad Municipal Museum.)

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At Taxila, where excavations have been in progress since 1913, Sir John Marshall was engaged on the clearance and conservation of the Buddhist monastery at Kalawan (Fig. 1), which turns out to be the largest monastery so far brought to light in the north-west of India. It comprises three separate blocks of buildings, ranged one above the other on the hillside terraces. The middle block, which covers an area of about 150 yards east and west by 100 yards north and south, comprises three large courts of cells, a group of dining and assembly halls, and spacious courts of stupas and chapels. The inscription engraved on a copper plate, which was discovered in the previous year in one of these stupa shrines, has been published by Professor Sten Konow of Oslo, and reveals the fact that the old name of this monastery was Chadasila, and that the shrine in which it was found was erected by a female lay-worshipper in the year 134 (of an unspecified era), corresponding approximately with the year A.D. 76. This record is of importance, not only as confirming Sir John Marshall's views as to the chronology of Saka and Pallava rulers of Taxila, but also for the instructive light that it throws on the history of the Gandhara school of sculpture, since it enables us to date with comparative confidence the Gandhara reliefs with which the stupa shrine referred to was decorated. An interesting feature of this monastery is the presence of three strong-rooms, which may have been intended for the storage of the property of the monastery—*e.g.*, copper bells, etc. Sixty coins, ranging in date from Hermæus to Hormazd II., were found in this monastery; and in a niche in front of one of these strong-rooms was a group of unusually well-modelled terra-cotta figures.

At Nalanda, District Patna, eight monasteries, a large stupa, and other religious structures had been brought to light in previous years. Another monastery (No. 9) has now been exposed by Mr. G. C. Chandra. The portable antiquities recovered from this building include an interesting collection of some seventy-five bronze or copper and stone images representing the Buddha: Dhyani Buddha Vajrasattva (Fig. 2), Manjuari (Fig. 3) and other Bodhisattvas, Tara, Trailokyavijaya (Fig. 4) and other Buddhist and Brahmanical gods and goddesses (Fig. 5). Most of the bronze or copper images were gilded, and on one of them the gilt is remarkably well preserved (Fig. 2). The pedestals of some of these images are moreover ornamented with semi-precious stones, while the eyes, *urna* marks on the forehead and the edges of the drapery are picked out in silver or platinum. As the bulk of the bronze images hitherto found at Nalanda had been recovered from the monastery of Balaputra of the Sailendra dynasty of Suvarnnadvipa (Sumatra), which stood on the site of monastery No. 1, Dr. Bosch, a Dutch scholar, had expressed the opinion that these statues were purely Hindu-Javanese bronze work, and that

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they had either been made on the spot by Javanese artists, or been brought over from Srivijaya or Java. Another Dutch scholar (Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers) has already, on grounds of style, etc., shown this view of Dr. Bosch to be untenable, and the recent find in a monastery at Nalanda other than the one built at the request of the Sumatran king supplies further valuable proof of their having been manufactured by local metal-casters of Nalanda during the reign of the Pala kings of Bengal (A.D. 800-1000).

Other minor antiquities included some three thousand terra-cotta or unburnt clay objects, including miniature *Chaitya* models (Fig. 6), seals, and seal impressions (Fig. 7). Among the latter two types are the commonest—viz., those seal impressions that were attached to letters and parcels and retain on their backs marks of string or tape with which they were secured, and those that were used as tokens or offerings to priests or temples. Of the former class those belonging to “community of the noble monks residing at the great monastery of Nalanda” are the most interesting. Personal seals include those of certain kings of the Gupta and other dynasties and one of the Pala king Devapaladeva, who flourished in the ninth century A.D. Another noteworthy object found was a large-sized die of iron, making the words “Sri Buddha,” which was probably used for branding animals in the same way as bulls are branded in modern times with Siva’s trident and other sacred symbols.

The great temple with its enclosing monastery at Paharpur in the Rajahahi district is the largest single monument brought to light by excavation anywhere in Eastern India; it is only a little smaller than the rectangular court around the great Step Pyramid at Saggara in Egypt. An interesting stone inscription of the late Buddhist period in Bengal which was found at Nalanda and published by Mr. N. G. Majumdar reveals the fact that a monk from Paharpur had made extensive donations for the construction and repair of religious edifices at that site and at Nalanda. One of the structures built by this monk at Paharpur was a temple of the Buddhist goddess Tara, and this temple has been brought back to view and conclusively identified with the help of a large number of terra-cotta plaques all impressed with eight-armed figures of that goddess.

Since Sir John Marshall’s excavations of 1905-06, no systematic excavations had been carried out at Rajgir. Some small digging recently carried out has helped to ascertain the true character of an interesting structure, situated in the middle of this hill-girt city of Kasagarapura, as it was called in antiquity. When first exposed, this structure was believed to be a colossal linga constructed in imitation of a Buddhist stupa. The recent excavation has disclosed the existence on this site of two structures of different periods built one upon the other. The lower structure is a circular Saiva shrine of the Gupta

period, which was originally adorned with fine stucco figures, and the upper a Buddhist stupa of the eighth or ninth century A.D. The only other temples with circular *garbhagrihas* of ancient times known to us are the Chedi temples at Chandrehe and Gurgi in the Rewa State and the Srirangam temple near Trichinopoly, though these are several centuries later in date. It may be noted that the well-known temple of Sibyl at Tivoli in Italy has the same circular plan.

A fragment of a stone sculpture of the Kushan period, which was found in the course of excavation at Rajgir, is engraved with the name of the mountain Vipula, one of the five hills that surround the city of Rajagriha and are mentioned in the *Mahabharata*.

Excavations at Bijai Mandal in the ancient city of Jahanpanah at old Delhi now leave no doubt as to this building having been the palace (Fig. 8) of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq, the second king of the Tughlaq dynasty (1325-51). Sir Sayyid Ahmad's suggestion that this was a bastion of the surrounding walls of this city is no longer tenable. The building as now exposed shows the Diwan-i-Khas or Hall of Special Audience on the summit of a lofty terrace approached by broad concrete ramps, and what must have been a large pillared hall on a lower level on the north side. A feature of the former are two stone-lined wells sunk into the floor, which were covered with close-fitting lids of the same material. These wells were undoubtedly meant for the storage of jewellery and other valuables, but the only objects of any value found in them were two or three gold coins of South India and a few pieces of gold thread. The structure on the lower level was about 210 feet in width and more than 300 feet in length (north and south), and bounded by solid walls on all sides. The southern portion, showing the positions of ten rows of seventeen pillars each, has been exposed. The rest of the structure is buried under a modern cemetery. The pillars were all of wood and have perished, but the base stones of several of them have survived *in situ*. This hall, which may be called the Hall of Public Audience, must have been two storeys high, and therefore contained something like 600 pillars. This, in all probability, is the Thousand-pillared Hall of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq, mentioned by Ibn-Batuta, the African Qazi, who spent several years in that king's court at Jahanpanah.

Farishta, the well-known Muhammadan historian, mentions another thousand-pillared hall, which was built by Alauddin Khalji (1295-1316) at his city of Siri, but no excavations have as yet been carried out, and it is not possible to say in what part of the city it lies buried.

These many-pillared halls of the Sultans of Delhi may have been copied from the real thousand-pillared halls like those in the Minakshi temple at

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Madura and in the Srirangam temple near Trichinopoly, after Malik Kafur's invasion of South India in A.D. 1310. The precise date of the two Dravidian examples mentioned here is not known. Many years ago Dr. Burgess drew attention to numerous similarities between the Dravidian and Egyptian styles of architecture, and suggested that the thousand-pillared halls of South Indian temples may have been derived from the hypostyle halls of the temples of the ancient Pharaohs. It is noteworthy that the Vedic gods Mitra and Varuna are described in the Rigveda as occupying palaces of similar design.

The Iron Pillar at Dhar, Central India, is one of the largest ancient forgings of wrought iron which have come down anywhere, and which have excited unstinted admiration of eminent scientists and metallurgists of modern times. Other works of this nature are the well-known iron pillar at Delhi (*circa* fifth century A.D.); the iron pillars or girders, measuring up to 42 feet in length, employed in the construction of the temple of the sun at Konarak, District Puri (thirteenth century A.D.); a large-sized trident (*tricula*) at Mount Abu; similar tridents in the temples at Gopesvara and Barahat, Garhwal.

The Iron Pillar at Dhar (Fig. 9) is broken in three pieces, measuring together more than 43 feet in length, and some writers have opined that a fourth piece of some 7 feet in length has been lost sight of. The date and purpose of this interesting monument have remained uncertain. It was Mr. Henry Cousens who suggested in the year 1902-03 that it must have been set up before a temple either as a special gift to the temple or as a column of victory. It is gratifying to note that this latter view of Mr. Cousens appears to receive considerable support from an inscription, parts of which I was able to put together at my visit to Dhar last summer. These fragments are lying in Kamal Maula's mosque by the side of the two large basalt slabs bearing two odes of the celebrated Paramara king Bhoja (A.D. 1018-60) and a panegyric of one of his successors, Arjunavarman. This new inscription had hitherto escaped notice. The slab on which it was engraved must have been more than 5 feet in height, but though the width cannot be determined with equal certainty, it could not have been less than 7 or 8 feet. The inscription consisted of 79 lines containing 585 verses, all in the Prakrit language and in the Arya metre. In the colophon the poem is designated as a *kodanda* composed by the king Bhoja himself, but may, like the two odes referred to above, have been composed by one of his court poets. The stanza which I believe refers to the Iron Pillar is that numbered 306. It records the setting up of a column to serve as a post to which could be tied the "elephant of victory," which had already been fettered with ropes in the form of the rays of Bhoja's sword. The only pillar at Dhar answering this description is the Iron Pillar, and

there are good reasons to believe that it must have been erected to commemorate his military exploits against the neighbouring powers, including perhaps a victory over the Chedi ruler Gangeyadeva of Tilangana or Trikalīṅga. No epigraphical evidence of this latter conquest is yet known, but the well-known Hindustani proverb "Kahan Raja Bhoj Kahan Ganga Tali" would appear to point to its correctness.

Other antiquities of Dhar have hitherto received scant attention. A large collection of Brahmanical and Jaina images dating from the eighth to the twelfth century A.D. remains unpublished. In connection with the pre-Muhammadan antiquities of Mandu, the capital of the Muhammadan rulers of Malwa and the scene of the loves of Baz Bahadur and Rupamati, it is noteworthy that recent excavations carried out by the Public Works Department of the Dhar State have revealed, besides sculptural remains, a large rock-cut monastery, which must have belonged to the Vaishnava priests.

Among the numerous inscriptions of different periods that were dealt with during the year, the most important is the fragmentary inscription from Mahasthangarh, District Bogra, Bengal. This inscription has been published in the *Epigraphia Indica* by Professor Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. It purports to record the occurrence of a severe famine and the measures of relief adopted to combat it, including the distribution of paddy from the royal granary and the advance of loans through district officers. This epigraph dates from the third century B.C., and is the most ancient epigraph yet found anywhere in Bengal. It conclusively identifies the ancient remains at Mahasthangarh as the site of Pundranagara or Pundravardhana, the ancient capital of North Bengal. A Kushan inscription from Mathura turns out to be the first Brahmi inscription which mentions a Macedonian month (Gurppiya). It is dated in the Kushan year 28, and reduces the gap that existed between the reigns of Vasishka and Havishka to some two months. With the aid of similar epigraphs I was able, some years ago, to bridge the interval of thirteen years that remained unaccounted for between Kanishka and Vasishka. Dr. Hirananda Shastri was engaged during the year on a careful examination of the numerous inscriptions on stone, terra-cotta tablets, etc., found in the excavations at Nalanda. According to a Nagari inscription of the Samvat year 1109 engraved on the iron pillar at Delhi, the name of this city at that time was Dhilli. This form of the name is also found on an image recently discovered at Hastinapur in the District of Meerut. Some 500 stone inscriptions, besides six copper-plate inscriptions, were copied and examined in Southern India. These belong to the Pallava, Chola, Chalukya, and Pandya dynasties. Certain scribblings in a cave at Vikramkhal in the Sambalpur District, Orissa, which were recently brought to my notice by Mr.

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L. P. Pandya, have been examined by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, who assigns them to *circa* 2000 B.C. It is interesting to note that Sir John Marshall has discovered similar engravings on a number of boulders on the River Indus near the town of Attock. One of these boulders, however, also bears a few Kharoshthi characters, and the presumption is that these scribblings are of a date later than the Kharoshthi characters in question.

In the Indian Museum at Calcutta the gallery of the Gandhara sculptures has been rearranged and the sculptures reclassified according to subjects represented by them. Five silver punch-marked coins from the Rajshahi District, which were added to the coin cabinet of this museum, are the earliest coins so far found in Bengal. The new acquisitions also include a rare stone image of Harihara attended by Surya and Buddha. An interesting Gandhara stone relief in the collections in the Peshawar Museum had hitherto remained unnoticed. It represents the reception of Gautama Buddha at the deer park (Sarnath) by his five comrades soon after his enlightenment at Bodh Gaya near Gaya. In conformity with the account given in the *Vinaya Pitaka* one of the monks in the sculpture prepares a seat for the Master, another brings water for washing his feet, while a third holds a fan.

The Allahabad Municipal Museum, which was started only a few years ago, already contains a considerable number of valuable antiquities brought together by Mr. B. M. Vyas, executive officer of that municipality. Two of the acquisitions made during the years under review are terra-cotta toy carts, which date from the third century A.D. and were collected at Kosam (ancient Kausambi in the District of Allahabad). In the cart (Fig. 10) are seated two rows of three passengers each, the middle one in each case being a woman. The hair of the woman in the left-hand row is being pulled by the man seated behind her. The other row consists of musicians. At first sight it seemed as if these carts were representations of the well-known Sanskrit play the *Mrichchhakatika* of Sudraka, the woman in the left-hand row being Radanika, the maid-servant of the hero Charudatta.

Other noteworthy sculptures in this museum are: a fragment of a door lintel, which must have been carved with figures of the four noble animals (Fig. 11) of the Buddhists, like those found on the abacus of the Asokan capital at Sarnath; Krishna lifting the Govardhana hill; images of Jaina Tirthankaras and a beautiful head of Siva from Kosam; an image of the goddess Sitala riding on a donkey and a Bodhisattva or a Yaksha of about the second century A.D., both from Pratapgarh; and terra-cotta figurines depicting styles of costume, coiffure, etc.

ANGKOR IN THE NINTH CENTURY*

BY VICTOR GOLOUBEFF

(École Française d'Extrême Orient)

BEFORE setting forth the results of the two archæological expeditions, the conduct of which was entrusted to me by M. Georges Cœdès, Director of the École Française d'Extrême Orient, during the years 1932-34, I shall ask you to pay a rapid visit with me to the site of my researches. To help you to visualize the position in your mind, I am going to show upon this screen some views taken from an aeroplane flying over Angkor.

We start from the Western Bàrày, an immense reservoir of water situated to the west of the ancient Khmer capital. The morning is misty, as often happens in summer during the rainy season; but as soon as the aeroplane attains some height the atmosphere becomes limpid and clear.

Here we are, almost over Angkor Vat. Angkor Vat, I may remind you, is a magnificent religious foundation of the twelfth century, the twelve towers of which, covered with sculpture, the numerous events, the avenues bordered with serpents in stone, the pools and galleries, recall Vaikuntha, Vishnu's paradise. Our plane rises higher and higher. Here we are at 1,000, perhaps 1,200, metres above the plain—the forests, the rice-fields, the ruins recede, lose their height, and seem spread upon an immense carpet rolled out at our feet. No doubt the geometrical arrangement of Angkor Vat strikes you. All is rectilinear, rectangular. The whole is set in a square frame of wide moats, the glittering surfaces of which are covered at this season with rose-coloured lotus and water hyacinth.

To the north of Angkor Vat another square, still larger, seems to incline towards the horizon. This is Angkor Thom: Angkor Thom, the royal city, built by Jayavarman VII. at the end of the twelfth century, the area of which is not less than 9 square kilometres. The centre is marked by a temple as magnificent as it is strange—the Bayon. As seen from our plane it makes us think of a confused assemblage of pointed rocks, the tops of which had been carved into human faces.

Now let us tack about. To the south of Angkor Thom a hillock crowned by a temple is surrounded by dense forest. This is the Phnom Bakhèng, with

* Lecture delivered to the India Society on July 27, 1934. Sir Francis Younghusband presided, and H.E. the French Ambassador was also present.

Angkor in the Ninth Century

which we shall have much to do later—a Śaiva temple of the ninth century erected by King Yaśovarman I., the founder of Angkor. Its sanctuaries rise from a high-staged basement. At its base are stone stairs leading down to the plain. Hidden by luxuriant foliage these are not visible in the photograph.

After flying over Angkor let us cast a rapid glance—still from our aerial car—over the Roluos region. Roluos lies 20 kilometres south-east of Angkor. The temples that we notice 1,000 metres below us, surrounded by scrub and by marshy ground, date from the ninth century, and are therefore earlier than Angkor Thom and Angkor Vat. As M. Georges Cœdès has proved, they mark the site of another *purī*, or royal city, Hariharālaya, the history of which pertains to the reigns of two famous sovereigns, Jayavarman II. and Indravarman.

The temple nearest to us is the Bakong, which in days of yore sheltered the *devarāja*, the “God-King,” the symbol of deified royalty worshipped in the guise of a *linga*. Note the resemblance which its central pyramid presents to that of the Phnom Bakhèng, of which I have just shown you a view. One would say that the architects had been inspired by the same conceptions and formulas. But the Bakong, the monument we are now looking at, occupies the middle of a regular square formed by moats and embankments, while the Bakhèng, its counterpart in Angkor, rises in the midst of dense vegetation like the dwelling of some sylvan god. Naturally we ask ourselves this question: Has not the Bakhèng, with its stepped pyramid erected on the summit of a little hill, also been the centre of several successive enclosures, strictly geometrical in shape and enclosed like those of the Bakong at Roluos, within a huge square frame? We shall see at the close of my address whether we are in a position as yet to answer this question.

Now let us see what ideas inspired me in the course of my investigations. As my Director and friend, M. Cœdès, explained to you in his lecture last year, it had long been supposed that the town known at present under the name of Angkor Thom, with its circuit of 12 kilometres, its five monumental gateways and its magnificent central temple, was no other than the town Yaśodarapura, the foundation of which is assigned in numerous inscriptions to the end of the ninth century, during the reign of King Yaśovarman I., a zealous worshipper of the god Śiva. It was admitted at the same time that the great temple of the Bayon, with its many towers in the form of faces, situated in the geometrical centre of the city, represented the “Central Hill” of the Khmer texts, the temple in which was carried on the cult of the God-King—that is, of deified kingship under the form of a *linga*.

The discovery at the Bayon in 1923 of various sculptures of Buddhist character, and especially of a pediment representing the Bodhisattva Lokeś-

vara, raised serious doubts as to the ritualistic purpose of this monument, doubts which led M. Louis Finot to recognize in the central temple of Angkor Thom an old Mahāyānist sanctuary that had been transformed into a Śaiva temple, an hypothesis that was fully established by the discovery quite recently of a gigantic Buddha buried deep in the foundations of the edifice.

In 1927 M. Philippe Stern published his most lucid and discerning thesis on the Bayon. Thereafter the town which bore the name of Angkor Thom was no longer the capital founded in the ninth century by Yaśovarman I., but a town of the eleventh century built by a great Buddhist sovereign, Sūryavarman I.

The reading of the Sanskrit inscriptions on the steles placed at the four corners of this city has since enabled M. Georges Cœdès to prove that the walls of Angkor Thom and the Bayon itself are of even a later date than M. Stern had supposed, and that they date in fact from the last years of the twelfth century. Instead of representing the blossoming and expansion of the art of Angkor, the Bayon and many other monuments of the same style, such as Práh Khan, Ta Prohm, Bantéay Kdei, Bantéay Chmâr and the Néak Pean, appertain to a phase of decadence, and we should see in them not the dawn but the twilight of the "Miracle Khmèr." After the striking evidence provided by M. Cœdès, it no doubt seems possible at this time that the present Angkor Thom is the city built by a fervent votary of Buddhism, Jayavarman VII., after the year 1177, the year when the old capital had been taken by assault and pillaged by the Chams, the implacable enemies of the Khmer people.

This point being settled, it was necessary to find out the position of the first town of Angkor, the Yaśodarapurī of the ninth century. M. Stern had proposed to locate it around the Phiméanākās, the stepped pyramid of which, ornamented with lions and elephants carved in stone and crowned by a small sanctuary, occupies the middle of an extensive rectangular enclosure in the north-west quarter of Angkor Thom. But this hypothesis, though attractive in many respects, presented serious difficulties. It was while examining closely the arguments marshalled by M. Stern in support of his conjecture that the idea occurred to me of looking for the centre of the first Angkor, not within but outside of the area comprising the town of Jayavarman VII. At the same time I wondered whether perchance this centre had not corresponded with the Phnom Bakhèng, the Śaiva temple situated upon a small wooded hill not far from the southern gate of Angkor Thom, and which you have seen on one of my slides; in other words, this temple might have represented the "Central Hill," the sanctuary that had been devoted formerly to the cult of the God-King.

Angkor in the Ninth Century

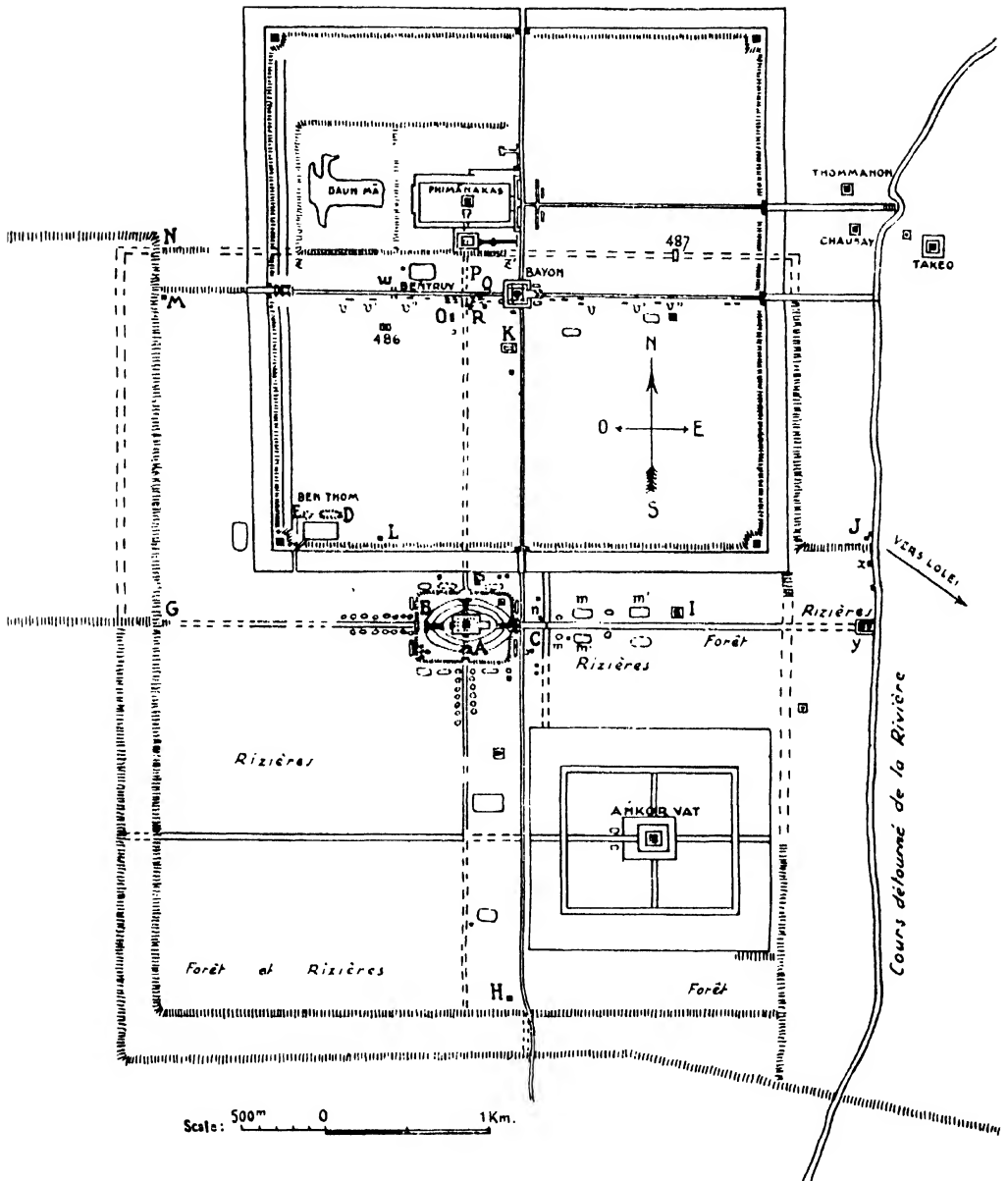
At the moment when this hypothesis of mine took shape it was based mainly upon the following consideration. On the archæological map of Angkor, drawn up in 1909 by Lieutenants Buat and Ducret, the Phnom Bakhèng marks the exact geometrical centre of a rectangular space measuring about 16 square kilometres, the western and southern sides of which are still represented by broad moats now transformed into rice-fields, while the eastern side is represented by a line running parallel to the Siemréap river diverted from its original course to form a kind of channel with banks as straight as if they had been drawn with a ruler.

A short stay in Cambodia in October-November, 1931, enabled me to verify on the spot the principal elements of my thesis, and to draw up, in collaboration with M. Henri Marchal, the Conservator of Angkor, a theoretical plan of the old capital. In July, 1932, the Director of the *École Française* entrusted me with the charge of methodical researches, which it was estimated would occupy three months. As a matter of fact, this work kept me at Angkor till the middle of November. At the commencement of my mission the Government gave us the assistance of two marine aviation officers, Naval-Lieutenants Menès and Aussenac, who took a certain number of photographs from the air over the locality to be explored. When flying with Lieutenant Menès over the little hill of Bakhèng I noted that it was surrounded by a great number of artificial water ponds half hidden in the forest. This was an important indication in support of my hypothesis, as the symmetrical arrangement of these ponds attested the existence of axial avenues starting from the foot of the hillock in all four directions—towards east, south, north, and west. Together with my colleague, M. Henri Marchal, I then took in hand the clearing of these avenues. At the same time careful trial borings were made around the Phnom Bakhèng, as well as in the southern portion of Angkor Thom, where one might perhaps expect to find hitherto undiscovered remains dating from the time of Yaśovarman. These soon yielded a large number of valuable indications bearing upon our researches, which encouraged us to persevere in the task we had undertaken. By the close of the first stage of our explorations, in November, 1932, we had discovered not only the great axial avenues of the first town of Angkor, but also its inner enclosure comprising moats and a rectangular embankment surrounding the Bakhèng hill at plain level. We had found, besides, the remains of several buildings and works in stone deeply buried in the bush, the existence of which had not hitherto been in the least suspected. I was able then to leave Angkor with a very clear impression that our investigations had not ended in failure. (*Cp.* Plates I-V.)

A year later, in December, 1933, I returned to Angkor charged with a

Angkor in the Ninth Century

PLATE I



PLAN OF THE FIRST CITY OF ANGKOR ACCORDING TO THE RESEARCHES OF VICTOR GOLOUBEFF AND HENRI MARCHAL (AUGUST-NOVEMBER, 1932).

The complete plan showing the discoveries of 1933-34 will appear later.

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Angkor in the Ninth Century

fresh mission. M. Henri Marchal and I resumed our borings and excavations around the Bakhèng, and this time we had the joy of seeing the western and southern gateways of the vanished town appear at the bottom of the trenches dug by our coolies at the foot of the sacred hill. As regards the eastern gate, which faced the side of honour of the temple, the problem had already been solved, for in the course of my previous mission, in September, 1932, we had brought to light, in front of the monumental stairs leading to the summit of the Phnom Bakhèng, a kind of bastion or terrace of laterite which must have served as a foundation for an entrance tower or *gopuram* of light material.

The nucleus of the old town thus seeming to have been redeemed, it remained to devote our whole attention to finding the northern outer moat, which must have passed right through Angkor Thom from east to west. Numerous indications met with in the course of our excavations enable me at the moment to locate it between the remains of two important embankments, one of which is situated slightly to the south of the Baphuon, while the other followed the line of the avenues that lead from the Bayon to the eastern and western gates of Angkor Thom. When having borings made along these avenues, we had discovered, as early as 1932, stone steps which seemed to point to the presence of a channel or moat. The systematic excavations carried out during the winter of 1933-34 disclosed that we had to deal with a succession of ditches between which were roadways and watercourses, one of which passed beneath a bridge of laterite still in a very good state of preservation. The exceptional breadth (22 metres) of this work would lead one to conjecture that there had been here not an ordinary roadway, but an important embanked way.

In the course of my second archæological expedition I used a photographic plan of the Angkor group prepared in January, 1933, by Pilot-Captain Gouet. In addition to this valuable document, which furnished so many suggestions and such useful information, I had at the end of my deputation a map on the 1 : 10,000 scale of the Bakhèng region drawn by M. Michel Périnelli of the Geographical Service.

The clearing of thickets under the supervision of this excellent topographer have led to the discovery of from 700 to 800 artificial water ponds either square or rectangular in shape. The arrangement of these ponds is characteristic : they are either disposed according to a geometric formula around the Phnom Bakhèng, or else they follow the lines of the axial avenues of the old town in the manner of the ponds already noticed by me from the aeroplane in July-August, 1932. Their great number might, at first sight, appear surprising or strange, but the matter is easily explained when we think of the hundreds, the thousands, of houses and buildings made of perishable material



STATUE OF A GODDESS (NINTH CENTURY) FOUND IN
THE TEMPLE SHOWN BELOW.

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RUINS OF A TEMPLE OF THE NINTH CENTURY DISCOVERED ON THE RIGHT BANK OF
THE SHIMRĀP RIVER.

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PLATE IV



STAIRS UNEARTHED AT THE FOOT OF THE BAKHENG HILLOCK

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PLATE V



STATUE OF A BRAHMANICAL GOD FOUND NEAR THE BAKHENG.

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Angkor in the Ninth Century

that must once have surrounded the "Central Hill" of Yaśovarman, and when one calls to mind the important rôle played, even in our own days, by the *trapéang*, or ponds, in the economy of a Khmer village. M. Périnelli had also been able to record on his plane-table an embankment that marked the eastern limit of the capital of the ninth century, the exact position of which I had myself sought in vain to trace.

In short, the problem appears to be now solved. The first town of Angkor has been rescued from oblivion, and its temples, enclosures, avenues and bridges, recovered from the bush, have been harmoniously grouped once more around their geometrical centre, the Mount Bakhèng, the mystic abode of Devaraja, the God-King!



A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF P'RA VIHĀN AS IT APPEARED ORIGINALLY.

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P'RA VIHĀN (VIHARA)

(A KHMER HILL-TEMPLE)

BY REGINALD LE MAY, M.R.A.S.

PEOPLE in Europe are now generally becoming acquainted, if only by name, with the Temple of Angkor, that last masterpiece of Khmer architecture so long buried in the jungles of Indo-China. But few will ever have heard of P'ra Vihān (Vihara), an earlier and in some respects, perhaps, an even more wonderful expression of Khmer art than the famous Temple of Angkor, when we consider the area it covers, and its high, isolated situation.

I had on occasion heard the name mentioned, but it made little impression on my mind until towards the close of a long tour in January and February, 1929, round the north-eastern provinces of Siam, partly by lorry along jungle-tracks and partly by boat down the Mekong, I happened to meet in Ubon the French Consul, M. Rougni, who gave me a graphic description of a recent visit which he had paid to this mysterious temple. I at once made up my mind to accomplish the trip if it was possible, and set out the next day.

Let me explain briefly how to reach P'ra Vihān, which is situated on the map, roughly, $14\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. by 104° E. The north-eastern railway of Siam has now reached its goal, Ubon, a distance of 575 kilometres, or 360 miles, from Bangkok. About 60 kilometres from Ubon is the station of Srisaket, and from this town one has to travel just 100 kilometres almost due south, until one comes to the foot of the Dangrek range of hills, the eastern end of which

forms the boundary between Siam and the French territory of (what is called on the Siamese side) Lower Cambodia. These 100 kilometres have hitherto been the stumbling-block in the way of travellers, for the region is very sparsely populated by jungle tribes of Sui and ancient Khmer stock, and the way leads in many parts through thick jungle, the home of tiger, elephant, and panther. Yet the jungle holds, it is said, a far more dangerous foe than any of these, and the whole district has a bad reputation for malaria. One or two Siamese officials, hardier spirits than their fellows, have in the past made the trip, but have returned home only to die of fever, and the people say that it is the wrath of the gods descended upon them for disturbing their sleep.

But the Governor of Srisaket was an energetic man and with great determination had cut a track, wide enough to take a lorry, through the jungle right to the foot of the hills. By leaving Srisaket at half-past six in the morning, we managed to arrive at the foot-hills at three in the afternoon, having covered the distance inside nine hours. Not much of a pace, 12 kilometres an hour, but, bearing in mind the sand and the lorry, it was a wonder that we ever reached our destination at all. The radiator leaked badly and, both going and returning, we had to refill it with water every quarter of an hour—and what water, too!—very often from stagnant pools covered with thick green slime! Also, on one stretch, before we dived into the jungle proper, the sand was so thick that it took us three hours to travel 25 kilometres.

From the foot of the hills we had a good two hours' climb, in many places over extensive outcrops of sandstone, to which I will refer again later, and finally reached our camp on a ridge of the hill at the foot of the temple at half-past five in the evening. After a short halt, although the light was already fading, I went on with a young Siamese friend, and together we climbed to the topmost temple hall and, going beyond it, found ourselves suddenly on the edge of a precipice, gazing out upon the whole wide world. We also had defied the gods! We returned by the light of the stars to our camp, and slept soundly under our mosquito-nets in shelters formed of a leafy roof with walls on three sides, but open at the front. Our only refuge against the wrath of the gods was quinine, and plenty of it.

Now, how to describe this temple accurately, and in such a way as to excite your curiosity but allay your suspicions?

Imagine yourself on a jungle hillside about 1,500 feet above sea-level, with thick forest on one side and open outcrops of rock on the other. No sign of habitation or life within miles. You suddenly dive down a path, cross the rocky bed of a tiny stream and clamber up the other side, to see in front

P'ra Vihān (Vihara)

of you, going up the hillside, an imposing staircase consisting of 160 broad stone steps, each a foot in height and at least 30 feet wide (Pl. I.). You can just see the ruins of some kind of building on the top, but it is too far away to discern with any certainty what is before you. In some places the natural rock has been cut to take the place of a step, but by far the greater part of this staircase is composed of great slabs of sandstone cut out of the hills near by.

When you have arrived at the end of your toilsome climb, you see before you another short stairway with a balustrade on either side, down which come two magnificent guardian "Nagas" rearing their heads 10 feet into the air (Pl. II.). On the top of the stairway is a "gopura," or gateway, in reality a small temple in itself, but now almost a complete ruin, formed of solid sandstone blocks and monoliths (Pls. III. and IV.). Passing through, you continue your pilgrimage up a long, paved causeway until you reach another short flight of steps, and, crowning them, another "gopura," or gateway, rather larger than the first one, but constructed in much the same form (Pl. V.). On your left, as you climb up, you pass the bathing pool, now a delightfully shady spot, with overhanging trees and tiers of sandstone steps, cut out of the rock all round, leading down to the empty bath. On the right-hand side, at a short distance from the causeway, there is a raised road which seems to have been specially built for hauling up the blocks of stone, and one can see clearly many places at hand where the stone was quarried. We actually found marks of the instruments used on the face of the hewn rock. Looking back at the second gateway you see a beautifully carved lintel over the door (Pl. VI.).

Passing through the second gateway you continue to climb, as in the fairy-tale, up another long causeway, now an avenue of trees, lined on either side with stone ornaments somewhat in the shape of a "lingam," but probably with no such significance, until you reach a third short flight of steps, and on the top, not this time a gateway, but a large rectangular temple with two subsidiary buildings containing long galleries, one on either side of the main building (Pls. VII. and VIII.). At the left of the steps there is a "tāt," or "stupa," in fairly good preservation, evidently a memorial to some long dead warrior or king. Passing through the central building you come to another short flight of steps with broken Nagas on either side, and near by the bases (all that is now left) of two smallish buildings, also one on either side. Then on you go again up the third causeway, and finally you climb a short stairway and reach the gateway, in "gopura" form, of the last and greatest temple on the summit of the hill (Pl. IX.). Keeping outside to the right of this temple, you pass behind it and, crossing the intervening space of about 40 yards, you come to a rocky prominence, from the edge of which you see the whole panorama of the country stretched out before you, and at your



STONE STAIRWAY LEADING UP TO FIRST TEMPLE.

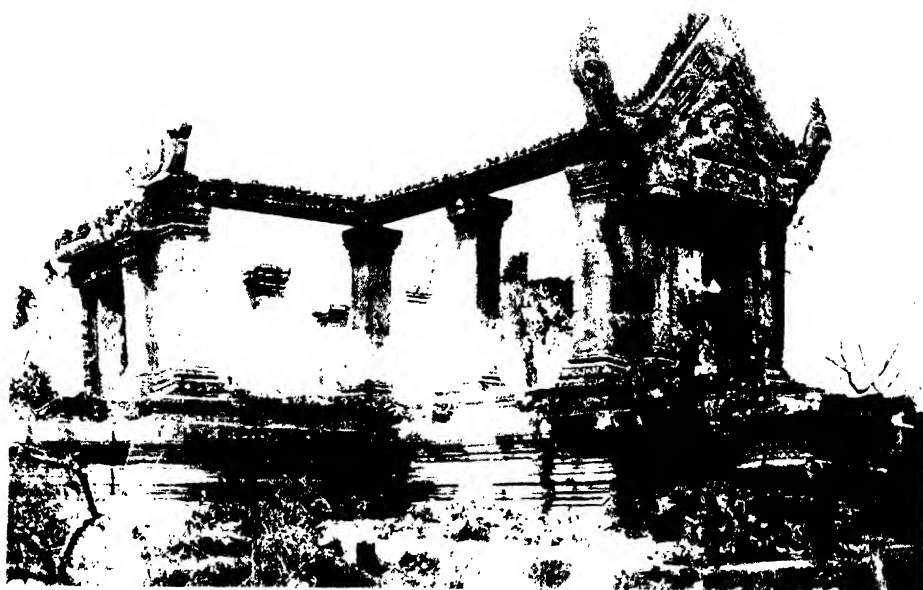
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ONE OF TWO SEVEN-HEADED NAGAS ON BALUSTRADE AT TOP OF MAIN STAIRWAY.

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PLATE III



REMAINS OF FIRST TEMPLE.

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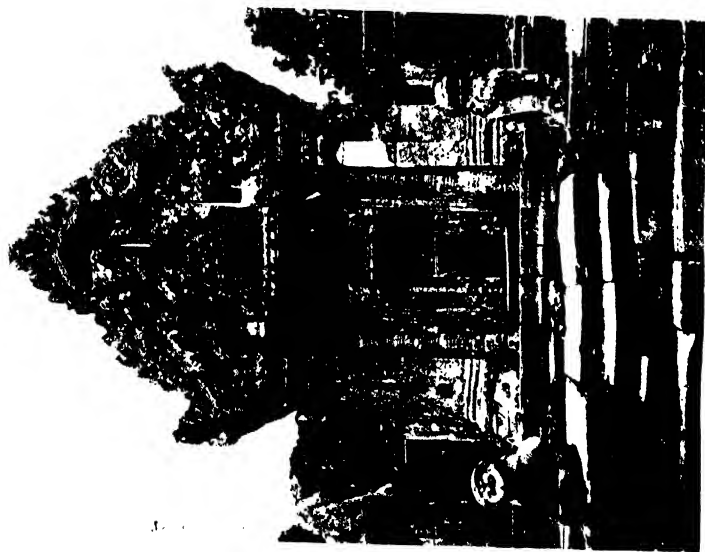
PLATE IV



REMAINS OF FIRST TEMPLE—FROM BEHIND.

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PLATE V



ENTRANCE DOORWAY TO SECOND TEMPLE.

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PLATE VI



ENTRANCE DOORWAY TO SECOND TEMPLE—FROM
THE OTHER SIDE (SHOWING LINTEL).

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PLATE VII



ENTRANCE DOORWAY TO THIRD TEMPLE.

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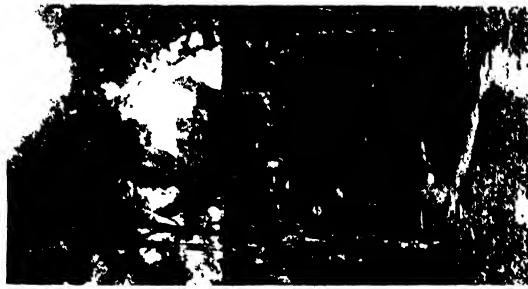
PLATE VIII



PORTION OF THIRD TEMPLE SHOWING DETAIL.

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PLATE IN



ENTRANCE, WITH STAIRWAY,
TO FOURTH TEMPLE.

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PLATE X



SANCTUARY—IN INTERIOR OF FOURTH TEMPLE.

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PLATE XI



SHIL-WALI OF FOURTH TEMPLE--ON LEDGE OF CLIFF.

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feet a sheer drop of 2,300 feet (Pl. XI.). This photograph was taken from the other (left) side, where the temple comes right up to the edge of the precipice.

The main building on the summit is in the shape of a double temple with a wall (pierced, of course, with a gateway) between the two halves. The inner courtyards contain galleries and a number of buildings, some still in good condition (Pl. X.), some in utter ruin, but it would take too much space to describe them in detail here. Outside the main building there is a subsidiary building both to right and left, that on the left containing four baths sunk into the floor.

From the first step of the grand staircase to the brink of the precipice is exactly half a mile.

It is not possible for me to describe to you the magnitude or the simple grandeur of this work, or to attempt to inspire you with the glorious feeling of mastery that the creator of it must have experienced in the achievement of his conception. One can almost see the Priest-King stretching out his arms to the four winds as he stands on the cliff's edge. How great, how transcendent the spiritual feeling in a man to wish to build such a temple to *his* Most High! Well might one cry, "In excelsis gloria"!

The utter stillness now—even the birds seem to have forsaken the spot. The thick jungle but a few yards away on either side. The haunting air of mystery, as if one were indeed prying into another's secrets, and hidden eyes were watching you.

There this monument has stood, bravely defying the elements for a thousand years and more, and, even if it has been compelled to succumb in part, there is still enough and more than enough left today to fire the imagination of the sensitive soul.

The temple, which is now in French territory, is said to have been built in the reign of the Khmer Emperor, Indravarman, towards the close of the ninth century, and to mark the break between primitive Khmer architecture and that of the classic period. It is obviously a Brahmin temple, as there is no sign of Buddhist influence to be seen anywhere. Only one statue was found, a broken, headless, kneeling figure, possibly in the form of the famous so-called Leper King at Angkor.

I am not attempting to analyze the architecture of the temple in detail, as that must be left to more competent hands than mine, but one cannot help noticing in some of the gable-ends, as in Pl. VII., a certain possible Chinese influence, which does not appear at all in the later classic style.

It is clear that a thousand years ago the surrounding district must have been a very populous one to have provided labour for such a stupendous work.

P'ra Vihān (Vihara)

But if once one begins to think of the task of building such a temple, the imagination boggles at it. I asked a Siamese railway engineer who was with me, "How would you like to give up building your railways and take in hand the construction of such a temple as this?" Everything is built of sandstone, and much of the carving, which still remains intact, on the doorways and lintels is beautiful to a degree. It is a true saying that "the lintel is the glory of Khmer art."

One little story in conclusion. I have referred to the rocky fields we crossed in climbing the hillside. In the middle of one of these I suddenly came across the *single* imprint of a man's foot, sunk, in parts at least, an inch deep in the rock and clearly outlined, as if in mud. I put my own foot inside it and it fitted very well, except that the big toe of the imprint was much splayed out. You will think this a fitting end to what may already seem to some a "Louis de Rougemont" story, but, unless I and the people with me suddenly became subject to illusions, it was, and still is, there.

What is the meaning of that footprint? It would be interesting to know if any similar imprints have been found in other parts of the world, and, if so, what explanation is given of them.

The illustrations accompanying this article are from photographs taken by Mr. Groote of the Narasingh Photo Studio in Bangkok, to whom I am much indebted for permission to use them.

THE MUSIC OF JAVA •

By J. KUNST

(Keeper of the Musicological Collection of the Royal Batavian Society in Java)

ANYONE wishing to come to a clear comprehension of a kind of music that is entirely foreign to him is faced with a great many difficulties, however anxious he may be to appreciate its qualities, and however susceptible he may be to beauty in general. He must try to divest himself of all prejudice before approaching this world of strange sounds. If he has theories or preconceived ideas or axioms about æsthetics, he must try to forget them, as well as all the conventional conceptions with which he has grown up. To put down a specified rule for the state of mind and soul in which to enter into this new realm, or to prescribe what to forget and what to appreciate, would lead us into the domain of psychological analysis and of musico-technique. I do not propose to do this here for fear of our losing ourselves in this sphere of almost unlimited possibilities. I only wish to utter a warning against the familiar danger of following one's inclination to condemn in foreign music that which seems inferior to our own, whereas those elements which, as a rule, have been more or less neglected in our own music, with the consequence that our ears are not attuned to them, are generally not appreciated at their true value when they occur in this exotic music. For example, a common objection expressed by Europeans with regard to Javanese music is that it shows a certain primitiveness in the melody; a lack of development and growth in the form. They seem at the same time to be insensible to the delicacies of the rhythm and the wonderful shades and the variety in the drumming. On the other hand, the Javanese is sure to disapprove in European music of the, to his ears, wilful use of the tonalities, the lack of expression in our drum-play, the poverty of our percussion instruments; and, at first, he will be unable to take in the imposing tension of the melody, the touching climax—in a word, the essential psychic contents of our great orchestral compositions and of our chamber-music.

The preceding remarks bear partly on an essential difference, which we may define in the following way: Indonesian music is static; modern European music dynamic. Western music is full of action and tension; the great

* Lecture delivered at the Netherlands Legation in London on October 22, 1934. Sir Francis Younghusband presided.

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orchestral compositions express a crisis, a conflict; they strive and attain. On the other hand, we may characterize Javanese music perhaps best by calling it "time transferred into music." It is in the best sense of the word "without aim"; it does not *evolve*, it *is*. This will explain why, at the end of a European concert, we are conscious of being fatigued, whilst a whole night spent in listening to the gamelan leaves us practically without any feeling of being tired.

It goes without saying that this contrast only bears on the general character of both arts. Western music also knows compositions without growth and development; it also can be meditative, can give the impression of being "time transformed into music." The Indonesian music, on the other hand, sometimes has its dramatic moments, and can undoubtedly express strong passions. But these features, when they occur, in no wise mark the general character of the two kinds of music.

You are undoubtedly aware of the fact that music in the Indonesian archipelago is still entirely a popular art; a music made by and for the people of all classes in the Indonesian world. As for the origin of the greater part of the compositions, it is as with us in our folk-songs and our mediæval art: the author is only seldom known by name, and even then he is only the voice of the people. Prince and labourer alike listen with equal rapture to the same *gendings*, although their individual appreciation may be different. To appreciate this fully one must have attended a *wayang* performance in one of the *cratons* (palaces), and have seen how completely the nobles as well as the common people are absorbed in the music and the play: the nobles with their guests on the marble dais of the *pendopo*, a brilliant nucleus of the audience, and round it the people, a dense mass of delicate, brown, and silent figures.

When we consider the composing elements in our own music, and then ask ourselves to what extent they are also present in Javanese music, we arrive in the first place at the conclusion that, although the European ear can distinguish a tonal centre in many of the vocal compositions (*tembang*) and of the instrumental pieces (*gending*), there is no question here of such a pronounced and fixed tonality as we find in our own music. Instead of this we find semi-modal, semi-tonal systems of a highly intricate kind. We enter here in the sphere of the *patet* and of the *laras bem* and *barang* of the principalities, the scales *selisir*, *sunarèn*, etc., of Bali, the modes *mèlog*, *njorog*, *madenda*, *degung*, etc., of the Sundanese: in my eyes the most fascinating province of the whole Indonesian world of music.

The scales in use may be arranged in two systems, called in Javanese *pélog* and *sléndro*.

The absolute lack of historical and musicological dates left until lately full scope for all sorts of suppositions as to the origin of these musical scales.

According to Professor Land, the *pélog*-scales must be comparatively new ; he supposed them to be of Perso-Arab origin ; at least, he has advanced this as a more or less tenable hypothesis. Raden Mas Surjâputrâ seems to have accepted, for *pélog* at any rate, a more or less close connection with the scales of Hindostan, but at other times again he seems to have thought that, after all, they might be of pure Javanese origin.

According to popular belief, *sléndro* is the gift of a Hindu god and *pélog* a transformation of *sléndro* by the hands of irreverent and bold man.

Since the last few years we know, with fairly great certainty, thanks especially to Professor von Hornbostel and his masterly theory of the "blown fifths" ("Blaskwinten"), that the Javanese scales—and a great many others—have come from China, and have their origin, perhaps, in a still more distant land, with a still older culture—namely, in Central Asia, in Turkestan.

There cannot be any doubt about the fact that *sléndro* came to Java and Bali a good many centuries after *pélog*. *Pélog* was perhaps already imported by Malay-Polynesian peoples, who came to Java many centuries before our Christian era. *Sléndro* seems to have entered Java simultaneously with a later culture in the middle of the eighth century A.D., when the dynasty of the Çailéndras ruled the central parts of the island, and to have derived its name from that same royal family : gamelan *sléndro*=gamelan Çailéndrâ. At first it seems to have remained restricted to the centre of the island, where it supplanted for the greater part the old *pélog*. Later on, probably in consequence of political changes, *sléndro* made its entry into the west and the east of Java, and subsequently into Bali. According to recent discoveries, we may take it for granted that very soon after Java began to play a part in history the two tonal systems existed side by side. *Sléndro* was intended for the accompaniment of the *wayang purwâ*—viz., the shadow plays when they represent Hindu myths ; while *pélog* was intimately connected with the characteristically Indonesian pre-Hindu art, or, better still, non-Hindu art, with certain ceremonies, several forms of the dance, and with the *wayang gedog*, representing the Pandji cyclus, which is purely Java-Polynesian.

In its complete form *pélog* has seven tones to the octave—that is to say, it *seems* to have seven tones to the octave, but in reality that heptatonic scale is only a conglomerate, only the least common multiple of a group of pentatonic scales with unequal intervals, in which from time to time there appears

The Music of Java

a sixth, or even a seventh, tone as a weak or accessory tone. Sléndro is always pentatonic and has generally almost equal intervals.

From top to bottom these intervals are called in Central Java :

<i>In pélog</i>	<i>The intervals expressed in European semi-tones (approximately)</i>	<i>In sléndro</i>	<i>The intervals expressed in European semi-tones (approximately)</i>
(penunggul or bem alit)			
barang	1.5	(barang alit)	
nem	2.7	nem	2.4
lima or gangsal	1.2	lima or gangsal	2.4
pélog	1.5		2.4
d ¹ qā or tengah	2.4	dāda or tengah	
gulu or djonggā	1.5	gulu or djonggā	2.4
penunggul or bem	1.2	barang	2.4

So neither of these systems agree entirely with our own system of intervals, but I know by experience that the European ear accommodates itself quickly and hears these intervals as perfectly pure and beautiful. But then, these scales, like our own, are built up on absolutely natural principles.

As regards the Javanese melody, in my opinion it has not yet reached the same degree of development as the European—at any rate, as far as the orchestral compositions are concerned. The fundamental melody is rather simple, more or less archaic. Only when produced vocally or on the rebab (the native violin) or the suling (bamboo flute) does it become richer and more graceful. However, notwithstanding its relative simplicity, it sometimes sounds very impressive and full of sentiment, and the vocal melodies are often splendid. One of those songs belonging to the Jogjanesse wayang-purwa music, I will now let you hear. (Here follows the reproduction of the *lagon patet manjurā wetah*.)

And now for the harmony. One notices that the different voices are not, as with us, subject to certain fixed rules. One might almost call it voluntary or accidental. Ordinarily this is not a properly regulated *polyphony*; it is a freer form, more primitive perhaps—viz., *heterophony*, as Professor Stumpf has baptized it. However, in some of the *gendings*, we find the beginnings of canonic imitation: perhaps a *polophony in statu nascendi*; and also the human voices and the rebab come sometimes to a melodic independence which creates a real kind of polyphony.

There remains the rhythm. If, perhaps with some justice, we may say that European music has attained a higher degree of perfection from the point of view of melody and harmony, as regards rhythm it is, in my eyes, we who have remained behind. In Indonesian music in many cases the rhythm is much more elaborate and varied; sometimes I have heard polyrhythmic, better heterorhythmic, constructions of extraordinary beauty.

Now let us pass on to a more concrete subject: the composition and the use of the Javanese orchestras. The plural is used here intentionally: Java is familiar with several kinds of orchestras and also with a number of instruments, that can be used simultaneously as well as for solo-parts. The gamelan proper is nothing short of the most perfect orchestral form and the most complete; other simpler ensembles are at the same time more primitive.

The complete gamelan of the Principalities seems, when seen and heard for the first time, to be only a confusion of sounds and instruments. Apparently the musicians are placed and play at their own sweet will. But little by little one perceives that there is "method in their madness," and that each instrument has its own task to fulfil in the orchestral plan.

In the first place attention has to be drawn to the fact that the great gamelan of the princes and regents have a double set of instruments—*viz.*, they are composed of a *sléndro*-part and of a *pélog*-part. The only instruments these parts have in common are the big *gongs* and the *drums*; occasionally also some *kenongs* and some *kempuls*.

Needless to say, the *sléndro* and the *pélog* parts are never played simultaneously. It is also quite exceptional to pass from the one tonal system into the other in one *gendèng*. I only know one single case: in the *gendèng Bedajũ ketawang*, where there is a change from *pélog* into *sléndro*, and then back again into *pélog*.

The *pélog*-part of the gamelan is again divided into two parts with regard to the multi-octave *gendèrs*. The sequence of tones for those *gendèrs*, according to the *pélog-bem*-system, must be *bem*, *gulu*, *dãdã*, *limã*, *nem* in every octave; but in the *pélog-barang*-system the sequence is *limã*, *nem*, *barang*, *gulu*, *dãdã*. As the keys are suspended above sounding-tubes by means of cords, it is difficult to change them, when, in the course of the evening, *pélog-bem* is abandoned in favour of *pélog-barang*, and therefore there are in *pélog* those two groups of multi-octave *gendèrs*. Each of those couples of *gendèr* *pélog* forms, with a *gendèr sléndro*, an open square, in the middle of which the musician is seated.

This difficulty does not arise with the other melodic instruments. When their compass is not more than one octave, they produce all the seven tones

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of the complete pélog-scale, *or* they have loose keys or gongs, which can easily be changed.

The gamelan pélog and the gamelan sléndro comprise more or less the same instruments. But when they are not combined in a double orchestra, the instruments of a pélog orchestra are generally larger than those of a sléndro orchestra. Moreover, there are some kinds of small gongs, either suspended or in a horizontal position, which belong exclusively to one or the other of these two ensembles respectively. For instance, the *kempyang* only occurs in the gamelan pélog; the *engruk* and the *kemong* belong exclusively to the gamelan sléndro.

Then there are some differences in the composition of the Solonese orchestras on the one hand and the Jogjanese orchestras on the other. Jogja, for instance, has a kind of *bonang* more, the "bass" bonang, called *bonang panembung*. The other differences are chiefly found in the construction and the structure of some instruments—*viz.*, the *rebab*, the *suling*, the *bonang*, and the *gambang kaju*.

Now we come to some details of the functions of the different instruments in the orchestral ensemble.

We may distinguish—

- (a) the instruments producing the essential melody;
- (b) those that play the melody in its full development;
- (c) the punctuating (colotomic) instruments;
- (d) the paraphrasing instruments; and
- (e) the agogic instruments.

The group of *sarons*, *demung*, and *saron barung*—all of which are metallophones with loose keys lying flat—play chiefly the essential melody, a kind of *cantus firmus*. This latter, called *balunganing gending*, played in two or three octaves, has a compass of about two octaves. And as the sarons have each a compass of one octave only, the essential melody is necessarily kept within the limits of this one octave: it is forced inside the limits of one octave.

By the highest saron, the *saron panerus*, *peking* or *selukat*, it is syncopated or rhythmically doubled.

In the strong compositions a slightly more elaborated melody is executed on some *bonangs*, which, sometimes, also have a paraphrasing function; in the softer pieces the melody, in a much more enriched form, is played on the *suling* and the *rebab* or executed by the voice (*sinden*), supported and alternated from time to time by a choir singing in unison (*gérongan*). The essen-

tial melody is strengthened at equal distances—for instance, each time after four *ketek* (rhythmic unit, the original meaning of the word is heartbeat), by beats on the *slentem* or *gendèr panembung* and—but this is only in Jogja, as we have mentioned—on the *bonang panembung*. Sometimes the *bonang barung* is found to herald those strengthened tones in quite a remarkable manner.

Every melody is subdivided into periods or phrases by colotomic beats, rather like a poem by commas, semicolons, and full stops; only much more regularly.

The longest periods end with a beat on the biggest gong, the *gong ageng* or *gong gedé*. These beats may be compared to the full stops.

Each of these phrases (*gongan*) is subdivided into a number of shorter phrases, which end in a beat of the *kenong*: these beats take the place, more or less, of the semicolons. At the end of the last phrase of a *gongan* we hear not only the gong, but also the *kenong*.

Each period ending by a *kenong*-beat (*kenongan*) is again subdivided by beats of the *ketuk*.

In the smaller forms of composition, called *ladrang* and *ketawang*, the *ketuk* is alternately played with the *kempul*.

The orchestral compositions are arranged in different categories, according to the differences in the colotomic structure mentioned above.

If the gamelan were composed only of the instruments I have mentioned, the musical effect produced would undoubtedly be too rigid, not to say unwieldy, however much it might be flavoured with agogic and dynamic spices. Fortunately this melodic framework is filled in with beautiful paraphrases and ornamented with delicate musical arabesques. These ornaments, which become especially elaborate in the soft lyrical passages, are executed by the so-called *panerusan*, the paraphrasing instruments. The principal instruments of this kind are: the *gendèr barung* and the *gendèr panerus*, the *gambang kaju* and, occasionally, the *tjelempung*, a kind of cither.

While the essential melody and the punctuation of a *gending* are unvariable quantities, the players of the *panerusan* are free to play their paraphrases according to their inspiration. But, as in all manifestations of Oriental art, this liberty has been strongly bridled by tradition. Nevertheless the *panerusan* form one of the most fascinating parts of the orchestral whole.

From the European as well as from the Indonesian side opposition has arisen again fixing those *panerusan*-parts by putting them down in the scores for the sake of assisting the Javanese musicians. It is to be feared, however, that it might result in killing the natural aptitude for the spontaneous creation

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of ornaments and pretty paraphrases. The same thing has happened to our Western pianists, who, on the whole, have stopped cultivating their talent for improvising, since the figured bass has been replaced by piano-parts written out in detail. Still, if the Javanese music, which is at present passing through a period of stagnation, is to go on developing, and if the Javanese artist of the future wishes to use it as a medium for the free expression of his genius, it will be necessary to note down the *panerusan*-parts as well as the rest.

Finally, for the agogic function, there is the *kendang*, which, together with the rebab, is the most important instrument of the gamelan. It is played by the leader of the orchestra, the *lurah gending*—at least, when he does not prefer to play the rebab—who, by means of the most delicate shades in the movement, hardly perceptible to the uninitiated ear, marks and varies the time of the composition and heralds the transition to its following parts.

The *kendang gending* is most frequently used. However, for the accompaniment of dances and for certain kinds of compositions (*ladrang* and *ketawang*) the *kendang tjiblon* is substituted, which is smaller. Then we know the *kendangan kalih* or *kendangan loro*, the double *kendangan*, where the orchestra-leader plays besides the *kendang gending*, also a very small drum—viz., the *penuntung* or *ketipung*.

There are several ways of playing the drum ; each of these has a special name. For each of the two tonal systems there are about twenty-five. Most of them are essentially reducible to five principal ways of playing, which in the staff-notation of the Jogja kraton are represented by special signs.

Here I may conclude the description of the grand gamelan of the Principalities. I shall omit that of the smaller ensembles. I only wish to point out that many of these have a special function to fulfil—e.g., the game-lans *Munggang*, *Kodok ngorèk* and *Sekati*.

Every gamelan-composition, whether *gending* or *ladrang* or *ketawang*, opens with an introduction, *bebukâ* or *bukaning gending*, which enables the performers to enter into the spirit of the piece and to get into touch with each other and arrive at a mutual understanding. We may distinguish the *bebukâ swârâ* or *bâwâ*—the vocal introduction—and the *B. bonang*, *B. gendèr*, *B. kendang*, according to the instrument that plays the principal part in the prelude. The instrumental *bebukâ* never lasts more than a few “bars,” and is always concluded by a beat of the gong. The vocal introduction can be much longer, as it is a complete song. After that the *gending* proper begins *attacca*.

In the compositions consisting of two parts—that is to say, in all the

gendings ageng and *tengahan*, and in some of the *gendung alit*—the first part is generally repeated two, three, or more times. When we wish to pass on to the second part, the *mungguh*, the orchestra-leader announces this transition on the *kendang* or on the *rebab*) before the penultimate beat of the *kenong*. The time is accelerated lightly, becomes more lively, and after a beat on the *gong ageng* the *mungguh* commences.

Before the end of the piece—and this also happens in case of the one part-compositions—the time is accelerated, starting from the penultimate beat of the *kenong* (*sesekan*—i.e., *stringendo*), whereas the last few bars are played more slowly (*suwuk*, *ritardando*). The last beat on the *gong* seems to die away into the depths of eternity.

Apart from these groups of compositions, there are some melodies, partly vocal, partly orchestral, used with the *wayang*, of which I will mention the group of the *âdâ-âdâ*, a species of introductory melodies, which symbolizes certain sentiments of the *wayang*-figures; and the pure instrumental pieces, called *srepegan*, *ajak-ajakan*, *sampak*, etc., mostly fighting-music, with a special colotomy, which contains a great many beats of the *keçuk* and of the *kempul*.

The following Columbia record gives an idea of an *âdâ-âdâ*. Being a Solonese one, it is partly recited, partly sung.

Javanese music also distinguish several movements (*wirâma*), as, for instance, *lombâ* (andante), *rangkep* (adagio), and *toyâmbili* (allegro, lit. running water).

These are, in very broad outlines, the principal details concerning the gamelan of the Principalities and its compositions.

The Javanese loves his music passionately. Although to the untrained Western ear it sometimes sounds just a little monotonous, it means everything to him. Nor is it to be wondered at that we should now and then come across admirable verses on music in Javanese poetry. The encyclopædic poem *Tjençini*, for instance, which dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century, has in a masterly way interpreted the music of the principal instruments. I cannot deny myself the joy of letting you hear—in a translation, of course—what *Tjençini* says, for instance, about the music of the “*rebab*,” which is, as said above, the native violin, played like a ‘cello.

“*Djajêngrâgâ* with an elegant gesture took the *rebab* in his hands. It was well-shaped. Its neck was *pontang*,¹ the bow decorated with carvings, and gilded; the resonance-chamber was provided with an embroidered

¹ I.e., partly made of bone, partly of ivory.

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covering (*djamangan*). The *nem*-string was touched; when struck, its tone proved to be entirely in unison with the *nem* of *gendèr* and *gambang*. The *nem* of the *soeling* was likewise completely in tune. *Djajèngrâgâ* drew himself up; his attitude was modest, in accordance with his nature. He took a few strokes up and down, in order to try the instrument. The bridge was cut out of *djati*-wood; the tension of the skin was firm; in short, all details were equally excellent. Then he struck *patet sângâ*. His fingers quivered, while now and then touching the strings, like the tail of a scorpion ready with its sting. The strings were pressed down correctly; the finger-tips pressed down the flexible string, finding a melody with swift tone figures. The up and down movements of the hand made the strings bend. There were repeated slight swervings from the right pitch, with a view to enhancing the effect. The middle-finger was conspicuous in its movements; the forefinger resembled the fresh shoot of a fern; little finger and ring-finger looked very much like spiders' legs. Deftly the fingers were put in turn on the strings. The bow was artlessly used in its full length. Whenever the tempo accelerated, his stroke adapted itself without the slightest hesitation, in accordance with *gendèr*, *gambang* and *suling*. The fascination was perfect. The tone garlands twined themselves about the heart. The music of the strings was in tune with the notes of the principal melody: clear, regular, correct. In studying *Djajèngrâgâ*'s music carefully, one has to admit that it was full of devotion and scrupulous care, and that it was clever. He sometimes just moved his thighs. That was his custom, and it did not trouble anyone. This time was not like other times: the music of that day surpassed everything else. The other players were wrapt in ecstasy (literally, had lost their hearts); not one *niyâgâ* made a single remark; they all sat speechless, watching *Djajèngrâgâ*. They gazed at him in mute admiration. The *sendon* had come to an end; *sârâjoedâ* followed *attacca*, and was wound up with a drum-beat *bem*, and the soul-pleasing sound of the gong. After the *patetan* *Djajèngrâgâ* critically examined the *rebab*. The host, *Kidang Wirâtjâpâ*, laughed heartily and said: 'Good heavens, how wonderful! That would make a sick man well again!'

So much for the *Tjentjini*.

After this bird's-eye view of Javanese music, I shall give you some more gamelan-records of a different character. (Here follow four records of *pélog*- and *sléndro*-compositions.)

With that I will end my lecture. Lastly, I wish to thank the Council of the India Society for having invited me to deliver it. I hope that I may have succeeded in arousing your interest in this particular form of Oriental music, which for so long—and so unjustly—has been neglected by us Westerners.

BOOK REVIEW

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 48. [Explorations in Sind.] By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A. (Delhi. Manager of Publications).

The brilliantly successful excavations at Mohenjo-daro which take the history of the Indus civilization back to the fourth millennium B.C. have now been followed by complementary work. From 1927 to 1931 Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Assistant Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, was engaged from time to time in exploring and excavating a large number of likely sites in the Indus Valley, south of Mohenjo-daro. The valuable results of this work have now been published in the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 48, a volume with a hundred and seventy-two pages of text and forty-six plates.

Most of the sites showed more or less abundant remains of the chalcolithic age, chiefly pottery with painted or incised designs. In some cases, as in the mounds at Jhukar, three definite strata were discovered, the two lowest belonging to the chalcolithic period and the top-most to the Indo-Sassanian period round about the fifth century A.D. It is interesting to observe that painted pottery is still found in this stratum. Indeed, Mr. Majumdar states that it has never ceased to be made in the Indus Valley to this day.

At Amri was found not only pottery of the Mohenjo-daro type, but a lower and earlier stratum containing painted pottery of a different kind with "thin walls, having a plain reddish brown band at the neck, a chocolate band on the inner side of the lip, and geometric patterns on the body, in black or chocolate on pink, and in some cases on cream wash. . . . This pottery was associated with chert flakes and cores."

This ware, which Mr. Majumdar has christened Amri pottery, is closely related to wares found by Sir Aurel Stein in Baluchistan, and is an interesting link between the Indus Valley and the countries west of it which Sir Aurel Stein has recently explored.

Further important finds were made at Chanhu-daro and Lohumjo-daro, round the Manchhar Lake, on the hill tract of Johi and in numerous other places, and the descriptions of the journeying and excavation make a fascinating story very well told.

No. 48 is a thoroughly scientific volume, with full descriptions of all the objects found, copious illustrations, complete lists of the items illustrated, and an index. No essential detail has been overlooked, and the Survey of India is to be congratulated not only on the splendid field work done by Mr. Majumdar, but also on the admirable manner in which he has recorded it.

R. L. H.

THE INDIA SOCIETY

"THE ancient history and the art of India are of unique interest in the history of human endeavour." These words are taken from the reply of His Majesty King George V. to the address presented to him on the opening of the School of Oriental Studies on February 23, 1917. The India Society is anxious to give, within the limits of its opportunities and resources, practical application to this noteworthy utterance, and invites the adhesion of all who sympathize and agree with it.

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NEW SERIES. VOL. IX., NO. 1

A NEWLY-EXPLORED ROUTE OF ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURAL EXPANSION

(INTRODUCING SOME NEW VIEWS ON THE HISTORY OF THE ŚAILENDRA EMPIRE OF INDONESIA)¹

BY DR. H. G. QUARITCH WALES

THE present development in Greater-Indian research was made possible by the generosity of H.H. the Mahārāja Gaekwar of Baroda, whose interest in and support of Oriental scholarship are so well known. To H.S.H. Prince Varnvaidyakara, the Siamese Government, and Luong Wiēt, President of the Royal Institute, I am deeply indebted for their having readily granted me facilities for carrying out the work; while Luong Bōriban, Inspector of Archaeology, kindly accompanied us at Cāiya and placed his rich store of information at my disposal. I should also like to mention here that the practical work in the field was throughout shared with me by my wife, who has also been of the greatest help to me in working out the results.

The wonderful flowering of the civilization of India in Cambodia, Champā, and Java is to-day well known, but far less is known of the routes by which this Indian influence spread and the links in the chain of its development. The study of one of the most important of these routes and the search for the links between India and her cultural colonies was the primary object of the expedition. One difficulty encountered by previous scholars, especially in the case of Java, had been that the Indian colonial art appeared suddenly with its characteristic features already fully developed, and leaving no sign of any cognate Indian models from which it could have been evolved. M. Parmentier attempted to solve the problem by postulating common origin from primitive Buddhist structures which reached the Indian colonies still in perish-

¹ Based on a lecture delivered in the Hall of the Royal Geographical Society, on June 6, 1935, in the presence of H.H. the Mahārāja Gaekwar of Baroda. Sir E. Denison Ross presided.

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able wood forms and hence have left no traces ;¹ while, with regard to Java, Dr. Bosch thought that only the *śilpaśāstras*, or theoretical treatises, had reached that island, and that the resulting Indo-Javanese art was an attempt to reproduce from written instructions monuments and sculptures that the Indonesian craftsmen had never seen.² Both these theories no doubt contain elements of truth, but, in endeavouring to span the enormous distance separating India from her cultural colonies, they overlook the most natural solution to the problem, namely the existence of some half-way centres of cultural development and dissemination. And this brings me to state my first hypothesis : that the required centres of evolution and dissemination of Indian culture did exist, and that one of them was located in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula.

My second hypothesis, though not unrelated to the first, concerns more particularly the great Indianized Empire of the Śailendras, which extended its sway over a great part of the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia for six centuries from the eighth century A.D. Professor Cœdès, in his famous paper read before the Société Asiatique in 1918,³ sought to establish, though on evidence of a rather fragile nature, that the capital of this empire, Śrīvijaya, was located in the neighbourhood of the modern Palembang in South-East Sumatra, its rulers being the kings of the Śailendra dynasty. And, despite the provisional nature of this theory, it was universally accepted. M. Ferrand wrote a history of Śrīvijaya on this basis;⁴ and Drs. Krom⁵ and Vogel⁶ attributed to the Śailendra kings of Sumatra the magnificent monuments of Central Java.

In 1929 Dr. Stutterheim⁷ struck the first blow at the supposed greatness of Sumatra. More recently Professor R. C. Majumdar has published in two articles⁸ a very striking review of Professor Cœdès' theory based on a reinterpretation of inscriptions and other written records, which articles, for the full understanding of the latest views on the subject, should be read in connection with my mainly archæological contribution. Space permits me to do no more here than to state briefly his main conclusion without detailing the impressive arguments on which it is based.

¹ "Origine Commune des Architectures Hindoues dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient," *Etudes Asiatiques*, ii.

² "A Hypothesis as to the Origin of Indo-Javanese Art," *Rūpam*, No. 17, January, 1924.

³ "Le Royaume de Çrīvijaya," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, xviii, 1918, No. 6.

⁴ "L'Empire Sumatranais de Çrīvijaya," *Journal Asiatique*, 1922.

⁵ "De Soematraansche periode in de Javaansche geschiedenis." Leiden, 1919. French résumé in *B.E.F.E.O.*, xix. 5, p. 127.

⁶ "Het Koninkrijk Śrīvijaya," *Bijdr.*, 1919, pp. 626-637.

⁷ *A Javanese Period in Sumatran History*. Surakarta, 1929.

⁸ "The Śailendra Empire," *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. i., part 1, January, 1934 ; "Les Rois Śailendra de Suvarṇadvīpa," *B.E.F.E.O.*, xxxiii. 1.

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His main conclusion is to the effect that although a state named Śrīvijaya existed in South-East Sumatra in the seventh century, and even dominated the Malay Peninsula as far as Ligor (Nāk'ôn Śrī Th'āmmārat, Nagara Śrī Dhārmārāja) in 775 A.D., it was then quickly displaced and absorbed by a powerful kingdom named Jāvaka, later referred to as Zābag by the Arabs, and having its capital in the neighbourhood of Nāk'ôn Śrī Th'āmmārat. It was ruled by the powerful Mahāyānist dynasty of the Śailendras, called Mahārājas by the Arabs, who spread their power as far south as Java and Sumatra. The name of Jāvaka was in due course transferred to designate the whole empire, particularly that part of it which lay along the Straits of Malacca, and hence was best known to seafaring people. The Śailendras were probably derived from the Gaṅga of Kalinga and Mysore, being new arrivals at Nāk'ôn Śrī Th'āmmārat about the middle of the eighth century, whence they spread their power throughout the Further East, even Cambodia, Champā, and Ceylon at times owning their sway. From India they brought with them the *nāgarī* script and the new name of Kalinga for Malaya.

M. Cœdès, in a recent article,¹ refrains at this juncture from discussing anew the whole subject in all its bearings. But he admits that the Śailendras were *not* rulers of Śrīvijaya (Sumatra) in the seventh century, that the identification of Che-li-fo-che (Śrīvijaya) with San-fo-ts'i (Jāvaka) is uncertain, and, what is of still greater interest for us here, recognizes the force of the argument "which seeks to place the seat of the kingdom of Jāvaka and consequently Zābag in the Malay Peninsula." He then makes the somewhat surprising suggestion, with the avowed intention of completing Professor Majumdar's theory, that Fu-nan was the cradle of the Śailendras, but I hardly think that the archæological evidence is likely to confirm this suggestion.

I shall now mention one or two points on which I venture to differ from Professor Majumdar, at the same time calling attention to one or two directions in which I propose to extend his very stimulating theory. In the first place I agree that the inscriptions and Chinese records seem to afford undeniable evidence that a state named Śrīvijaya existed in South-East Sumatra in the seventh century, but I think it is open to doubt whether this kingdom ever spread its power far over the Malay Peninsula, or that the inscription of 775 A.D. found at Nāk'ôn Śrī Th'āmmārat indicates Sumatran overlordship there so shortly before the time when, as Professor Majumdar points out, the power of the Śailendras was probably *centred* in the Malay Peninsula. Even if Dr. Stutterheim's rendering of the first two mentions of the king's titles in this inscription as "king over the lords of Śrīvijaya" cannot be with certainty

¹ "On the Origin of the Śailendras of Indonesia," *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. i., part 2, 1934.

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sustained, and we must read simply "king of Śrīvijaya," there remain two alternative explanations open to us. Either the kingdom situated in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, originally called Jāvaka, had already conquered Sumatra by 775 A.D. and adopted the name of the Sumatran state of Śrīvijaya after absorbing it, or else the northern kingdom had adopted the name Śrīvijaya quite independently. The first suggestion is supported by the fact that the Śailendra dynasty is always spoken of in the Chola inscriptions as reigning over Kaḍāra or Kaḍāra and Śrīvijaya, Kaḍāra (Kedah) being that part of the Jāvaka kingdom best known to Indians, and the power of whose ruler spread over Śrīvijaya perhaps before the end of the eighth century. On the other hand, there would be nothing surprising in the name Śrīvijaya having been independently adopted by the northern kingdom, since it is not an uncommon name for a kingdom of Indian culture, and might easily be used by any state the ruler of which considered himself victorious. Moreover, as we shall see, one of the most important ancient sites in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula is still called C'āiya (*i.e.*, Jaya, a shortened form of Vijaya ; and not far to the south is situated Śrīvijaya Hill). A difference in the native pronunciation of the word Śrīvijaya in this region from its pronunciation in Sumatra might well account for the Chinese form San-fo-ts'i being applied to the empire from the tenth century onwards, while in the seventh and eighth centuries the Sumatran state of Śrīvijaya had been referred to by the Chinese as Fo-che or Che-li-fo-che. However this may be, it will be as well to avoid ambiguity by adopting in future the term Śailendra Empire for the great empire which during so many centuries dominated South-Eastern Asia.

Professor Majumdar suggested that the capital of the empire was at Nāk'ōn Śrī Th'āmmārat or in its neighbourhood. The archæological evidence, as we shall see, strongly indicates that C'āiya and not Nāk'ōn Śrī Th'āmmārat was the earlier capital of the Śailendra Empire, though from the twelfth century this capital was displaced by the latter city. This indeed brings me to state the second hypothesis that I shall endeavour to establish on purely archæological grounds, namely that C'āiya, later displaced by Nāk'ōn Śrī Th'āmmārat, was not only a great centre for the growth and spread of Indian culture, but was also the capital of the Śailendra Empire.

The early Indian colonists, having crossed the Bay of Bengal, naturally formed settlements on the first suitable land that they reached, the little river valleys of the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. The settlements at Kedah and Kuala Selinsing are better known because they were partially investigated some time ago, and because of the early inscriptions found in that neighbourhood ; but perhaps Tākuapa was not less important in its day. Probably the Indian pioneers were attracted by tin, which abounds in this part of the

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Peninsula, though we shall not know this definitely until the present-day miners can be persuaded to co-operate with archaeologists by making a careful inventory of any remains that may be brought to light, not merely by chance when dredging in any former river bed, but when actually dredging through the ancient shaft workings of uncertain origin which I am told are sometimes cut through in the Tākuapa region. However it may be with regard to mining, the Indians certainly also formed trading and agricultural communities, and, though they brought their religion with them, were also sponsors of a considerable secular civilization.

When these colonists wanted to expand beyond the somewhat narrow quarters of the west coast valleys there were two courses open to them: they could either brave the waters of the Straits of Malacca, then swarming with Malay pirates—and some undoubtedly succeeded in thus running the gauntlet—or they might follow some comparatively safe route across country peopled by milder natives, to the eastern coast of the Peninsula. In this matter the settlers in the Tākuapa neighbourhood were particularly favoured, because it is only at this latitude that two rivers run approximately east and west respectively from the watershed, being separated at their sources by only five miles (Fig. 1). Tākuapa harbour then formed one of the finest anchorages on the west coast, and was thus an encouragement for traders to call and succeeding waves of Indians to settle. Moreover, it was opposite the finest harbour on the east coast, the Bay of Bandōn, sheltered by two large islands from the north-west monsoon, which provided an admirable base for further adventuring across the seas. This route, which is still used occasionally by the local people, was from the fourteenth century until 1805 the official route for transporting tin from the west coast mines to the Bay of Bandōn, whence it was shipped to Āyūth'ya, the Siamese capital. In early times its crossing presented none of the difficulties that it does to-day, because the rivers were much deeper before the process of emergence, which the land has undergone, even within historical times, had made such progress, and before the Chinese miners had silted up the streams. Once they had reached the eastern side of the watershed, the colonists were in a broad fertile region, watered by the Girirāṣṭra and Luong Rivers, a place eminently suitable for settlement and cultural evolution. The route was primarily one of expansion rather than of trade, and was certainly much more suited for such use than either the more northerly Mergui-Pračuab crossing or the well-known Kră route, both of which were used by Europeans and others in later centuries, but neither of which appears to have been suitable for early colonial expansion because neither offers on the east coast large areas of well-watered territory and fine harbours. Moreover, not the slightest sign of Indian remains has been

Map of the Bay of Bandōm and surrounding regions. The map shows the coastline, major rivers, and islands. Key locations marked include Takuwa Harbors, Tōso (ancient), and the Bay of Bandōm. The map includes a scale bar (0 to 20 miles) and a north arrow. The map is oriented with North at the top.

FIG. 1.—MAP OF PART OF PENINSULAR SIAM.

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noticed on either route, and both have been traversed by observers not devoid of archæological interests, while the Kră route was in fact carefully searched by Prince Damrong's orders.

The eastern settlements seem to have been situated eccentrically with regard to the Bay of Bandôn, because the shores of this harbour were no doubt then marshy and forest-covered as they are to-day. The chief sites are at Wieng Sră, Căiya, and Năk'ôn Śri Thămmarat. We have thus a fan-shaped zone of country stretching across the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, on both sides of which there are remains presenting a good deal in common, though showing an evolution from west to east. We shall begin our study at Tăkuapa, but before doing so I should like to say a few words about our methods.

The archæology of the earlier periods in Indo-China in the past has been too frequently confined to a study of inscriptions and isolated sculptures, the two classes of material most likely to wander from their original sites.¹ It has been our first object to attempt to correlate the study of this admittedly important material with the sites themselves, the investigation of which has hitherto been neglected. It was found best, in the first place, to concentrate our efforts on the definite settlements rather than spend time and money on visiting places from which chance finds had been reported. Though the climatic conditions are such that only the most durable objects are preserved, and though sites are seldom stratified, we applied an adaptation of the modern principles of scientific archæology. Thus potsherds, which have been despised in this region in the past, were among our first concerns, and we have tried to institute the basis of a survey which, if generally applied, I am confident will enable important conclusions to be drawn. The objects found will, I hope, be permanently housed in the Bangkok National Museum for reference in conjunction with similar objects that may in the future be collected from other parts of Siam. At present it is chiefly the Chinese sherds that supply valuable information, and these only to a limited extent, because there is not sufficient Indian and local pottery available from other parts of the country, or even in India itself, to make useful comparisons possible. One result of this is that we still have to place rather more reliance on sculptures and inscriptions than we would wish. Our field operations consisted mainly of trial excavations,

¹ Good examples of mistaken deductions from the supposed site of origin of inscriptions are : (1) The inscription of 775 A.D., now said to come from Năk'ôn Śri Thămmarat (but quite likely originating from Căiya), was formerly supposed to have originated from Wieng Sră, and this sole piece of untrustworthy evidence gave rise to the deduction that Wieng Sră was a "Śrīvijaya" site, whereas it was almost certainly Indian ; (2) the inscription of Tăkuapa, as we shall see, was meaningless so long as it was thought to originate from Khău P'ă Narai. Similarly, the peregrinations of famous statues, like the Emerald Buddha, are well known.

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which give the maximum information at the minimum expense; and the urgency of such work must be evident to those at all familiar with the constant activities of treasure seekers, tin miners, and monks anxious to obtain bricks for repairing their modern temples.

The existence of ancient sites in the neighbourhood of Tăkuapa was reported by W. W. Bourke,¹ an Inspector of Mines, as long ago as 1905, and a few years later the French archæologist Lajonquière² made a brief and superficial examination. The desirability of a thorough investigation does not, however, appear to have presented itself to scholars, for M. Claeys, in his recent valuable work on "L'Archéologie du Siam,"³ makes no mention of either Tăkuapa or the almost as purely Indian city of Wieng Sră, of which we shall speak later. Tăkuapa remained, therefore, at the time of our visit practically unexplored territory from the archæological point of view; and I may add that such is the remoteness of the sites and the difficulty of communications in that part of the country that our detailed investigations would have been extremely difficult if not impossible to carry out had it not been for the generous hospitality and kind assistance of the Siamese Tin Syndicate and their local manager, Mr. J. Farrington.

The completely landlocked nature of the formerly excellent anchorage at Tăkuapa is evident from the map (Fig. 1), which also indicates the approximate position of the three ancient sites in the district, all of them situated at a considerable distance from the modern town. These ancient sites are, firstly, T'ŭng Tŭ'k,⁴ literally "the plain of the monument," believed to be the site of an ancient city, and situated towards the southern extremity of the south island (Kŏ K'ŏ Khău), almost opposite one of the mouths of the Tăkuapa river, a splendid position for an ancient mart; secondly, a small hill on the mainland nearly opposite known as P'ră No' Hill; and, lastly, the site known as Khău P'ră Narai, or Viṣṇu's Hill, on the main river about twenty miles from its mouth, and just above its junction with an important tributary, the K'lŏng Pŏng.

P'ră No' Hill, reached by a little creek running through a mangrove swamp, is about 200 feet high, and it was from its summit that a few years ago a fine statue of Viṣṇu was removed to the National Museum. The top of the hill is like that of a truncated cone, and, on clearing the under-

¹ "Some Archæological Notes on Monthon Puket," *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. ii., 1905.

² "La Domaine Archéologique du Siam" and "Essai d'Inventaire Archéologique du Siam," in *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine*, 1909, 1912.

³ *B.E.F.E.O.*, xxxi., 1932.

⁴ Siamese words are transliterated in this article in accordance with M. Cœdès' new system (*B.E.F.E.O.*, xxxi., p. 355), with the exception that it has not been found practicable to mark the tones.

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growth, the foundations of a small shrine were observed. The remains consisted of a platform about 25 feet square and 2 feet high constructed of natural yellow earth and unworked laterite blocks. Broken bricks, the remains of the walls and perhaps of the floor of the shrine, were scattered along the sides with a few in the centre of the platform. The shrine faced 26° east of magnetic north, an unusual direction evidently dictated by the fact that the slope of the hill was much more gentle on this side. Excavation revealed, at a depth of 8 inches, brick steps followed by a brick slope which seemed to have had balustrades, and led a short way down the hillside. The bricks ($12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$; $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7'' \times 3''$) were laid without apparent mortar in single layers and were well baked and fine grained. A little rough domestic pottery, probably contemporary with the shrine, was found on the brick stairs and pathway.

The Viṣṇu image, over 6 feet high (Plate II. 1), represents an important type, and I believe no photograph of it has previously been published. The sandstone of which it is made is rare in the Peninsula, and it was therefore probably brought by sea and presumably from India, though it would not at present be possible to say from what part of India. It has affinities with Gupta art, but is at the same time closely related to the type of sculpture which, if found in Cambodia, would be called Pre-Khmer. It probably dates from the sixth or seventh century A.D., and the shrine itself might date from about the same period, though the evidence in favour of that suggestion, apart from the appearance of the statue, is the probability, judging by the similarity of the brickwork, that it is contemporary to the city site to which we shall now turn our attention.

The southern part of K'ö Khäü Island is low and sandy and the jungle is broken by a number of scattered open grassy stretches. Only one of those we examined, however, the site known as T'üing Tü'k (Plate II. 2), appeared to have been the location of an ancient settlement. It extended about 375 yards in a north-north-east direction with a breadth of about 225 yards, and was separated from the sheltered waters of the estuary by a narrow belt of mangroves about 15 yards broad, the latter no doubt a comparatively recent accretion. Near both the northern and southern ends of this area little streams, which had dug for themselves deep channels in the sandy soil, ran into the estuary. Towards the centre of the western side of the open space were situated the three mounds, of which only the existence of the central one had been recorded by Lajonquiére. I shall refer to them collectively as the temple site.

The whole sandy area was thickly strewn with potsherds of varying age. In many places the fragments were accumulated more densely than elsewhere,

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and these places at first sight appeared to be the sites of former dwellings, and undoubtedly the area must have been thickly populated. But a closer examination revealed traces of much rain and other aqueous action, so that the distribution of the fragments is probably governed by the eddies of the numerous little water channels that ramify through the sandy soil during the rainy season, not to mention the water-races deliberately cut by Chinese miners who during many centuries have come to wash tin on this island where tin ore abounds. In many spots the sherds rest on little pinnacles of sand, which they have to some extent protected from the denudation of the rainy season (Plate III. 1). And it is curious to note that if one digs into such an accumulation one finds scarcely a fragment beneath the surface. Stratification, if it ever existed, has been destroyed by the miners and the action of the elements, and, apparently in accordance with some physical law, the remains, of whatever period, lie scattered on the surface.

Three types of glazed pottery occur abundantly here which I did not find represented on the east coast. Mr. R. L. Hobson of the British Museum has kindly examined them and has expressed the following opinions concerning them : One type is Chinese, dating from the period of the Six Dynasties (220-589 A.D.). The second type is also Chinese, and belongs to a rare and widely travelled class found previously at Brahminabad in Sind and Fostat, near Cairo, dating most probably from the ninth century A.D. (possibly eighth or tenth century).¹ The third type is a blue glazed Islamic pottery, originating probably from Southern Persia and presumably brought by Arab traders about the eighth century. In addition to the above there is some unglazed ware with painted designs, as yet unidentified, and much other rough unglazed pottery of which some may be of Indian origin. The evidence of the identified pottery, therefore, quite apart from other evidence that will be discussed later, seems to suggest that the settlement flourished from about the fifth or sixth to the eighth or ninth century A.D. Gerini's identification of the place with the Takola mart mentioned by Ptolemy in the second century A.D. may be correct, but the available archaeological evidence does not take us back so far. A certain amount of porcelain fragments of Sung type occurs with the other wares, and was probably brought by Chinese miners long after the Indians had deserted the site.

We must now turn to the more detailed consideration of the temple site. Plate III. 2 shows the central and largest mound, from which the undergrowth that obscured it has been cleared, leaving only a few large trees, with

A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East, by R. L. Hobson, 1932, p. 9 ; *An Account of the Ancient and Ruined City of Brahminabad in Sind*, by A. F. Bellasis, 1856 ; "Potsherds from Brahminabad," by R. L. Hobson, *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1928-1930.

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the smaller south mound on the left of the picture. The northern mound, not shown in the photograph, was similar to the southern one, and in close juxtaposition to it European miners a few years ago made a boring on a report of gold. Only gold dust was found, however, and I understand that in the opinion of competent mining engineers it was of foreign origin and was probably used as a medium of exchange in ancient times. The middle of the central mound, it should be mentioned, had been much damaged at some time, either by treasure seekers or by miners having cut a water-race through it, or by a combination of both causes.

Excavations, consisting of a network of trial trenches designed to elucidate the nature of the structures, were then undertaken with the result shown in Fig. 2. It was established that the central mound consisted of a rough brick platform, about 6 feet above ground level, with a core of unworked laterite blocks. The platform was tolerably intact only at the south-western corner, having obviously suffered much from the theft of bricks, many of which lay scattered over the field. The southern mound revealed, at a depth of from 1 to 2 feet beneath the surface of the soil, an approach 37 feet broad, paved by bricks one or two layers thick, and resting on a foundation of laterite or quartzite blocks. On one side the approach was bordered by a low brick wall, having two buttresses, and measuring in height about 18 inches, with a width of 2 feet 8 inches, covered by only a few inches of earth. At its south end the wall merged into that of a small brick chamber or vestibule of the same height, the interior being paved only with rough quartzite blocks, and there being apparently an opening leading on to the brick approach. The existence of a similar balustrade on the other side of the approach, the bricks of which must have been stolen, and of a corresponding brick vestibule at its end, where now lies only a shapeless heap of bricks, could be inferred only on the hypothesis of symmetrical design. The same hypothesis, indeed, has to be invoked to account for the probable prolongation of the brickwork of the main platform further to the east, where now repeated borings in the undulating ground revealed no trace of bricks. Our hypothetical plan is, however, supported by two more indications: firstly, the fact that the point which has suffered most from vandalism is, as one would expect, the place that is central on our plan; and, secondly, not only the brick approach, but also the north mound, which contained only a small ruined platform, would also then be in the middle line.

The bricks ($10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$; $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3''$) were of similar quality to those of P'rā No' Hill, and were fairly well laid, without apparent mortar. One can see something of the brickwork in Plate III. 3, which shows the walls of the small chamber. Lying at random round the edges of the central platform were found many large flat schist stones, which eventually proved to be of con-

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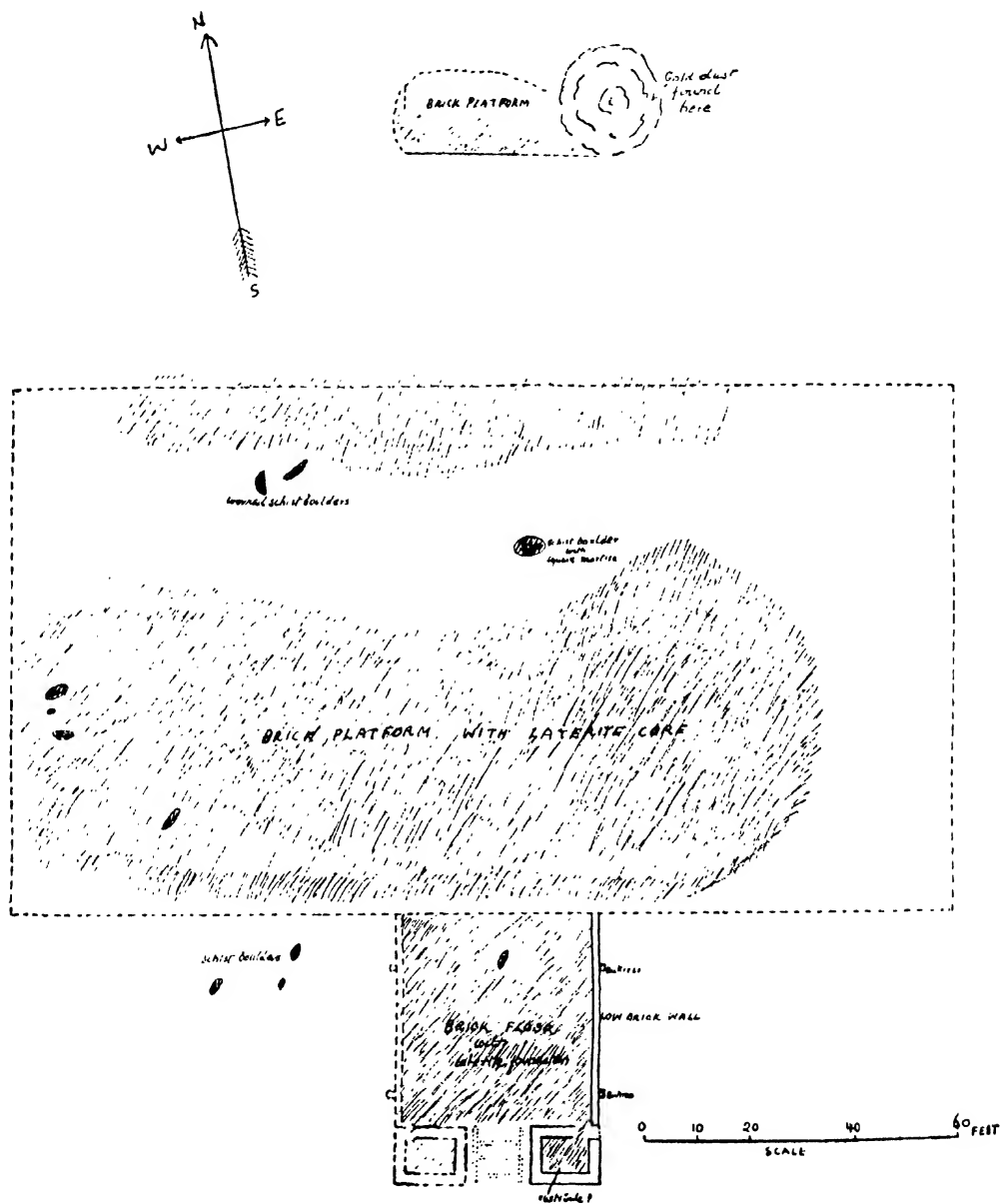


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF TEMPLE SITE, T'UNG T'UK, TĀKUAPA.

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siderable importance in regard to the history of the site. They had obviously not been quarried, but were just water-worn boulders that had been dragged from the river. One of those shown in Plate IV. 1 is semicircular, but the other is of the more common type, measuring about $5' 8'' \times 1' 4''$. Many of them had been worked to the extent of having been cut or ground flat down one or both edges. They had probably once formed a pavement to the shrine, and one of the smaller slabs, measuring $4' \times 2' 4'' \times 7''$, and which was lying uncovered near the centre of the platform, had a mortise 3 inches square that had probably been cut to receive a wooden pillar. M. Parmentier has remarked¹ that people little skilled in stone work have a preference for schistose rock because it is so easily split. It also affords extensive surfaces for the reception of inscriptions, a use to which the early Khmers frequently put it; but although we heard a story that several inscribed stones had formerly been located here, none of the many slabs we turned over was inscribed. In the neighbourhood of both the northern and central mounds a large quantity of the more ancient pottery fragments and many small narrow unglazed earthenware tiles, with hooks for attachment, were found scattered a few inches beneath the surface of the soil.

There was thus not much data on which to reconstruct the original appearance of the buildings. One could only imagine some kind of rather perishable shrine with a stone-paved floor, timber walls, and a tiled roof, standing on the central brick platform, opening to the south-south-west by an antechamber, probably of light construction, or possibly by merely an open brick approach, since no tiles were found in connection with the south mound. As to dating the temple site, or even deciding that it was the result of Indian inspiration, there was little beyond the finding of a few beads, believed to be Indian of a type known from the seventh century, and the proximity of the Indian remains on P'ră No' Hill, the brickwork in the two sites being similar.

If, however, we make a comparison with the one or two other ancient sites that are known on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, more particularly the Sungai Batu Estate, South Kedah, partially excavated by Mr. I. H. N. Evans,² we obtain a little light. For this site is undoubtedly of Hindu origin, and, bearing in mind the fifth-century inscriptions found at no great distance from it, is probably very early. The similarities which it bears to T'ūng Tū'k are, firstly, the mixture of materials employed, including laterite blocks, river boulders, bricks, and dressed stones; and I believe I am right in saying that such a mixture was similarly used in very early South Indian buildings. Again, at this Kedah site we are told of a wall of exactly the same

¹ *L'Art Khmer Primitif*, i., p. 42.

² *Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, pp. 113-121.

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width as ours, resting on a foundation of rounded boulders and disappearing into a mound which was not excavated. About a hundred yards away fragments of pottery, which appeared to be ancient, were found scattered over the surface of the ground.

It would appear, however, that much more definite evidence as to the nature and period of T'üŋg Tŭ'k is to be obtained from the examination of our third site, Khău P'ră Narai. About sixty yards from the bank of the river, almost opposite the hill, stand the three curious Brahmanic figures (Plate IV. 2), partly hidden by the twin stems of a great forest tree. They appear to be carved in very high relief on a stele of schist, now broken into three separate portions. Though well known in the vicinity and much revered by the local Chinese, who have built a wall round them and are assiduous in offering them joss-sticks, no satisfactory photographs seem to have been published in Europe. The local story has it that they were formerly enshrined on the top of P'ră Narai Hill, whence a party of Burmese raiders attempted to carry them off to Burma, but a sudden rainstorm coming on, this was regarded as a bad omen, and they were compelled to drop them near the foot of a young sapling, which subsequently grew up and almost engulfed them.

Examination of the top of the hill did, it is true, reveal a few broken bricks and a slab of stone, evidently the remains of a small shrine, and indeed one might well expect to find that a solitary hill at the junction of two rivers would be crowned with a shrine. But its connection with the three images I judge to be due only to coincidence, and I propose to dismiss the local story as an explanatory myth. My reasons are, firstly, that the little shrine could only have been about 6 feet square, and hence could hardly have fittingly accommodated these large sculptures; and, secondly, the stone slab on the top of the hill was square, and was apparently a smooth-grained sandstone. On the other hand, the sculptures are in a slaty schist, exactly similar to that which we have seen employed at T'üŋg Tŭ'k. What is even more striking is the fact that lying near the images were worked and unworked water-worn schist boulders, one of the former measuring 4' 6" \times 2' 3", which exactly resembled those found on the island and nowhere else. From this I think that one can conclude that the slabs and associated images were at least contemporary to T'üŋg Tŭ'k; and there is one more piece of evidence that points to the probability that they were actually brought from there. Lying amongst the other schistose slabs is a rather smaller one, which bears on one surface the Tamil inscription¹ which speaks of the digging of a tank bearing the Vaiṣṇava name

¹ Cœdès, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, part 2, p. 49; T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Epigraphia Indica*, part 2, April, 1925, pp. 71-72.

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Srī-Nāranam by a certain benefactor who placed it under the protection of the Maṇigrāmam merchant guild, the men of the vanguard and the cultivators. It seems at first sight surprising that it should be concerned with the digging of a tank, for one can scarcely appreciate the need for such a thing at the junction of two rivers. But at T'üŋ Tŭ'k one can well see the need for it, since there are only very small fresh-water streams on the island, and there must have been a teeming population. Moreover, Bourke, who reported the existence of the city site on hearsay evidence, speaks of the existence of tanks there. We did not find anything definite of that sort, but we did notice that one of the streams had been hollowed out, probably artificially. And then the inscription mentions that the tank was placed under a guild of merchants, who would be more likely to live on the coast than inland. I think, therefore, that we can conclude that the stones, the inscriptions, and the sculptures did originate from T'üŋ Tŭ'k, and, if so, they afford valuable evidence as to the date—at any rate, *a* date—of that settlement.

The alphabet of the inscription is of an archaic type and has been placed by Hultsch as eighth century. The images, too, though evidently made in the Peninsula, are fairly close to the Pallava style of South India, and appear to date from the seventh or eighth century. They have not yet been satisfactorily identified: Lajonquière considered the central figure (height 4 feet 7 inches) to be Śiva; and it appears to me that there is some resemblance to the Gangādhara group at Trichinopoly.¹ It is particularly to the smaller male and the female figure (Plate IV. 3, 4) that I direct attention, not only on account of their artistic merit but as representatives of a wave of Indian culture that I believe had great influence over the art of the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia. This wave was perhaps one of the last that broke on the shores of the Peninsula, for at Tākuaapa one finds no later traces of Indian influence, and this settlement seems to have been deserted soon after the end of the eighth century. If the Mahāyānist Śailendras passed this way, as they probably did, following the age-old Indian route, they have left no traces, for they probably hurried on to the east coast settlements, to which the political centre of gravity had by then shifted. And may we be right in supposing that these sculptures were carried off from deserted T'üŋ Tŭ'k, not by Burmese marauders, but by those who still revered them and were following the stream of culture across the route to the flourishing Indianized cities of the east coast? And what more natural than, when their heavily-laden boats went aground in the shallowing water above the river junction, they should have reverently laid

¹ H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Fig. 87. It may here be added that no weight can be attached to the local Siamese identification with Narai (Viṣṇu), a name which they apply indiscriminately to any ancient Hindu images and sites.

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the precious relics on the bank facing the shrine of the spirit guardian of the place?

After leaving Tākuapa we followed the route of the old Indian colonists across the Peninsula. Such is the extent of the silting process that the Tākuapa River, even in its lower reaches, is navigable only by sampans in the dry season, and by small motor-launches in the rains. But that it was formerly navigable by ships of considerable burthen is proved by the discovery at Pōng some seventy years ago of the timbers of an old ship 74 feet long, while it may be mentioned that a European female figure-head about 3 feet high which had recently been dredged up was shown to me in the grounds of a Buddhist monastery at Tākuapa.¹ The difficulty of navigating this river in the dry season decided us to walk for the first part of the journey. The branch of the river which leads to the pass dwindles to a narrow stream as it approaches the watershed, and we waded across it a number of times before, finally, our path became the almost dry boulder-strewn bed of the stream itself, over which we scrambled for some distance and then left it to make a short but steep climb which, after three days' march, brought us to the summit of the pass.

We began our descent and, leaving the cool damp shade of the virgin forest behind us, were soon wending our way through a smiling valley. At the first village, Ban Sök, at which the east-flowing river became navigable, we entered into negotiations for obtaining boats. It may be worth while to mention here that one of the porters who had accompanied us across the pass led us quite confidently to a rock beside the path, some distance before we entered the village, near which he said there was an inscription on a smaller block of stone in writing which resembled that of the Tākuapa inscription which he had seen. Unfortunately the inscription did not materialize, but what makes me disinclined to dismiss the story as unworthy of consideration is, firstly, its obvious possibility or even probability, and, secondly, the fact that the village headman confirmed the porter's statement but said that the inscription had disappeared in some mysterious manner. Further inquiry in the district might therefore repay the trouble.

Having obtained three diminutive boats at Ban Sök, the boatmen poled us down the river for six days, progress being very slow owing to the many shallows that had to be negotiated, the boatmen laboriously digging out channels for the boats to pass. The scenery (Plate I.), with its isolated peaks or limestone ranges, was often very beautiful, the natural images of the

¹ Mr. G. I. Laird Clowes, of the Science Museum, South Kensington, has examined my photographs of this figure-head, and states that it dates from about 1820-1830 and belonged to a ship of about 200 tons, probably drawing 10 feet of water.



AN UPPER REACH OF THE GIRIKASTRI RIVER.

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PLATE II



1. VISHNU, FROM P'RA NO' HILL, TAKUAPA.
Photo: Bangkok National Museum.



2.—SITE OF THE ANCIENT SETTLEMENT, T'UNG TU'K, TAKUAPA.

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1.—TYPICAL DEPOSIT OF POTSHERDS, T'UNG TU'K, TAKUAPA.



2.—SOUTH AND CENTRAL MOUNDS, TEMPLE SITE, T'UNG TU'K, TAKUAPA.



3.—BRICKWORK OF VESTIBULE, TEMPLE SITE, T'UNG TU'K, TAKUAPA



1. -WORKED SCHIST BOULDERS, TEMPLE SITE, T'UNG FU'K, TAKUAPA.



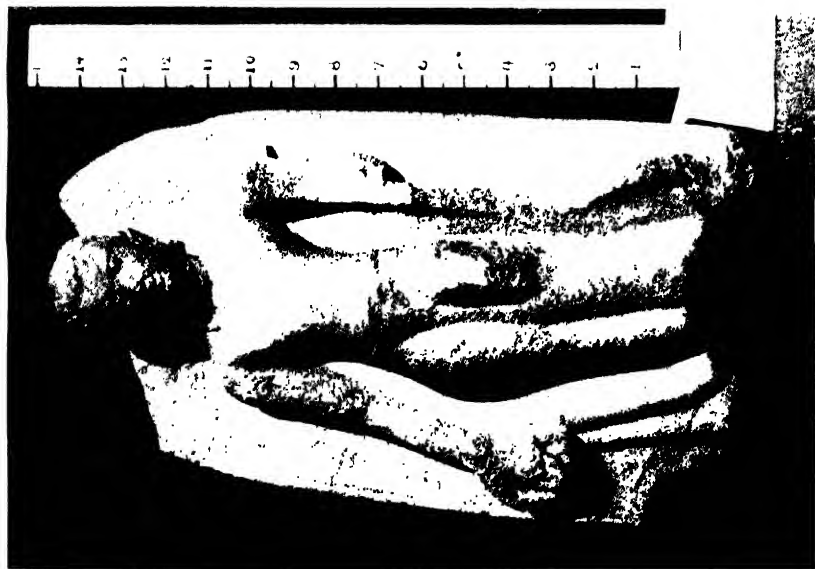
3. -THE SMALLER MALE FIGURE, OPPOSITE P'RA NARAI HILL, TAKUAPA.



4. THE FEMALE FIGURE, OPPOSITE P'RA NARAI HILL, TAKUAPA.

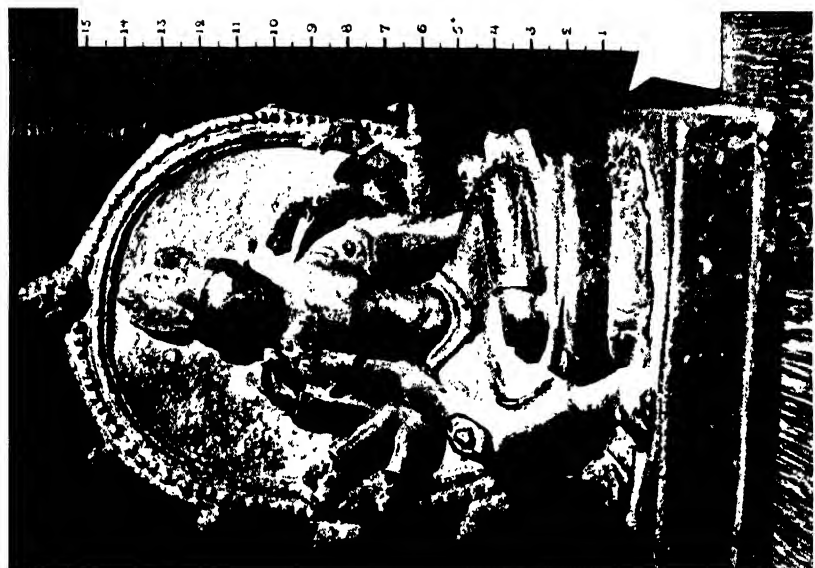


2. THE THREE STONE FIGURES, OPPOSITE P'RA NARAI HILL, TAKUAPA.



1.—SANDSTONE FIGURE OF BUDDHA, IN HIGH
RELIEF, FOUND AT WIENG SRA.

A New York photo. R. King of American College, Bangkok.



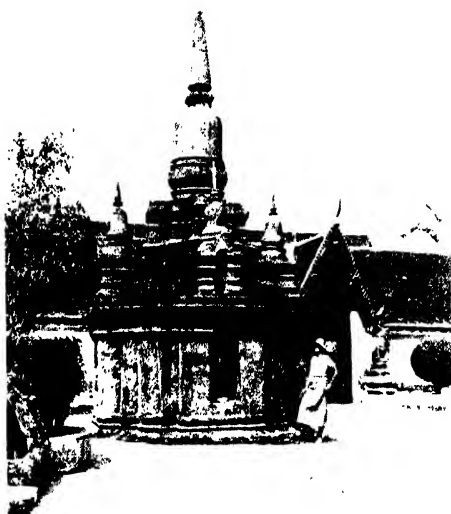
2. GREEN IMAGE OF TARA, FROM CHAIYA

Photo: Bangkok National Museum.

C. F. Jones, 1904.



1. —CENTRAL SHRINE OF WAT PRA
THAP, CHAIYA.



RELICUARY IN COURTYARD OF WAT PRA
THAP, NAKHON SRI THAMMARAT.



3. —WAT KEU, CHAIYA, EAST FACE.



4. —WAT KEU, CHAIYA, SOUTH CHAPEL.

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HO PRA ISUON (SIVA TEVILL) AT NAKON SRI THAMMAKAT.

A. N. S. P. 1910. Route of Ancient Indian Culture, Esp. 10.



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DESERTED SIVA TEMPLE, NAKON SRI THAMMARAT.

A Newly-Explored Remnant of Ancient Malay Culture. Page 107.

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Buddha appearing in the rocks high above our heads being pointed out to us by the men. So few and far between were the villages and so dense the jungle that came down to the water's edge that it was often difficult to find space to camp. But wherever we came to a village we found the people deeply impressed with a tradition that this was the route by which the Indians had come from the West. Similar traditions, as of the early migration of the Indonesians to Sumatra and even to Madagascar, have been found to rest on a solid basis, and we should therefore be unwise to dismiss too lightly the tradition found here.¹

The valley was probably too narrow for the Indians to have founded settlements in the upper reaches of the river. At T'a Khănơn the river widens and deepens, and we were able to charter a motor-boat for the last stage of our journey. Just below the village there is a cave at the water's edge, containing the usual Buddhist images of Siamese style, though superior to those found in most of the caves of the Peninsula. Moreover, in a dark pocket in the rock there is preserved in an atmosphere of great mystery and sanctity a small image of a Hindu deity, possibly of Indian origin. The modern name of this village, T'a Khănơn, simply means "collecting station for inland transit dues"; but the former Sanskrit name of the district still survives—Girirāṣṭra, the Kingdom of the Mountains. Could the Śaileन्द्रa, the Mahārāja, King of the Mountains, have given this name as he passed through a country that reminded him of his native land in India?

Leaving the mountains behind, the river widens out, joins the great Mênăm Luong, which flows from the south, and as a broad sluggish stream pours its waters into the Bay of Bandôn. In the wide fertile valley of these rivers, the first ancient city that we shall discuss is Wieng Srā, the City of the Lake, which was probably an almost purely Indian settlement. It is densely overgrown with jungle, and we encamped on the only space available, the dry bed of the lake from which the place derives its Siamese name.

After a path had been cut, we were able to make a rough compass traverse of the old settlement, which is bounded on the south and east sides by a narrow moat and mound, and on the other sides by the lake and by a stream, which is a branch of the Mênăm Luong. A break in the centre of the east moat probably indicates the site of a former gateway, whence a road may have run to the centre of the enclosure. There is a small hamlet a short distance away from the old settlement, and the local monks have built their monastery within the enclosure near its north-east corner, while near by are the remains of a rather older deserted monastery. It has not been thought necessary to publish our plan here, as in the main it bears out the essential

¹ Ferrand, "Malaka, Le Malāyu et Malāyur," *J.A.*, 1918, p. 124.

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accuracy of the dimensions and form of the settlement as given in Lajonquière's plan,¹ with the exception that the remains of the south moat can be traced throughout its original length and there is no break in it as marked on his plan; while, as stated above, the west boundary, like the north, appears to have been formed by a stream, which streams, after joining near the north-west corner of the city, flow into the Mênăm Luong a quarter of a mile to the west.

The only ancient site within the Wieng Sră enclosure is to be found at its centre (the point A in Lajonquière's plan), this site being known locally as San P'ră Narai. Elsewhere there is only forest, and the peasants informed me that, though they are familiar with every square yard of the enclosure as a result of continually searching for jungle produce therein, they have never come across bricks or other remains. Some trenches that we cut near the moat produced nothing, and we therefore directed our attention to San P'ră Narai, the central spot whence three interesting Brahmanic statues were removed to the National Museum a few years ago. After clearing the site we could see only a few scattered bricks, but were told there had been more before the monks had removed them to build and repair their monastery. The site had, however, fortunately never been excavated, and our trenches soon revealed, 8 inches beneath the surface, the base, only one brick thick, of a small shrine, the exact shape of which could not be determined owing to the rotten condition of the bricks, which could not be with certainty distinguished from the fallen broken bricks of the walls. The bricks (*e.g.*, $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$), though rarely found whole, were similar in size and appearance to those of the west coast sites. Very little pottery was found, and this was entirely of the common domestic variety, from which in the present state of our knowledge nothing definite can be deduced; and, in the absence of any inscription, we can, in our endeavour to learn something of the history of the place, only fall back on the statuary, here unexpectedly rich in quantity and variety.

In the roots of a tree at the edge of the brick structure we found a small sandstone Buddhist figure (Plate V. 1) of Indian Gupta style, dating probably from the sixth or seventh century, and I am told that it is now regarded as one of the masterpieces of the Bangkok National Museum. Yet it is of practically no historical importance, for its small size—it is only 7 inches high—indicates that it could easily have been brought from afar to the site where we found it, and where it was probably kept by the priests of this presumably Brahmanic shrine as a kind of revered curiosity. On the other hand, the fine statue of Viṣṇu (*Ars Asiatica*, xii., Plate IX.) is of much greater historical value, because it closely resembles the P'ră No' Viṣṇu from Tăkuapa, though rather later in style, and hence speaks strongly in favour of

¹ *B.C.A.J.*, 1912, Fig. 29.

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a movement of culture across the route we have traversed. A similar though rather further-developed image of Viṣṇu, now in the Bangkok Museum, was formerly situated on Śrīvijaya Hill, between Bandōn and Surat (INDIAN ART AND LETTERS, 1927, Plate XV.). Finally, there are the two curious sandstone images, the one of Viṣṇu and the other of Śiva in his terrible aspect (*Ars Asiatica*, xii., Plate X.). If not actually Indian, they are closely allied to Indian models, but they seem to represent yet another wave of Indian influence. They present a great difficulty in the matter of dating, but if we admit that Śailendra art had already reached the height of its development by the ninth century, I do not think we can place these much more nearly Indian sculptures later than the eighth century. And they appear to me to be very much the type of sculpture that might have served as models to the makers of the earliest images of the Dieng Plateau, West Java.

On this small amount of evidence we can deduce very little about the history of Wieng Srā beyond the fact that it was strongly Indianized and appears to date from quite an early period. It was probably abandoned in a hurry, leaving behind the images of the gods. And it is perhaps to this hurried evacuation that we owe the partial preservation of a very early settlement on the eastern side of the Peninsula, whereas the others have been mostly either lost or else obliterated beneath the structures of a later age.

Our next city, C'āiya, lies to the north of the Bay of Bandōn, and is well known from the wealth of remains of the Śailendra period that lie scattered over the district. A number of shrines lie within a radius of a mile or more from the site of Wāt Hua Wieng, which is generally considered to have been the centre of the small original city of which the remains of the moat can be distinguished. Though we made trial excavations at a number of sites, I can mention only a few here. At Wāt Hua Wieng there were remains of ancient brickwork with a little local pottery. Wāt Lǒng, where also only local pottery was found, consisted primarily of a brick platform having a certain superficial resemblance to the structure we excavated at T'üŋg T'ü'k, Tākuapa. Samples of its well-baked bricks measured $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$ and $9'' \times 9'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. Remains of Brahmanic images at Wāt Mǎi C'ōlāth'an and Wāt Sala T'u'ng, two finely carved *snānadronī* with double spouts having recently been unearthed at the latter place, point to the fact that Hindu influence was at one time strongly in evidence at C'āiya, though no doubt it was later almost submerged by Mahāyāna Buddhism. Of two other important sites, Wāt P'rā Th'at and Wāt Kēu, I must speak in more detail, but before doing so I wish to emphasize the vastness of the area covered by the ancient settlement and its suburbs. I may add that in the course of a day's walk and climb we visited, several miles to the east of the city, two hills, named Khāu Sai Smō and Khāu Nāng-I,

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dotted with *cedis* showing the influence of this period, a cave with interesting carvings, and at the foot of the last-named hill two large rectangular tanks. The existence of none of these sites has previously been placed on record, and they are ample evidence of the vast population formerly living in this region.

In the same connection I shall mention a certain banana garden near the original city, in which a peasant proprietor, when digging a well some months previously, had discovered some thousands of bowls of Sung type, many in perfect condition. By the time of our arrival these had been distributed all over the countryside, but I was able to secure one which I brought to London for identification, and Mr. R. Le May informs me that it originates from Than-hoa in Tonking. The finding of such a vast store of bowls of foreign manufacture is in my opinion further evidence in favour of this region having formerly been the seat of a vast and thriving population.

It so happened that during our stay the peasant had dug another deep hole in his garden, this time bringing up from a depth of 4 feet a small bronze image of Tārā (Plate V. 2). This occurred about two days before it had been arranged that we should proceed elsewhere, and, although we immediately entered into negotiation with the owner of the site to enable us to make excavations, we had no time to do more than cut one or two trenches. These, however, were sufficient to show that the site was the former sandy bed of a small stream which had now shifted its course a few yards to the north. At a depth of about 2 feet were the brick foundations of a small building. Many fragments of good Sung celadons and of wares of Sung type were found, together with a number of beads, a pierced stone ornament, and a fragment of a Chinese mirror of a type known from the seventh to the twelfth century A.D. The bronze Tārā, of Indo-Javanese style, like the small Gupta image from Wieng Srā, is of little historical importance because its small size would have made it an easy object for transport. But I recommended the Siamese Archæological Service to undertake thorough excavations of this site, which seemed to be so rich in small objects of a type likely to throw light on the everyday life and the degree of culture attained by the people of this period. It is to the sheltering covering of river sand that this site owed its preservation all unsuspected until last year, whereas the many other ancient sites at C'āiya, being superficial, have suffered much either at the hands of treasure-seekers or through well-meant efforts at restoration.

There are, however, two sites of the greatest importance which demand our careful attention. They have both been examined by several archæologists, whose opinions are of great interest. The first is the main shrine of Wāt P'rā Th'at (Plate VI. 1), which, contrary to the general rule, has been not unbecomingly restored by the former abbot of the monastery. It was M.

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Parmentier who first pointed out¹ the close resemblance of this shrine, when bereft of its later Siamese adornments, to the miniature edifices represented on the bas-reliefs of Borobodur—that is to say, to an earlier type of Indo-Javanese building.

Much more interesting, because unrestored, is the ruined monument known as Wāt Kêu, which was brought to light by M. Cœdès as recently as 1926. An excellent plan and elevation have been published by M. Claeys,² so I shall confine myself to publishing two new photographs (Plate VI. 3, 4) of the building as it was at the time we visited it, after it had been cleared of its obscuring cloak of vegetation. The northern and western faces of the building are concealed beneath an enormous mass of bricks and earth, so that only the structure of the two other faces could be at all clearly discerned. M. Cœdès has summed up the affinities of the monument by describing it as a brick sanctuary, constructed on a plan analogous to that of Chandi Kalāsana in Java, but of which the architecture recalls closely the cubic art of Champā and the (Pre-Khmer of archaic type) Prasāt Krahām of Phnom Kulen (Cambodia).³ Thus we have the surprising phenomenon appearing here so unexpectedly of a single building combining some of the basic characteristics of the *early* buildings of Cham, Pre-Khmer and Javanese styles. And it is most important to emphasize the fact that the buildings to which Wāt Kêu bears strong points of resemblance are amongst the earliest of Indian colonial types. Though traces of a stucco covering remain, they probably belong to a later period than does the building itself, since the carving is carried out on the bricks themselves, and there is no evidence that would lead one to suppose that the original structure bore any of the elaborate ornamentation characteristic of the later buildings of one or other of the classes of Indo-colonial architecture mentioned. Typical brick measurements were $11\frac{7}{16}'' \times 7\frac{3}{16}'' \times 2\frac{3}{16}''$ and $11\frac{1}{5}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{3}{5}''$, and M. Claeys has drawn attention to the excellence of the brickwork and its similarity to that of the Chams. Unfortunately the monument is undergoing a very rapid process of decay, and it is much to be hoped that the Siamese Archæological Service will see their way to undertaking the preservation of this valuable relic without delay. Its complete excavation should throw more light on the early history of C'āiyya, but it should only be undertaken with the most elaborate safeguards to ensure the preservation of the structure. I do not suggest that either Wāt P'rā Th'at or Wāt Kêu dates from earlier than the ninth or tenth century. But what is infinitely more important than actual dates is the fact that we have in C'āiyya the survival of very early non-specialized types of Indian colonial architecture

¹ *Etudes Asiatiques*, ii., p. 210.

² *Loc. cit.*, pp. 280-283.

³ INDIAN ART AND LETTERS, 1927, p. 65.

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The miniature edifices, too, that we see in relief on the walls of Wāt Kêu (Plate VI. 4), as we do on the walls of early Cham and Pre-Khmer buildings, hark back to even earlier styles, built largely of perishable materials, perhaps the type of structure of which we have seen the remains at Tăkuapa.

There are a number of interesting sculptures from the C'ăiya region in the Bangkok National Museum. They include early Brahmanic sculptures strongly reminiscent of Indian prototypes (*Ars Asiatica*, xii., Plate X.). Then amongst works of the Mahāyānist school there is the stone Lokeśvara (*Ars Asiatica*, xii., Plates XII. and XIII.), whose affinities to Cham and Indo-Javanese art having already been pointed out by M. Claeys, I propose to suggest in addition a certain relationship to the female figure at Tăkuapa (Plate IV. 4). Rather later (ninth to tenth century) are the two fine bronze Bodhisattvas (*Ars Asiatica*, xii., Plates XV.-XVII.), whose relationship to the smaller male figure at Tăkuapa (Plate VI. 3) is indeed obvious and from which they are the logical evolutionary outcome. While giving due allowance for the part played by Indonesian decorative genius in this colonial environment, the evolution here undergone could be closely paralleled in India amongst mediæval sculptures. And can these magnificent bronzes, one may wonder in passing, be the products of a remote province of an empire the capital of which was situated in far-off Sumatra?

The last place in the east coast region that we must consider is the famous Buddhist city of Năk'ôn Śrī Th'ămmārat. To this day its walled enclosure is crowded with temples and monasteries which are still active centres of religion. Most of these temples date only from the period of Thai occupation, but Wāt P'ră Th'at is reputed to be an ancient foundation, though its present *stupa* is entirely Siamese in style. In its court-yard, however, stands a small reliquary (Plate VI. 2) which M. Claeys has shown to be a miniature reproduction of the original shrine, which, following a widespread custom, was erected in the precincts at the time the later Siamese *stupa* was built. Moreover, it is important to note that its style recalled to him the architecture of Chandi Kalāsan of Central Java and the Cham towers of Đông-du'ng and Mi-so'n.¹

As it was not found convenient to excavate within the precincts of the Buddhist temples, I turned my attention to the little Brahmanic temples, where Hindu ceremonial was performed until about thirty years ago and which are still in the care of a small colony of Brahmans of Indian descent. The Bot P'rahm (which M. Claeys confuses with the Hổ P'ră Iśuon) is a modern structure containing only a few bronze images of Indian style. Of much greater interest is the Hổ P'ră Iśuon, or Śiva Temple, the modern roof of

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 317.

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which shelters the remains of an older brick structure partially hidden by a wooden partition which makes it no easy matter to photograph it (Plate VII). Despite the fact that its small and coarse-grained bricks ($10'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{3}''$; $12'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$) were unlike those we have seen used elsewhere, being of the type used in Siamese buildings of the Āyūth'ya period and joined with mortar, I was immediately struck by the strong "Indo-Javanese" style of the building, a fact already noticed by M. Claeys.¹ Indeed, it seemed to me that the style was even more primitive than anything found on the Dieng Plateau, West Java.

About six hundred yards to the south I was shown the remains of an old Śiva temple (Fig. 3 and Plate VIII.), deserted about thirty years ago, and the existence of which does not seem to have previously been placed on record. There being no objection to excavation here, after the site had been cleared, we made a careful investigation and cut several trial trenches. Only the lower parts of the walls were still standing, and it was what remained of the little shrine at the west end that was of chief interest. Although it had obviously only been built up in comparatively recent years from loose bricks of late manufacture ($10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$; $11'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$), there was again no doubt of the survival of the same style of early "Indo-Javanese" architecture that had been apparent in the other Hindu temple, and the double wall at the back also testifies to the former independent existence of the little sanctuary.

Excavation tended to confirm what I had suspected. The site had had a busy history during the last few hundred years, and was almost the only definitely stratified site we had found, there being two distinct brick floors. On the lower one was found a reliquary containing a silver coin apparently dating from one of the earlier reigns of the Āyūth'ya period, and many potsherds of Sung type were found even at the lowest levels. This indicated that the site could not date from a period earlier than the tenth or eleventh century, and is probably a good deal later. Nāk'ôn Śri Th'āmmārat is reputedly a very ancient city, but no actual remains beyond a few ancient images and one or two early inscriptions are known from the more remote period, because the site of the ancient Indian settlement, which seems to have existed, probably did not coincide with the present city and its location is unknown. But just as the little colony of Brahmans, who trace their descent from India, exist in this great centre of Buddhism as a survival from an earlier order, so they have preserved in their little temples the memory of an early Indian colonial type of architecture.

The last part of our time in Siam was devoted to the examination of two other routes across the Peninsula, to the south of the route to which we had

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 274.

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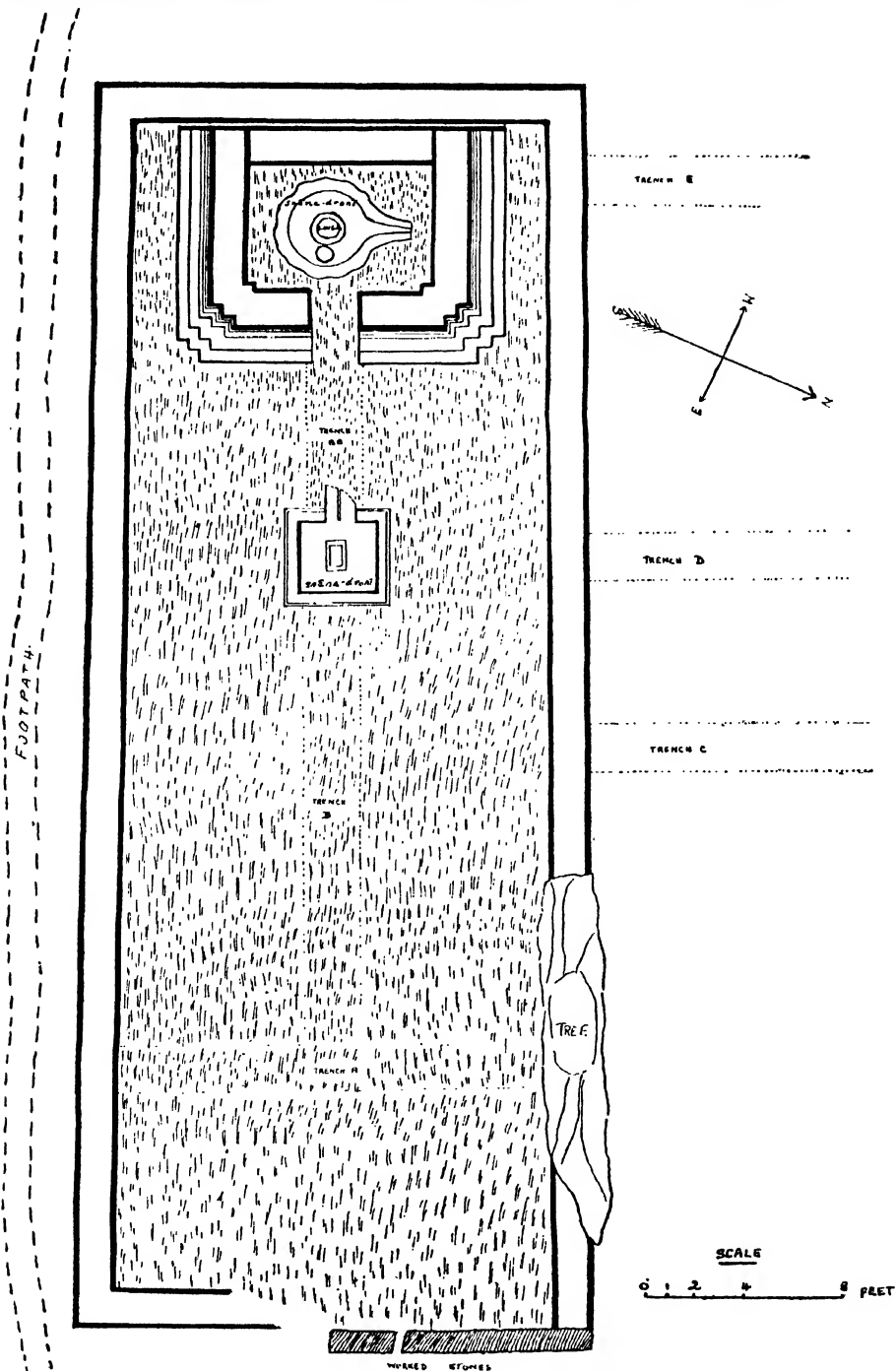


FIG. 3.—PLAN OF DESERTED ŚIVA TEMPLE, NĀK'ON ŚRĪ TH'ĀMMĀRAT.

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devoted our main attention. These are comparatively easy routes, passing from Trăng on the west coast to Năk'ôn Śrī Th'ămmārat and P'ăt'ălŭng respectively. If the Indians ever settled at Trăng they appear to have left no remains, and it would appear that they were used chiefly in later times and that they were purely local trade routes of the Śailendra period. One of them was probably the "overland road" mentioned by Chau Ju-kua in his *Chu fan chi* (1225 A.D.) There does not appear to have been an extensive settlement at Trăng, though the abbot of a monastery on the outskirts of Trăng (Tăpting) informed me that the remains of an old shrine, destroyed in rebuilding operations, resembled the style of the earlier building at Wăt P'ră Th'at, Năk'ôn Śrī Th'ămmārat, and was probably of the same period. There are at Tăpting large excavations which do not appear to be mines because of the absence of tailings, and which may therefore be the remains of ancient tanks. Further south, at Ban Sŭso, we were shown two recently discovered baths, cut in hard conglomerate rock and measuring respectively 5' × 3', with a depth of 4', and 2' 6" × 2' 6", with a depth of 1' 6". At the time of our visit they were still overflowing with hot salt water, and the stone lid of one of them was seen near by. There was nothing to show whether they were the work of Indians or of later people, but since nothing was known of their history by the local people who had discovered them, it is quite probable that they are ancient. Moreover, that the curative value of the water, which was evidently appreciated by those who originally made the baths, has been displaced by primitive magical beliefs, is evident from the fact that a pool of salt water in the jungle a few yards away was surrounded by a circle of sticks bearing paper flags. In the caves along both these routes there were formerly large numbers of votive tablets stamped with figures of Mahāyānist Bodhisattvas and *nāgarī* inscriptions dating from the tenth century or possibly earlier. A detailed study of them has been published by M. Cœdès.¹

It now remains for me to sum up the evidence in favour of my two hypotheses. I shall begin with the first one, according to which the region around the Bay of Bandôn was a cradle of Further Eastern culture, inspired by waves of Indian influence spreading across the route from Tăkuapa. We have noticed the persistence of a strong local tradition in favour of an early migration of Indians across the route from the West, and this tradition cannot reasonably be disregarded. At the same time persons of an Indian cast of features are common on the west coast near Tăkuapa, while colonies of Brahmans of Indian descent survive at Năk'ôn Śrī Th'ămmārat and P'ăt'ălŭng. It may be added that the Bay of Bandôn region, the geographical position of

¹ "Tablettes votives Bouddhiques du Siam," *Études Asiatiques*, i. (English translation in *J.S.S.*, vol. xx.).

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which is so admirably suited for a centre of cultural expansion, has been identified as P'an-p'an, the country via which, according to the *Liang Shu*, the Indianization of Fu-nan was completed by the second Kaundinya about the end of the fourth century A.D. Then the archæological evidence shows the survival around the Bay of Bandōn of a primitive non-specialized type of Indian colonial architecture, having basic features in common with the *earlier* Pre-Khmer, Cham, and Indo-Javanese buildings; and it is of interest to note that perhaps the most primitive in style of these Indian colonial temples are still to be found in the hands of the colony of Brahmans at Nāk'ōn Śrī Th'āmmārat, who trace the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malay Peninsula, and *not* via Java or Sumatra. Even if we make due allowance for the influence of the *śilpaśāstras*, it would seem that we cannot satisfactorily explain the primitive non-specialized architecture of this region otherwise than that it represents a survival of the common ancestral type. It certainly cannot be explained by reflex influences from Champā, Cambodia, and Java, because this would point to a great trade route passing from the east across the Peninsula, for the existence of which in early times we have insufficient evidence; and, secondly, such influences would not be expected to be confined to the earlier features only. Again, if the phenomenon could be explained in that manner, we might expect to find sites showing mixed architectural influences along the Straits of Malacca, which definitely was an ancient trade route, but in fact there are no such indications. Moreover, the early Indian colonial architecture at C'āiya and Nāk'ōn Śrī Th'āmmārat is supported by the existence in the same latitude of the remains of almost purely Indian edifices from which it could have evolved; while the sculptures found in this trans-peninsular zone of territory include purely, or almost purely, Indian prototypes, which could well have served as inspiration to the development of local forms in an Indonesian environment. Further, I shall do no more than suggest here that there is reason to believe that this region was also a centre of the growth and spread of Indian administrative ideas,¹ ceremonial² and the drama.³ But while I stress the importance of this region as

¹ In my *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, p. 115, in discussing the administration of the province of Nāk'ōn Śrī Th'āmmārat under Siamese rule, I mentioned the probability of finding "survivals of forms independently evolved and perhaps dating from an earlier period"; and I now think it probable that influences from this quarter may have played a greater part in moulding the Siamese administrative system than I then supposed.

² Apart from the Hindu ritual naturally associated with the colonies of Brahmans in Peninsular Siam, it appears that Indian ritual has more deeply penetrated the ordinary domestic ceremonies of the people of this region than it has in other parts of Siam, as, for example, in the case of the marriage ceremonies of the Siamese of P'āt'ālūng. See *Manners and Customs* (in Siamese), part 2, pp. 39-46.

³ The close association of the Siamese and Javanese theatre and shadow-play with Nāk'ōn Śrī Th'āmmārat and P'āt'ālūng has perhaps not yet been satisfactorily explained.

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a cradle of Further Eastern culture, *I do not wish to minimize the part played by other land routes that remain to be investigated, nor the sea route by which Indian influences must have penetrated to the east from very early times.*

Coming now to my second hypothesis, which concerns the Śailendra Empire, although it seems probable that an independent Sumatran state named Śrīvijaya existed in the seventh century, I think it clearly emerges from the researches of Professor Majumdar and myself that it cannot claim the importance in later centuries originally attributed to it by M. Cœdès and others. Now it appears probable that there were two periods in the development and spread of Indian culture in the Further East: firstly, an earlier period in which there was a slow dissemination of culture fanwise from the Bay of Bandōn region (P'an-p'an), *and of course from other centres and along other routes as well*, to the then receptive and politically primitive states in Fu-nan, Champā, and Western Java (Fig. 4). A second period followed during which Cambodia, Champā, and Java, becoming politically and culturally conscious, pursued within their borders the evolution of their own distinctive art and culture resulting from the awakening by the inspiration of India of their own particular genius. In the course of this process it would seem that P'an-p'an, rich in the seeds of culture, threw in its lot with the south, and from its association with the fertile land of Java arose the great Śailendra Empire.

The reason for this orientation may not be far to seek if we agree that the Tākuapa-Bandōn route was essentially a route of Indian cultural expansion rather than a trade route, and that there was no transshipment of goods, at any rate in early times, across the Peninsula either by this route or the Krā route. It is, I know, quite a widely-held theory that there was such transshipment, but I think it must be abandoned in view of the archæological evidence that the potsherds found on the west coast are mostly different from and earlier than those found on the east coast, and, again, because there are no signs of establishments of the later period on the west coast. When we remember that the temporary closing of the silk route through Central Asia, as a result of the Thibetan rising of 663 A.D., focussed attention on the sea route from China via the Straits of Malacca, we can well see the reason why any power ruling in the Malay Peninsula should turn its eyes southwards, and follow this up by action as soon as it was strong enough to do so. The evidence of inscriptions leads us to believe that in the eighth century the Śailendras were ruling in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. They were Mahāyānists and probably only recent arrivals from India, possessed of unbounded energy. They had already turned their backs on the cramped quarters of the west coast settlements and were looking out boldly for fresh conquests beyond the seas. It would seem that they deliberately undertook

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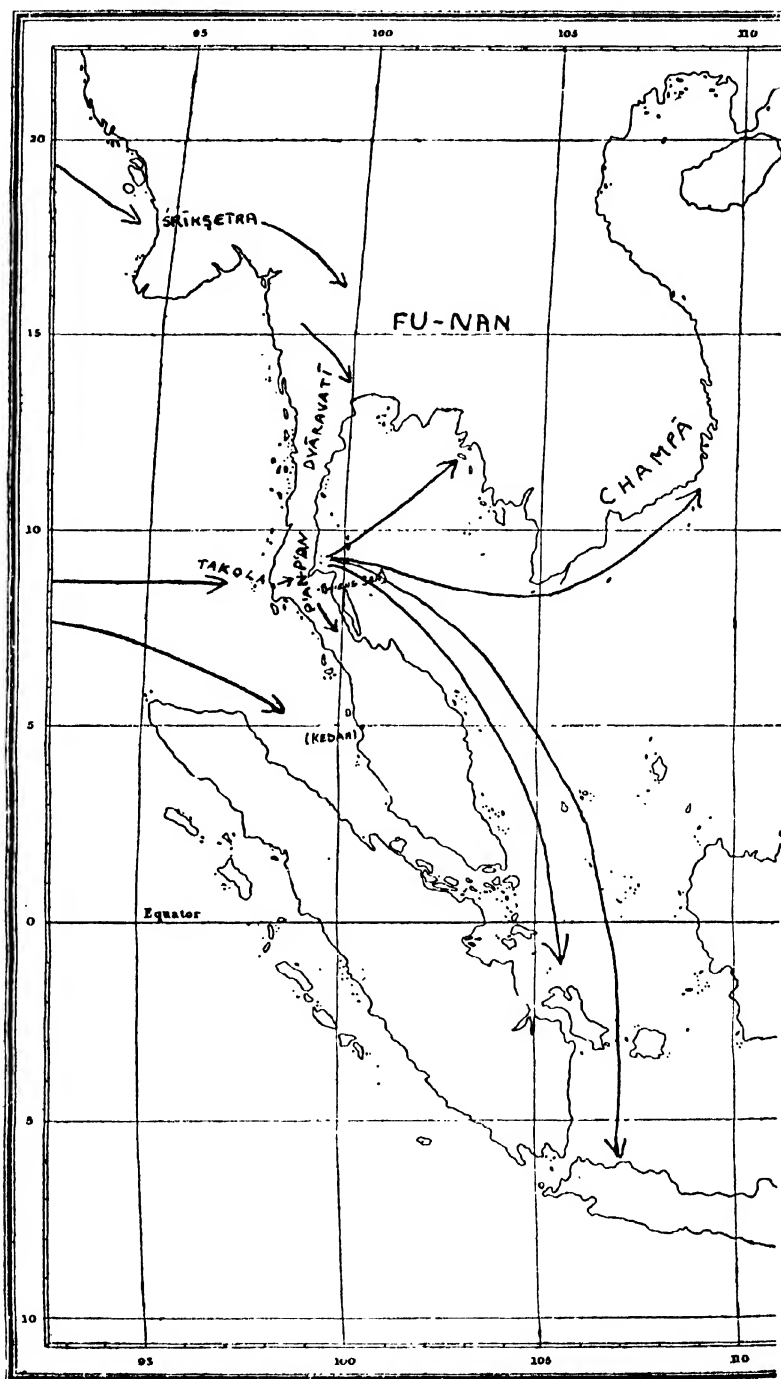


FIG. 4.—PART OF GREATER INDIA ABOUT 600 A.D. (BEFORE THE RISE OF THE KHMER AND ŚAILENDRA EMPIRES), SHOWING SPREAD OF INDIAN CULTURAL INFLUENCES.

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the conquest of Java and Sumatra, thus gaining control of the Straits. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the ninth century there follows in Central Java that wonderful artistic ebullition resulting from the combination, in a naturally rich country, of the inspiration of India with the Indonesian passion for decoration.

The fact that so few archæological remains have been found near Palembang has been recognized by M. Cœdès from the very beginning as detrimental to his theory. The few sculptures that have been found there are almost all of late Javanese style. On the other hand, at C'ăiya we have a range of sculptural types beginning with almost purely Indian forms as the basis for such an evolution. If architecture lags behind sculpture in this region it is because, whereas the latter could use bronze as a medium, scarcity of stone confined the architecture to bricks, which do not offer great evolutionary possibilities, as was also the case in Champā. Again, it is to be noted that the Mahāyānist votive tablets which have been mentioned above are common in the caves of the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, between C'ăiya and Trăng, but do not occur in the southern part of the Peninsula nor in Sumatra, where one would expect to find them if Palembang had been the capital of the empire and centre of diffusion.

M. Cœdès has sought to explain the lack of documents in Sumatra on the assumption that its rulers wrote little and built little because they were too deeply engrossed by trade. But what Far Eastern state of that period did not spend the profits of commerce on embellishing its capital and founding religious establishments? Could, indeed, the capital of such a vast empire, one existing for so many centuries and still flourishing as recently as the thirteenth century, disappear and leave so few traces? On the other hand, C'ăiya shows every sign of having been a great capital city, the centre of a teeming population, yet it is regarded as a mere province, and at that the most remote, of the empire of Palembang. At the same time, the several other provinces that we know occupied what is now British Malaya, and hence, according to the generally accepted theory, were nearer the capital than was C'ăiya, show no sign of such development. But a study of Far Eastern administrative methods of that period certainly teaches us that capitals drained to themselves the wealth of the country, and did not lavish it, to the detriment of their own comfort, on distant provinces.

I therefore conclude that C'ăiya was the first capital of the Śailendra Empire, but from the inscription of the Buddha of Wăt Hua Wieng (1183 A.D.)¹ we know that some time in the twelfth century it was temporarily overrun by the Khmers, who were the threatening neighbours of the empire

¹ *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, part ii., p. 45.

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on its northern border. The capital therefore seems to have been transferred further south to Nāk'ōn Śrī Thāmmārat, where it was in 1230 A.D., as we can deduce from the inscription of Wāt Hua Wieng.¹ Again, at the end of the thirteenth century, Cāiyya is not mentioned in the famous inscription of the conquering Thai king, Rama Kāmhēng, as it certainly would have been had it still remained a capital city. He speaks only of extending his conquests as far south as Nāk'ōn Śrī Thāmmārat.²

There is another point of interest for the history of the empire, occurring in two inscriptions, which does not seem to have been previously noticed. In the inscription of 775 A.D. (now said to come from Nāk'ōn Śrī Thāmmārat, but quite possibly originating from Cāiyya) the king is spoken of as "chief of the family of the Śailendra."³ In the inscription at Wāt Hua Wieng (1230 A.D.) the king *reigning at* Tāmbralīṅga (Nāk'ōn Śrī Thāmmārat) is spoken of as "chief of the family of the five. . . ." ⁴ Of the five what we do not know, but possibly, despite the fact that the family is also described by the epithet "lotus," of the five Śailendras (reigning in different parts of the empire). It would indeed be quite in accordance with the conclusion to which the other evidence points if the headship of the empire (which after the ninth century appears not to have included Java), though weakened by the disastrous wars with the Cholas in the eleventh century, by the attacks of the Khmers in the twelfth, and an unfortunate expedition to Ceylon in the thirteenth, continued to remain until the end in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, though the suzerainty of Cāiyya and later of Nāk'ōn Śrī Thāmmārat over its naturally richer and commercially more successful offspring to the south had perhaps long been little more than nominal. One could then well understand the comparative ease with which the simultaneous attacks by the Thai from the north and by the Javanese in the south brought about the dismemberment of the ancient empire.

These are my conclusions on the facts ascertained in that part of the field that I have so far been able to investigate. As new facts are accumulated they will tend to clarify more and more the complex and absorbingly interesting history of Indian cultural expansion, the key to the full understanding of which lies in the further archaeological exploration of Siam and the Malay Peninsula, the geographical position of which makes them of the first importance in the study of Greater Indian archaeology.

¹ *Ibid.*, part ii., p. 41.

³ *Ibid.*, part ii., p. 39.

² *Ibid.*, part i., p. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, part ii., p. 43.

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INDIAN DANCING*

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS HINDUISTIC ASPECTS

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DANCING may be defined as an external manifestation of the exuberance of energy wherein the music of the soul expresses the joy of life indicated by the rhythmic and graceful movements of the human limbs.

It must be understood that in the description of the various forms of Indian dancing which I shall give in this paper I do not differentiate between the legendary and the historical, it being a subject in which the gods are represented as constantly participating.

Dancing in India is as old as the beginnings of Dravidian and Aryan culture, and we find numerous textbooks and descriptions of this pleasant form of recreation both in Tamil and Sanskrit, as well as in the numerous vernaculars of which these are the parents. The Aryans divided dancing into four categories, secular, sacred, refined, and folk. The secular they subdivided into *natya*, *nritya*, and *nritya*. *Natya* concerned itself mainly with dances that were useful from the theatrical or dramatic point of view, and *nritya* with those which translated through the language of gesture, hands, fingers, feet, eyes, eyebrows, and hips, the emotions of the human heart ranging from fear, compassion, and contempt to the marvellous and the droll.

Nritya corresponded to the modern European ballet or an Upper Indian nautch, and consisted only of the graceful and rhythmic movements of the limbs without any attempt to symbolize thereby the inner emotions, and, in fact, it was *nritya* without the flavour or *rasa*. The religious variety was roughly divided into two, the masculine and the feminine. Of these the one hundred and eight varieties of the *tandava* were typically male; and when the professional danseuse sometimes attempted to render its difficult steps and contorted poses they were permitted a certain amount of toleration to which the mere man was not entitled.

Thus if in a particular dance a man has to stretch his right foot from the left to a distance of two and a half feet or more, a woman was deemed a good performer if the stretch was only a foot and a half; while certain of its dances

* Lecture delivered before the India Society on Friday, July 19, 1935. Sir Eric Maclagan presided.

were taboo to them, such as the *urdhva tandava* or the *lalata tilaka*, the latter of which consisted, so far as the feet were concerned, in touching or spotting with the right foot the crown or the forehead and dancing with the left only, either straight or bent, the hands, the fingers, and other limbs being posed to express emotional symbols. The traditional inventor of these was Siva, who taught them to one of his favourite dancing pupils and leader of his war hosts, Tanduv. Tanduv taught them to the Risha Bharata, and he, the first man to benefit by them, named them *tandava*, and describes them elaborately in his book on dramaturgy called the *Bharata Natya Sastra*. These dances are also described in other dance manuals in Sanskrit, such as the *Ocean of Music* (*Sangita Ratnakara*) by Nissanka Sarangadeva, and the *Sangita Makaranda* by Narada.

The *lasya*, or the feminine mode, is described as alluringly soft, graceful, and erotic, and its invention was attributed to Parvati, the wife of Siva, who taught it first to the divine danseuses Urvashi, Meivaka, etc., members of Sage Bharata's "Troupe" when he performed before the King of Gods in heaven, and then after the lapse of several centuries taught and trained Usha, the young and beautiful daughter of Bana, the Asura.

This maiden from the frontiers of modern Assam and Bengal married Aniruddha, the grandson of Krishna, and introduced her new art to the women of Kathiawar and Saurashtra, whose sea-girt capital was Dwaraka, whence it spread until it became the cultural inheritance of all the danseuses of India. In the *Ocean of Music* Sarangadeva divides dancing into *vishama*, or the difficult; *vikata*, or the ungraceful; and the *laghu*, or the easy. The first consists of poses and bodily gyration in which the movements are very quick, as when a rope is rapidly spun round and round; the second, of poses and gestures, emphasizing rather the ugliness of the body than its charms; and the third, the softly rendered graceful poses of the body without any attempt at physical strain or fatigue. Bharata in his *Natya Sastra* divides dancing into ten categories. Another subdivision into which the ancient Indians divided their dances was *margi* and *desi*. The author of the *Ocean of Music* defines *margi* as a kind of *nritya* in which the emotions and feelings of the human heart are symbolized through the gestures of the limbs, and *desi* as that kind of dance which was entirely devoid of gestures, and hence made no attempt at expression of the feelings. In short, it was only a variety of *nritya*, which consisted in merely swaying the body in order to awake feelings of pleasure in the spectator, without any attempt to convey or understand the elements of the symbolism of ancient Indian dancing. Thus *margi* corresponded to what may be called classical, and had its textbooks, rules and regulations, which minutely laid down every pose and gesture for the dancer;

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whilst *desi* corresponded to a kind of folk-dance, or the dance of the common people, wherein the dancers could pose and move their limbs in whatever way their fancy or mood dictated. In modern India the *desi* corresponds to the rude dances which the forest-dwellers, the aborigines, and the beggars perform for a few coppers, while the *margi* relates to those dances performed by trained professional danseuses, especially those of South India.

The Dravidians, or the ancestors of the modern Tamils, Malayalis, Telugus, Canarese, and the Tulus, divided dancing, so far as the Tamils were concerned, into four categories; (1) those that were strictly indigenous to the Tamil land, consisting of *kuthus* and *attams*; (2) those borrowed from the Aryans; (3) those borrowed from the Northerners, Vadukars or Vadakkars, who were probably the ancient Andhras or Satakarnis, examples of whose dancing art can best be studied in the marble sculptures from Amaravati and in the caves of western India, such as those of Karli, Bhaja, and Nasik; (4) those borrowed from the Sinhalese.

The Tamil *kuthus* (dances) were again subdivided into: (1) *vasaikuthu*, or *pukaz kuthu*; (2) *vithial*; (3) *pothuvaial*; (4) *vari santi*, or simply *santi kuthu*; (5) *vinoda kuthu*; (6) *eyalpu kuthu*. Of these the first were dances in which the glories or the victories of the hero, human or divine, were depicted by means of the gesture language. The second was a special dance for a particular occasion; and the third was a kind of folk-dance, in which the whole community, both male and female, joined to celebrate a festive occasion, such as a good harvest, a victory, or the marriage of the King, his daughter, or of the Crown Prince. The fourth was simply a lustration or a propitiatory dance, and was performed to avert a calamity like war, epidemics, or drought. The fifth was a dance, droll, comic, or gay, and the last was an expression of simple natural movements. Some of these six subdivisions, such as the *santi*, again became subdivided into other subtler varieties. For example, the *santi*, or the propitiatory dance, was split up into *kuravai* (a shepherd dance in imitation of Krishna's *rasa* dance), *kalin-dam*, *karanam*, *kudam* (that danced with a full pitcher on the head), *nokku*, and *tholpavai*, the last of which corresponded to the puppet shows or Wāyang plays of Java.

ORIGIN.—According to Bharata Muni, the oldest writer on Indian dramaturgy, the Sanskrit drama originated from Brahma, the creator, at the request of Indra and other deities, who wanted from him a fifth Veda in addition to the four Vedas already extant, but which, unlike the four Vedas, would not be taboo to the Sudras and other lower castes of Hindu society, and in addition would furnish mirth and delight both to the ear and the eye of everybody irrespective of the caste in which he or she was born.

The occasion for this arose after the guardian deities for the various regions had been appointed, and after South-Eastern Asia and particularly India was occupied. At the setting in of the Treta age during the patriarchate of Manu, the Vaivasvata, the Hinduistic race lapsed into moral and emotional savagery. So to remedy this state of affairs the Creator went into a state of deep Yogic trance and meditated on the essence of the four Vedas—namely, the Rig, Yagus, Sama, and Atharva, and this resulted in the creation of a new Veda—namely, the fifth Veda, or the science of drama and dance. The words for this he took from the Rig Veda, the gestures from Yajur Veda, the vocal music from the Sama Veda, the sentiment or the expressions of emotion from the Atharva Veda, and probably the instrumental music from that science of which the leading exponent was the Rishi Narada.

The first man to be taught this Veda was Rishi Bharata, and he was asked by the Creator to stage the Victory of the gods over the demons in the special theatrical hall erected for the occasion by Viswakarma, the architect of the gods. When the play was begun the chief actor was rendered unconscious by the demons (Asuras) before he could begin to act his part. Thereupon there was confusion, Indra and his war hosts interfered, and after a severe fight the agency of the trouble was removed. But the demons complained to the Creator that it was very unfair on his part to permit this play to take place as it emphasized their defeat and the victory of their rivals, and the sanction proceeding from one who was their common parent was most unjust. So the Creator explained to them how this form of entertainment brought courage to the depressed, taught wisdom to fools and philistines, sobered the drunkard, heartened the poltroon, and gave to the man who followed the ways of pleasure better æsthetic enjoyment, and thus pacified them all.

Then the exponents of the various parts or items of the dance were appointed, and after they had been presented with the paraphernalia needed for a proper representation of the dramatic art, such as a crown, jewellery, dress, musical instruments, throne, fan, etc., by the deities Vishnu, Varuna, Indra, Kubera, and others, the play was duly ushered in, acted, and consecrated. The second play that was acted was the destruction of the three cities (Tripura) by Siva, and the third was the churning of the Ocean of Milk.

Then Bharata, wishing to better his dance technique, attached himself as a disciple to Siva, who taught him through his favourite pupil all the intricate steps and gesticulations that are called after this pupil of Siva, *tandava*. Of these, *prekshani* is the form wherein the limbs, the fingers, hands, feet, hips, etc., are posed without the least attempt

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being made at facial expression, and *bahurupa* is that in which the facial expression also is included, calling into service gestures of the eyes, eyebrows, lips, and forehead.

In addition to the *tandava*, characterised by the intense and sustained display of the heroic and the wrathful, he also learned from the god certain of his dances, which were of the nature of *nritya*, and therefore more human, soft, and emotional in their appeal. To this latter category belonged Siva's Dance of the Evening (*Sandhya nritya*), where everything that moves in the world becomes his gesture language, every speech or articulation his voice, the sun and moon his ornaments, and the result, prosperity to all creation. Narada in his *Sangita Makaranda* thus visualizes this dance :

“Let the auspicious body of Sambhu engaged in the *nritya* (dance) protect us, wherein Brahma keeps time to the music by beating his palms in rhythmic Tala, Vishnu plays on his high-pitched hand drum (*pataha*), and where Saraswati leads with the music of her lute (*vina*), wherein the Sun and the Moon play on their flutes, Siddhas and Kinnaras supply the drone, Bhringi and Ida play on their kettle-drums, and the leader or chief of the vocal music is Narada.”

Other varieties of the milder manifestations of dancing energy on the part of Siva, partaking of the nature of the *Dance of the Evening*, are the *uma* and the *gauri tandavas*, wherein the Lord of Creatures displays his dancing skill in his specially constructed ballroom on the Kailasa, the chief guest of honour and the critic being his own wife, Parvati, who is enthroned here in her capacity as the “Magna Mater,” from whom all creation proceeds, and in whom all are finally absorbed.

The *ananda tandava* with its other two sublimated varieties, the *paramananda* and the *brahmananda tandavas*, are all creative in their nature, when new worlds are called into existence in sparkling ripples of laughter, or are considerably improved upon either from the social or the spiritual side by the destruction or annihilation of evil or its agents. Thus they form a link between his gentler compassionate ones and the so-called real *tandavas par excellence*, wherein Siva destroys the various embodiments of evil and iniquity with unparalleled completeness and ruthlessness.

The most terrible and ferocious among these are the *urdhva*, the *mrityu*, or the *samhara tandavas*, when, by his dancing, he annihilates or destroys every living form, and converts the whole world into a shambles or a crematorium, the only surviving living form being himself, which, in the higher language of the Yoga, may be defined as the release of the soul from the bondage of delusion (*maya*) or of sensual existence (*samsara*). In the other *tandavas*, like the *tripura*, Siva, as the embodiment of the principle of

goodness, destroys only the three wicked cities of the demons, every man, woman, and child therein being burnt alive by the cosmic fire generated from his third eye. In the *kalika tandava* he slays the demons of evil and ignorance.

Of these dances, some like the *ananda tandava* and its varieties and the *tripura* are peculiarly South Indian or Dravidian in their origin, the *sandhya*, the *uma*, and the *gauri* are North Indian or Aryan in their origin, while others, like *samhara*, *urdhva*, and the *mrityu*, are a resultant of the absorption of one culture into the other.

Most of these dances may have had a naturalistic origin. The *urdhva* may symbolize the bursting of the monsoon over the Western Ghats and the *ananda tandava*, the pleasant after-effects of it on creation both sentient and non-sentient. The *sandhya* may symbolize the cool southern breeze (*Malaya Maruta*) wafted from across the sea over the tops of sandalwood trees, acting as a tonic to the blood after the exhausting heat of the day, and ushering in a night of cool loveliness like a change from hell to heaven. The *uma* and the *gauri tandavas* may symbolize the onset of the Himalayan spring, when every tree and shrub bursts into blossom, every creature seeks its mate, young men and maidens lightly turn to thoughts of love, and the whole air of the mountain side is one mass of perfume, with Cupid's harbinger of spring, the cuckoo, proclaiming its advent through the full-throated tremulousness of its passionate notes.

According to another Puranic version, dancing was invented by Vishnu after his victory over the primeval giants, Madhu and Kaitabha. Lakshmi, his wife, became so captivated with the beauty which her husband's body assumed during the gyrations of the dance, that she requested him to teach her the art. He did so, and probably this couple executed the first recorded waltz. Vishnu then taught it to Brahma and the latter to Siva, who showed such originality of imagination and such skilful dexterity that the gods conferred upon him the title of *Nateswara* (the lord of the dance). Not only do the numerous textbooks and art manuals in Sanskrit, Tamil, and their cognate languages (none of which till now have been translated with the exception of Nandikeswara's *Mirror of Gesture—Abhinaya Darpana*, nor even properly edited) describe fully the various kinds of dances and their technique, but they also mention the occasions during which particular dances must be performed. Thus the *margi* being religious in its significance is danced only at temples during the annual festivals, and never at secular gatherings; so it resembles in this respect the *sakkiar kuthu*, which is performed only in the temples of Malabar, and then only by a particular class, and in its significance was probably not unlike some of the modern Javanese dances

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and the special *gamelan*, which is performed only on the anniversary of the birth of the Queen of the Netherlands.

According to the author of the *Ocean of Music*, *nritya* should be danced during particular positions of the planets, of the sun and the moon, such as the winter and the summer equinox (as is the practice in Confucian China), on festive occasions of the gods, during the coronation of kings, on occasions of national or tribal jubilation, during the pilgrimages (*yatras*) of both men and the gods, during marriages, meetings of friends, or of removal into a new house or the consecration of a temple or a public hall, during the triumphal entry of a king into his capital, or on his setting out on a campaign or on a visit to a foreign potentate, during the occasions of rejoicing incident on the birth of a child, and generally on all occasions which were auspicious in their nature. Some of these celebrations were observed not only in India of the old Rig Vedic days and probably also during the period of the Indus Valley culture (3rd to 6th millennium B.C.), but are practised even today, thanks to the continuity of Indian culture, in the north and in the south, by Hindu and Muslim.

The earliest book of the Aryan people, written in an archaic form of Sanskrit, the basis of the modern Aryan languages of Europe, Asia and America, is the *Rig Veda*. This contains many descriptions of the art of dancing then in vogue which, according to some scholars, such as the late B. G. Tilak and Professor Jacobi, carries us back to somewhere about the fifth millennium B.C. or earlier, and according to other scholars, to the third millennium B.C. Anyhow, it contains plenty of allusions to dancing both as an art and a recreation, and though the references are scattered throughout the entire text of the book, still the largest number of descriptions occur in books one and ten (*Mandalas*), the most striking figures concerned being Ushas, Indra, Nasatyas, Aswins and the Maruts.

The hymns dedicated to Ushas (the goddess of Dawn) contain some of the sublimest and most beautiful poetry that the mind of ancient man has produced, and she is lauded in many a hymn as a supreme and a wonderful dancer. Thus 1. 92 describes her as putting on her embroidered garments like a dancer, and as baring her bosoms in the act of dancing as a cow exposes and yields her udder. 10. 29 describes the sky as her dance-hall, wherein she comes forth dancing, displaying all her charms, rejoicing to waken men to their daily task.

The most accomplished male dancer of the *Rig Veda* was Indra, probably a personification of the *élan* of the all-conquering Aryan, and next to him, in war, love and wine, were his boon companions, the Maruts or the gods of the thunderstorm.

Indra engaged in a dance both before and during a war, the latter of which came to be designated as the *alida* in classical India. But the most spectacular and the most virile were generally danced after a victory in battle; for like the gods of the Nordic Valhalla, Indra, their ancestor, had only two things to occupy and amuse him in life—namely, fighting and drinking—and to celebrate such occasions of triumphal carouse with dance, he and his companions attired themselves in special dresses of embroidered gold.

In addition to these dances indulged in by those who belong to the uppermost strata of Aryan society, the *Rig Veda* visualizes for us the dances which made happy those of common clay or the ordinary folk. The occasions for these were furnished by marriages, funerals, harvest festivals, sacrifices and communal gatherings, when the inner music of the soul of the crowd following any happy occurrence demanded expression in the happy rhythmic movements of the limbs, men and women of the entire community participating in this carnival of mirth and merrymaking, like a silken thread gathering together as in a garland the opening buds of the jasmine. Funeral hymn 18 of the tenth book asks the survivors and relatives of the deceased, after he had been laid to rest, to go forth to sing, dance and laugh, and to further prolong their existence; and such is the continuity of Hindu culture that even today, after a lapse of seven thousand years, this custom is kept up among the Iyers or Brahmans of South India when an old lady predeceases her husband or the old husband dies leaving no widow, though now only women take part in this, and the dancers circle round a lamp blazing with its many tongues of light. Another form of communal or social merrymaking, when the sexes freely mixed together, is described in hymn 94 of the same book, which says: "With the sisters they have danced, embraced by them, making the earth re-echo with their sounding tread." The descendant of this form is the *rasa* dance of northern India and the *kuravai* of the south. Another hymn describes a dance which the dark impetuous ones practised in the sky; while yet another alludes to a certain sound made by Mother Earth as though the people danced on her. Regarding the nuptial dance, it was the usual custom for four, eight or more women to dance at the house of the bride, and in the *mahavrata* ceremony women sang to the accompaniment of the lute (*vina*), while maidens danced round the sacrificial fire with water pitchers on their heads; then pouring the water out of their vessels they prayed for richness of milk both for themselves and the cows, and probably also for rain. Similarly, also, at the end of the Horse Sacrifice (*aswamedha*) girls danced round the *marjaliya* fire with full water pots on their heads, treading the ground rhythmically and

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singing in chorus, closing with the words "This is honey (*madhu*)."

Other portions of the *mantra* section of the Vedic literature, like the *Yajus* and the *Atharva Vedas*, refer to this art. In the *Krishna Yajur Veda* the word *iyati* signifies the accompaniment of recitation by pantomimic gestures. The other sections of the Vedic literature, like the *Brahmanas* and the *Aranyakas* (ritual codes and forest books), indicate a type of society in which dancing was a much appreciated form of entertainment and social recreation. In the *Kathaka Upanishad* a dialogue ensues between Nachiketa, the young prince consigned to death by his angry father, and Yama, the king of the underworld and Lord of Death. The youth insists on knowing whether there is a life after death or not, and if so, asks the god to explain how one can completely escape the chains or the noose of death. The god evades the answer and offers the youth successive gifts or boons in gradation commencing with a life of one hundred years, many sons and grandsons, whole herds of cows, elephants, untold wealth, horses, great power on earth, etc., or even a very extended period of life prolonged far beyond the normal human span, untold wealth or capacity to acquire and enjoy physically whatever pleasures he imagines he needs, or, as a matter of fact, any gratification of pleasure or desire which are usually considered to be utterly impossible. When the youth remains adamant to all these tempting gifts, the god of death finally offers him that which he considers to be the most precious that he can possibly offer—namely, one hundred divine danseuses of unparalleled beauty mounted on their chariots and playing on their instruments accompaniments of dance music (*turya*); on which the youth, more hardened than ever and desiring to know the arcana of life and death, asks the god to adhere to his offer of the pleasures of the dance and the song.

The twin epics of India, which are to the Hindus what the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were to the Greeks, mirror to us in all their charming naïveté the social life of Aryan India when heroes like Rama, Krishna and Arjuna shone in the firmament of Hindu greatness. Of these epics the *Ramayana* of Valmiki is evidently the older of the two, and from a reading of its twenty-four thousand *slokas*, we find that dancing occupied a most prominent place in the social life of the people, and that all its sections (*kandas*) from the Bala to the Uttara are replete with references to and descriptions of this noble form of recreation. In *Bala kanda*, chapter five, the danseuses are mentioned as an integral and an important section of the populace ruled over by King Dasaratha at Ayodhya, and in chapter nine they fulfil the same rôle of importance in the kingdom of Anga, and save that country from drought and famine. In chapter thirteen King Dasaratha sends them a special invitation requesting them to be present at his Horse Sacrifice. According

to *Ayodhya kanda*, chapter six, they add an extra touch of gaiety and form as it were the centre of the popular jubilation preceding the proclamation of Rama as Yuva Raja, and in the chapter on the evils of anarchy (sixty-seven) the absence of the danseuses from a community is considered as one of the worst misfortunes that can befall a nation or a race, as without them no national assemblies of the Aryan people could be held nor merrymaking be celebrated. In chapter ninety-one the reception, the dinner and the performance which the sage Bharadwaja gave to honour Prince Bharata and his army are described, and one wonders whether anything can be seen today to match this even in the most ultra-artistic circles of Europe. In the *Sundara kanda* the danseuses and the dance orchestra of Ravana the King of Lanka are described, and not a single night lengthened into the small hours of the morning without His Majesty witnessing at least a few choice dances. According to later Indian tradition, Ravana himself was not only a great composer, an accomplished musician, an adept at playing the drum and the Indian lute, but also one of the most accomplished and cleverest of the dancers. It is said that his music and dance pleased Siva so much that the three-eyed god presented him with an invincible sword called "the laughter of the moon" (Chandrahasta) and adopted him as one of the foremost of his devotees, and Sanskrit devotional literature preserves even today the text of the dance music which he is said to have composed and translated into gesture language and that he danced before Siva some of the most intricate and difficult of the god's own *tandava* steps. In *Yuddha kanda*, chapter one hundred and thirty, when Prince Bharata is about to celebrate the triumphal entry of Rama into his ancestral capital, he asks his brother Satrughna specially to invite the danseuses, and in chapter forty-two of the *Uttara kanda*, where the private life of Sri Rama is described, it is mentioned "that young intoxicated beauties lulled him and his wife to sleep every night by means of their songs and alluring gesture ceremonies soon after the royal couple had had their final sip at their night potion, "Liqueur Maireya." Finally, we find that the danseuses are invited and treated not only as the honoured guests at the Horse Sacrifice of Rama in the forest of Naimisha, but are also given another special invitation to honour by their presence the recital of the earliest Saga of Aryan Asia—namely the *Ramayana* of the poet Valmiki, whose mellifluous verses were sung to the tunes of the lute by the boy bards, Kusa and Lava.

In the *Mahabharata* there are numerous allusions to and descriptions of dancing, and it is significant from the *Virata Parva* that in every king's palace there was a special apartment devoted to singing and dancing, where the young and unmarried daughters of the king and the nobles were trained

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and perfected in the intricate gesture language of the dance by expert exponents of the art. When Arjuna, the most valiant and beautiful among the Pandavas, was forced to remain incognito for a year, he transformed himself into a Brihannala and became the teacher of dancing to Uttara, the young and beautiful daughter of the king. The relations between the teacher and pupil were so close that when the identity of the Pandavas was revealed the king offered the hand of his daughter to Arjuna, who had so lovingly and admirably trained her ; an honour, however, which the valiant hero declined for himself, but accepted in favour of his son, Abhimanyu, thus making her his own daughter-in-law. Another section in the same *Parva* mentions that Draupadi, the wife of the Pandavas, wishing to punish Kichaka for his passion for her, induced him to meet her in the dancing-hall of the palace at midnight, attired in his best clothes, ornamented and perfumed, so that in the dark her husband Bhimasena might send him on to sleep eternal.

Closely related to the Epics are the *Puranas*, which, according to traditional reckoning, consist of eighteen works of major importance called the *Maha Puranas*, and a similar number of works of minor importance called the *Upa Puranas*. The combined contents run to nearly a million *slokas*. Among these works a few contain chapters on dancing, of which two samples may be quoted, one of which is the *Vishnu Dharmottara Purana*. In section three, chapter forty-eight, occurs a dialogue between an ancient Indian king and a holy Rishi, which demonstrates the place of importance occupied by dancing in relation to the arts of India. The king requests the sage to accept him as his disciple and teach him the art of image making, so that he may worship the deities in their proper form. The sage replies that he cannot understand the principles of image making without a knowledge of painting. The pupil, on asking the teacher for instruction in this art, is told that unless he is accomplished as a dancer he cannot grasp even the rudiments of painting. So the king asks to be taught dancing, whereupon the sage replies that without a keen sense for rhythm or a knowledge of instrumental music, proficiency in dance is impossible. Once again the king requests that he may be taught these subjects, to which the sage again replies that a mastery of vocal music is necessary before one can be proficient in instrumental music, and so finally the sage takes the king through all these courses before he is taught the art of ikon making. Another story from the same *Purana* narrates that once the Rishi Narayana, forsaking the trammels of the flesh, betook himself to the perfumed solitudes of the Himalayan paradise, named Badarinath, there to meditate far from the haunts of the human crowd on the eternal form of the Imperishable. After the penance had lasted for some time, the throne of Indra, the King of the Gods, became affected, and so the god commissioned

some of the fairest and prettiest danseuses from the divine galaxy of beauty to go where the Rishi sat entranced in the beatitude of the Samadhi, and by means of their enthralling dances to bring him back to a more normal state. So the dancers left Heaven, after putting the final touches to their beauty toilet, and regaled the Rishi with what they considered to be the most entrancing dances (*lasyas*) from their repertoire. The sage moved from his seat and his lips parted in a faint smile. The dancers mistook this as the first sign of his conversion, and so redoubled their efforts and exhibited before him a *lasya* which they considered to be their best performance. The Rishi's countenance expressed increasing amusement, and rising slowly from his seat he wandered about collecting various minerals and extracting from roots, leaves and flowers their coloured juices. After having thus equipped himself with a palette, he sketched on the ground the figure of a most bewitching danseuse, complete with every detail of dress, ornament, beauty mark and toilet. Then by the spiritual power acquired through his long and exacting penance he breathed the breath of life into the dazzling picture of his imagination. Up rose Urvasi, tremulously slender like a streak of lightning, divinely fair and sweet like the foam of the Ocean of Milk. The danseuses hung low their heads with shame, and, afraid of the curses of the Rishi, clutched at his feet while their eyes wept for forgiveness, which the Rishi readily granted, reminding them that if he himself could create such a peerless specimen of their sex he had no need of their efforts. The story continues to tell how the danseuses requested the sage to present them to this daughter of his mind, so that she could be crowned as the leader of their celestial ballet and as the best performer on the Indian stage; to which the Rishi agreed.

The other *Puranas* which describe the dances then in vogue are the *Brahma Vaivarta*, the *Skanda*, and the *Bhagavata*, though here only the dances danced by Krishna or Siva are described. The *Brahma Vaivarta* in the *Krishna Janana kanda* describes very elaborately the *rasa* which Krishna danced as a boy with the young milkmaids on the banks of the Jumna, a pastime which was kept up night after night as long as the brilliancy of the Indian harvest moon remained undiminished.

The *Garga Samhita* also dilates on the same theme in a more ornate style, but the most poetical and succinct account is found in the tenth book (*skanda*) of the *Bhagavata Purana*, where this *rasa* of Krishna with the Gopis on the banks of the river Jumna is described in the most beautiful poetry that the Sanskrit language has achieved. In this dance Sri Krishna was the central figure and, by the rapidity of his lightning-like dexterity of movements, gestures, steps, and poses, danced with every girl in the dancing

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circle for a few seconds, then left her to dance with others, returning once more to clasp her tight and wheel her about, and so quick was the movement and such was the magnetism exercised by the personality of Krishna that every one of the girl dancers thought that he danced with her alone. With brief intervals for breath and a little dalliance the dancing proceeded through most of the night, and the maidens became so excited and bewitched by the triple power of the moonlight, the music of the *rasa*, and the affectionate clasp of their partner that they knew not at the end of the reels what had become of their raiment, much less of their ornaments or garlands.

The *Skanda Purana* in the *kasi kandi* says to the devotee that the man or woman who will fast on the third day of the bright half of the month Chitra (April-May) and at the dead of night worship Mangala Gauri with offerings of clothes, ornaments, and other articles of worship, and will spend the rest of the night with dance and music, will be rewarded with blessings beyond his or her expectations. A similar injunction is contained in the *Jnana Samhita*, which says that, "inspired by the sentiment of devotion, the wise perform worship with dance and music in the first part of the night and then apply themselves to the repetition of their respective *mantras*. Dancing and music have again to be performed till the rising of the sun." Just as sacred dancing was obligatory in the public worship of Siva, so also in the worship of the god (*Manasa Puja*) the devotee offers him, besides fine food, apparel, etc., also music and dance (*gitam cha nrityam*), without which the worship is incomplete.

Contemporaneous with the literature of the *Puranas* is the literature of the *Agamas* and the *Tantras*, Saiva, Vaishnavite and Saktic, and out of the material contained in these a voluminous anthology could be prepared on dancing, with an introduction, commentary and an appendix, so copious and full are the allusions and so subtle and isoteric their interpretation.

Not only do the sacred literature of the Hindus such as the Vedic, Tantric and Agamic, their semi-sacred writings like the *Maha* and *Upa Puranas* and the Epics, tell us much about ancient and medieval Hindu dancing, but their secular literature also, poetry, drama and prose (*kavya*, *nataka*, and *champu*), presents us with faithful pictures of the dancing activity of their respective epochs. As an example we may take the poet Kalidasa and see what information his dramas and poetry contain regarding this great art—the Fifth Veda of the Hindus. Though references to dancing both as an art and a recreation are found in all his poetry and dramas from the *Cycle of Seasons* (*Ritu Samhara*) to *Sakuntala* and the *Vikramorvasiya*, we shall confine our remarks to three of his writings—namely, the *Cloud Messenger*,

the *History of the Dynasty of Raghu*, and the *Malavikagnimitra*. From the first it appears that the temple of Mahakala or Chandiswara (Siva) at Ujjain was the centre of a dancing cult which had its votaries in Malwa and throughout India, and was what Chidambaram or Tillai was and still is to the dancing enthusiasts of the south. In the first part of the poem is described the *tandava* of Siva, and the *desika nritya* of the temple dancing girls (*Devadasis*), who execute ritual dances in front of the idol, and also act as fly whisk (*chamari*) bearers, executing gentle rhythmic waltzes as they whirl round and round in their efforts to fan and cool the image with their whisks; their bodies, hands and fingers being posed in the various symbolical attitudes.

In the *History of the Dynasty of Raghu* the poet describes the auspicious dance (*mangala nritya*) performed in the palace of King Dilipa on the birth of his son Raghu. In this carnival or jubilee of nativity, the entire dancing population of the city participated. According to the poet, even the peacocks and the freshly opening leaf-buds of the mango tree shaken by the southern breeze taught the people gestures and dance steps, and he says the god Indra himself danced the *alida* when he fought with Raghu. In addition to these chapters of the book, those that deal with the reign of Kusa, the son of Rama, contain many allusions to dancing both as an art and a profession. The largest number are contained in the last book (nineteen), because the last king of this dynasty, Agnivarna, was not only a voluptuary, but had an intense and passionate love for dancing, though to him its third variety, the *kausiki*, especially appealed. This variety was amatory, but the other varieties, like the *bharati*, the *arabhati*, and the *satwaki*, had a different emotional stimulus. This morbid mania not only made him the most captivating and accomplished of dancers, but he also became one of the greatest trainers of the dancers. It is said that he trained in private young and attractive dancers, and in the renderings of the rituals of their gesture ceremony made them defeat even the most accomplished and perfect executants trained by the best professional teachers, and that they could point out even the most trivial of mistakes in gestures and pose, which the teachers were unwilling or unable to detect. The king himself sometimes acted as the prompter, and occasionally also played on the small dance hand drum (*pushkara*), when his garlands waved this side and that and a copious perspiration disfigured his dress, caste and beauty marks. The greatest pleasure of his leisure hours was in sketching the portraits of his favourite dancers.

The *Malavikagnimitra* is an historical play, in which Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief who killed Brihadratha Maurya and

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founded the Sunga dynasty, sees a portrait of the young Malavika, his queen's maid-of-honour, falls in love with the original, manages to make her dance in the presence of a judging committee, one of which was himself, and finally marries the maiden. In this play, in Acts I. and II. the poet speaks of dancing in the highest terms of praise, and gives us such an accurate picture of the dancer and the dance that we can visualize both with pleasure and ease. In Act I., *sloka* 4, he says that even sages respect dancing with veneration, and praise it as an agreeable or delightful ritual (*kratu*) which sanctifies and satisfies the eye, and that for the sake of this art, Siva, who invented it for the delectation of his wife, caused the left side of his body to become feminine, that is, he became a half-man and half-woman (*Ardha Nariswara*); that it is the source of the three qualities (goodness, passion, and ignorance) which in their combination or separation dominate the actions of humanity; that it is the mirror of the various moods, and that in its universal appeal it ministers to the gratification of everyone, however multifarious his personal tastes may be. In *sloka* 6 of the same act Ganadasa, the trainer of the young dancer Malavika, who wants to prove by the dancing skill of his pupil his own professional superiority over his fellow-teacher Haradatta, says that when artistic training is imparted to a pupil with a genius for receptivity it transforms itself into a triumph of achievement, just as ordinary water when it falls into the shell of a pearl oyster in the ocean transforms itself into a priceless gem. After some wrangling between these two professors of the dancing art, one of whom was a partisan of the queen and the other of the king, a judging committee was empanelled at the suggestion of the king's jester, of which a Buddhist nun was made the president and given dictatorial powers. She decides that since Ganadasa was senior in age to his rival, therefore his pupil Malavika must be permitted to take the floor first. In obedience to this order, Malavika takes the stage and appears as the impersonation or the very spirit of the dancing art itself, with her limbs and features perfectly moulded and faultlessly contoured by the rhythmic grace and the musical modulations of her training. There she stands, the perfect flower of maidenhood as yet ungathered by the hand of man, in a pose which is the nearest approximation to the *ardhamattali* mode of the dance as depicted in the eastern gateway (*gopura*) of Sri Nataraja's temple at Chidambaram, South India. Her left arm, the sonorous music of the bracelets still, rests gracefully on her waist (whose girth can be enfolded in a man's hand), while her right hangs as a garland a little apart from her sides, which appear as if they have been chiselled and polished to a perfection of elegant curves by the hand of the divine sculptor, Brahma himself. Then by means of gestures, into which flow the inmost words of her music and manifest

themselves as appropriate poses, by proper steps which harmoniously follow the tune and form a unity with the emotion (*rasa*) through the soft and flexible fingerings of the palm indicative of the poses (*abhinayas*), she dances most charmingly, as if the gestures were wedded to the deepest feelings evoked by her heart. According to the Hindu belief, the trembling of the left eye was a sign of auspiciousness in women, and betokened the swift and near approach of good fortune, such as that of union with the beloved. It is told of Sita that, when she was meditating suicide, her left eye began to palpitate, so she gave up the idea, and immediately before her appeared the messenger of her husband—the harbinger of glad tidings; and in the case of this girl dancer also, whose heart was set upon the king as her husband, the wish was soon fulfilled.

Other references to dancing are : (1) Panini in his famous aphorisms mentions the *Nata Sutras*, by which are meant textbooks on gesture, probably like the late *Abhinaya Darpana* (*Mirror of Gesture*) of Nandikeswara. (2) In the *Divyavadana* King Rudrayana plays on the lute, while his wife, Chandra-vati, dances. The inscriptions of Samudragupta depict him as being very fond of music, and one of his coins represents him as seated on a high-backed Indian chair playing on the lute (*vina*). (3) In Devendra's *Uttaradhyayana-tika* King Udayana of Kausambi plays on the lute while his wife dances, but in his excitement he drops the plectrum of the lute, whereupon the queen flies into a rage, and asks why he dared to spoil her dance. (4) In the *Mahavamsa* Parakrama Bahu, the King of Ceylon, is said to have built a theatre near his palace, so that he might listen to the singers and witness delightful dances. His queen, Rupavati, is described as young and beautiful, with an alert mind, and skilled in dancing. (5) In Rajasekhara's *Karpura Manjari* a circular dance performed by girls is described, and so also another in which they face each other in two rows, and a third called the *Danda Rasa*, a group dance like the English maypole dance, in which the dancers waltz and wheel about with staves held in their hands, corresponding to the modern Tamil *Kolattam*. In the ancient literature of the Tamils, who were more artistic than the Aryans and passionately devoted to dancing in all its varieties, there are abundant references. Their earliest discovered writings, the Five Classics of the period of Tamil Academy (*Sangam*), contain passing references and allusions to this form of recreation, so dear to the heart of the Tamil races, whose æsthetic life centred round the capitals of the three southern kings—namely, the Pandya, who ruled both at Madura and Korkai; the Chola, whose capitals were Uraiyr and Kaverippattinam; and the Chera, whose seaport town was the modern Cranganore, and whose capital Vangi now lies buried somewhere near the modern village of

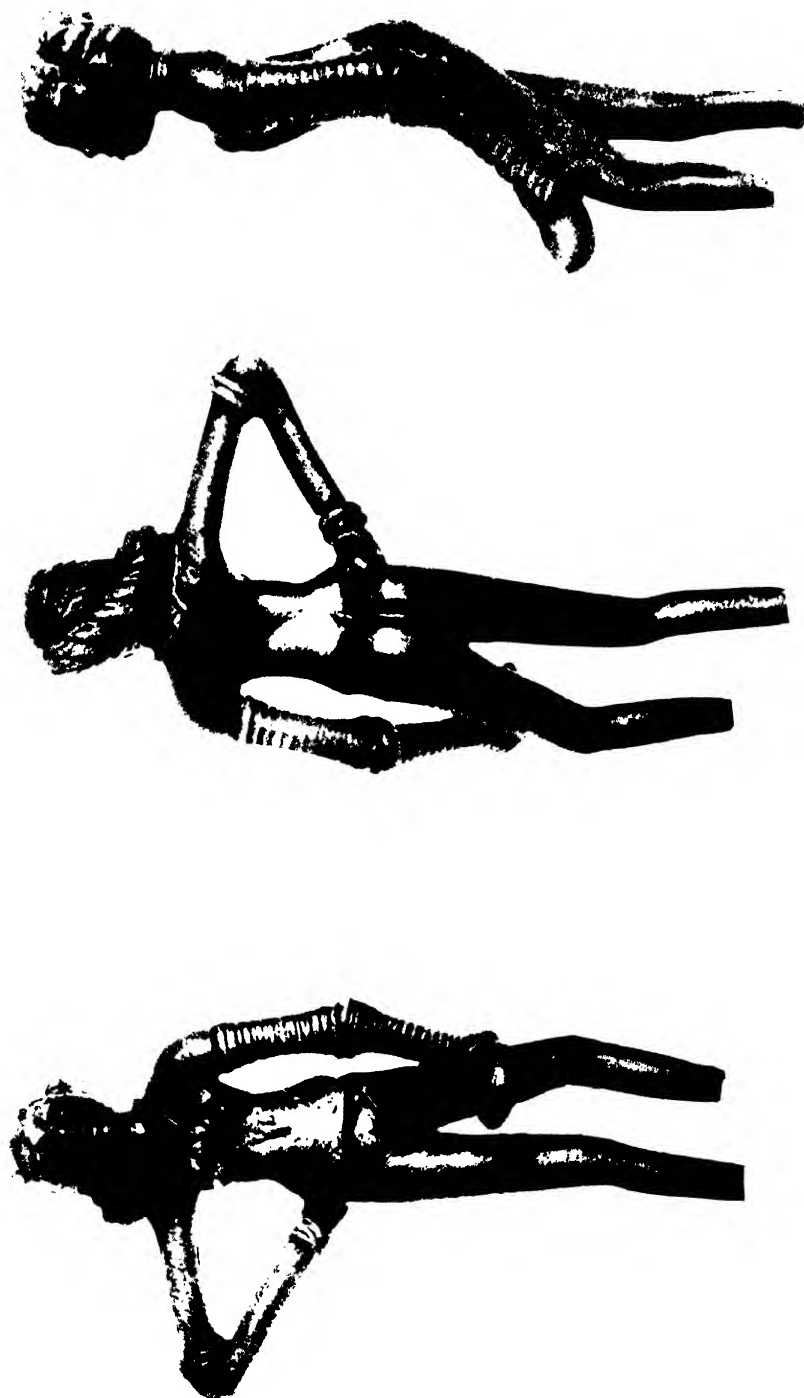
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Tiruvanjikkulam, in the Indian state of Cochin. Among these classics the Jewel Girdle (*Manimekhalai*) was composed by a Buddhist monk, Cheetalai Sattanar, who describes in it the life of the girl Manimekhalai, the daughter of the ill-fated merchant prince and his sweetheart Mathavi, the famous dancer, and contains a detailed account of the kind of artistic education that was imparted to every danseuse, together with a curriculum of their studies.

The companion epic, the Jewel Anklet (*Silappadikaram*), was composed by Ilango Adikal, the younger brother of the Chera king, Chenkudduvan, who took upon himself voluntarily the yellow robe. In this work the author treats the life of Kovilan, a rich, æsthetic, gay, and wayward merchant prince of Kaverippattinam, and his marriage to a young, beautiful, and faithful girl of his own community, Kannaki, who exemplified by her life the highest ideals of morality held sacred from time immemorial by Hindu womanhood. There follows his temporary desertion of this girl wife and a description of how he spent not only his own patrimony, but also everything that his wife possessed in property, money, or jewellery, with the exception of her two gem-filled golden anklets, to keep in luxury his mistress Mathavi, the dancer, with whom he fell in love on the night of her first appearance, and for whom he bought for about thirty thousand pounds and dedicated at the triple shrine of her youth, beauty, and love, the necklace presented to her by the king. After a life of uninterrupted bliss, a female child, Manimekhalai, was born, whose advent was celebrated at a grand nativity dance, in which the entire dancing population of the city participated. He then quarrelled with Mathavi in a fit of imaginary love jealousy, owing to both of them misunderstanding their musical love lyrics on the lute. He then returned to his neglected wife, and both set off to Madura, so that the young merchant might return once more to business by the sale of his wife's gem-filled anklets, but was accused of theft by the king's goldsmith and beheaded. The poor wife, hearing of this from the shepherd lasses who had returned from a bathe in the river after having entertained her to a *Kuravai* dance, rushed to the spot where her husband lay decapitated, and taking him on her lap, wailed all through the night. When the faint streaks of the morning sun began to crimson the eastern horizon and the drums at the Pandya's palace announced the return of day, she rose up and ran straight to the king, who was seated with his queen in Durbar. A discussion followed, when to the satisfaction of the monarch she proved that her husband was no thief, as her own anklets were filled with diamonds, while those of his queen which her husband was supposed to have stolen were filled with pearls. The king swooned and died on the throne and his wife performed *sati* with him, and the whole palace was soon enveloped in fire which extended to the city

Reproduction of three of the famous little Men of Mohenjo-daro.

COPPER STATUETTES OF DANCER, MOHENJO-DARO.





TRANSLATION OF BUDDHA'S BEGGING BOWL TO HEAVEN, AMARAVATI. *Museo Asiatico.*



THE DANCER.

Forane Museum, Indo-China.



Yashwantrao Chavan

NATARAJA.

of Madura. The broken-hearted Kannaki left the doomed city by the western gate, and in a fortnight's time her pure soul winged its way out of her frail and long-suffering body to join that of her husband in the pure abodes of Heaven. In this poem there are copious references to the dancing and music prevalent among the ancient Tamils, and may be said to portray a society whose æsthetic culture was contemporaneous with that of Rome in the early days of its Empire, after Augustus had defeated Mark Antony in the battle at Actium and the beautiful Cleopatra had died by the bite of an asp.

Prominent among these references may be mentioned the numerous dances, probably fourteen, which Mathavi performed before the king on the first night of her public appearance, when His Majesty in appreciation of her skill awarded her the highest dancing prize—a gold necklace made of one thousand and eight pure *kalangis* of gold. In the first portion of the poem, called the first public appearance (*Arangerru Kathai*), not only are these dances, with their poses, gestures, significance, and the music, elaborately described, but also the dancing stage, the orchestra, and the functions of every member who co-operated in making this exhibition of dancing a complete success.

In the chapter on Sea Bath (*Kadaladu Kathai*), which takes place during the celebrations of the Indra festival, the whole city of Chola, the Karikala became joy and pleasure mad, the gaiety being enhanced by the activities of the dancers. Here is described the part which Mathavi had in the rejoicings and incidentally there are described the eleven dances with which she regaled the public. They are (1) the *Panda Ranga* or the dance which Bhairavi (Durga) executed on the occasion of the burning of Tripura, (2) *Kodi Kotti* or the dance executed by her husband Siva on the same occasion, (3) *Allia Thokuthi* or the dance of Krishna, (4) the *Thudi* or the dance performed by Muruga (Kartikeya) when he fought with Sura-Padmasura, (5) *Kudam* or the dance waltzed by Krishna with a full pitcher on his head in the streets of Bana's capital, (6) *Kudai* or the dance of the umbrella performed by Muruga when fighting with the Asuras (Tamil, Auvunars), (7) *Pedi* or the dance performed by Cupid impersonating a hermaphrodite, (8) *Marakkal* or the dance performed by Lakshmi armed with the vessel of this name, which is even today used for measuring paddy in the Tinnevely district, (9) *Kadayam* or the dance performed by Airani on the northern gateway of Bana's city to indicate that Bana's destruction was near at hand, (10) *Pavai* or the dance called the feminine performed by Sri (Lakshmi), (11) the dance performed by the same goddess to mesmerize into inactive impotence the armies of Asuras when engaged in fighting the Devas. In addition to these, this chapter describes with the greatest accuracy of detail the toilet of Mathavi from her bath and make-up of the coiffure to her

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putting on the various details of her clothing, jewellery, paint, rouge, lip stick, nail manicure and eye pencil, and various cosmetics and perfumes she used in a way which might excite envy and chagrin in the most artistically arrayed beauty queens of the American film world. Finally, the chapter the Dance of the Shepherdesses (*Achiyar Kuravai*) describes the dances executed by the young maidens of this community, wherein nine of their number presented the *rasa* dance of Krishna, one of whom impersonated the hero (Krishna or Mayavan), another, Balarama his brother, while a third assumed the rôle of their sister (Pinnai). From outside this group one acted as the leader of the orchestra and took on the rôle of Narada, the divine musician and lute player, another played on the drum, a third on the flute, the whole scene being watched with delight by Yasoda, the mother of Krishna, his brother and their sister. This was danced as a dedication dance in honour of Vishnu (*Pullur Kadavul*), the god of the local temple, and was performed in the blazing heat of midday with the intention of warding off evil from the cattle as well as from their guest of honour, Kannaki, and was entirely devoid of those factors of the *rasa*, like the autumnal moon, etc., which appealed to the amatory instincts of the young feminine heart.

Apart from the evidence furnished by Tamil literature, the inscriptions of South India, which run into several volumes, tell us all about the dancing girls dedicated to temple service, by both kings and queens and by private donors. Thus Rajaraja the Great and other Chola kings refer in their epigraphs to their erections of theatres and the establishment of whole troupes of dancers in connection with temple service, and to endowing land and gold to perpetuate the continuance. Public bodies and town councils, like the town council of Sattanur, did the same. It is recorded that Rajaraja on one occasion brought from other temples and settled in Tanjore alone four hundred dancers, and that Kulottunga III. appointed another dancing master, who was to dance with gestures.

Just as the vast literature of Hindu India, both of the north and the south, visualizes for us the dancing then in vogue, so also does the literature of both the Buddhists and the Jains. The *Maha Parinirvana Sutra* says that when Buddha passed away the Mallas honoured his body and ashes after cremation with dance and song and finally enshrined their share of the sacred relics in a stupa to similar accompaniments of music and dancing. The Jains preserve the tradition that when their earliest spiritual saviour, (*Tirthamkara*) Adinatha or Rishabha, saw Nilamjasa, a courtesan of the court of Indra, dance, the desire for an earthly life entirely left him and he betook himself to the Kailasa to attain to the Kevalatvam, which corresponds to the Nirvana of the Buddhists and the Mukti of the Hindus.

The earliest example of an Indian dancing figure at present known is the copper statuette from Mohenjo-daro in Sind (Pl. I.), to which a date something like the opening years of the fourth millennium B.C. has been assigned. It is that of a young girl, her coiffure, dress, ornaments, the pose and the physiognomy of the forehead, the lips and the hips indicating a Dravidian rather than an Aryan. Living duplicates, similarly clothed, coiffured, ornamented and posed, can be counted by the hundreds even today among the Tamils of Tinnevely, Madura and Tanjore tilling their rice fields, watching their sugar-cane or attending to their cattle. The next feminine figure, though not posed in any particular dance attitude, recalls, from the way she carries herself and sports the fly whisk in her right hand, the danseuse of the temple of Mahakala at Ujjain (previously described); the rhythmic curves and the graceful undulations of her body show her to be a dancer attached to the king's court, probably of the Nandas, descriptions of whose æsthetic life is recorded in the medieval Hindu drama, the *Mudra Rakshasa* of the poet Visakadatta, and she can be dated as about the latter half of the fourth century B.C.

As descendants of this statue from Didar Ganj are the various tree nymphs that have been rescued from the stupa at Barhut and are now exhibited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, all of whom, like the Sudarsana and the Batnamara *yakshis*, Culakoka and Sirima *devatas*, bear upon their persons that perfect accentuation and emphasis of the flesh which can be attained only by dancing. In addition to these standing figures, the fragments of the stupa contain also two pillars to which the names Ajatasatru and Prasenajit (contemporary kings of the Buddha) have been given. These portray actual dances in progress, complete in every detail from the orchestra to the danseuses rendering the intricate movements of their gesture ceremonials. To the same period belongs the feminine bust of a figure, rather full in the breast, now exhibited in the Brahmanic gallery of the Museum, Lahore, and a few more discovered by the writer in his explorations on the ancient sites of Kurukshetra. At Buddha Gaya, the Rajasan type of a female standing on the jamb on the northern side of the temple belongs to an early date, and her sister of a later date, who was perhaps a better dancer, has now found a home in the Indian section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The four gateways of the main stupa at Sanchi are rich with sculptured subjects, and the tree nymphs of the cornices with their tendril-like heavily braceleted arms posing among the branches of the mango give us a good idea of the personal appearance and style of the danseuse of about the second century B.C. In addition to these nature goddesses of fertility, to a close scrutiny of whose æsthetic charms

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drapery places no impediment, the great stupa gateways have dancing episodes in at least three of their sculptured pictures. Of these, two on the northern gateway and one on the western are perhaps the earliest sculptures of the alluring daughters of the great tempter, Mara, and the third the incidents of the *Isi Singa Jataka*, where the ascetic youth is tempted to a life of pleasure by the seductive charms of Alambusha, a celestial nymph. To the same period can be assigned some of the earliest sculptured marble panels from the stupa at Amaravati, now preserved at the British Museum, the Madras Museum (Pl. II.) and the Musée Guimet (in Paris), the last of which cannot be later than the second or the third century A.D. In these wonderful sculptured South Indian Buddhist stories are shown not only the life of the founder and incidents of his previous births (*jatakas*), but they contain also a very good representation of the social life of the south, in the spacious days when the empire of the Andhras stretched from sea to sea. Not the least interesting among these pictures of social life is dancing, and the panels may be divided into (1) those that depict the temptation of the Buddha by the daughters of Mara; (2) those showing his hair, or the begging bowl being carried to Heaven; (3) those that depict either of these objects being consecrated and worshipped by Indra and his court with music and dance; (4) those that describe the night life at the palace or in the women's quarters; and (5) those that illustrate episodes from such *jatakas* as the *Isi Singa*, etc. Contemporaneous with the middle and later phases of the art of Amaravati, Ghantasaila, Bhattiprolu, Nagarjunikonda and other Buddhist sites that lie along the banks of the river Krishna, can be placed the beginnings of the Buddhist art of the Gandhara country, of some of the caves of Western India like those at Nasik and the art of Mathura (on the Jumna), Buddhist and Jain. Examples of Gandhara art are scattered throughout the museums of Asia, Europe and America, though by far the greatest number are now exhibited in the new Gandhara Gallery of the Museum at Lahore, where they have been arranged by the writer in chronological order of the events in the life of the Buddha and of the *jataka* stories.

Among these, dancing scenes generally occur in the representation of such episodes as (1) the entrance of the Buddha into Rajagriha; (2) the temptation by the daughters of Mara; (3) life in the women's quarters of the palace; (4) worship of a cult object such as the sacred tree by king Sagara of the Nagas; (5) independent dancing and musical groups, whose identity cannot be established because of mutilation; (6) those that depict dances that are non-Indian in their nature, and those that are definitely Greek.

To this period probably belong also the copper coins of Pantaleon, wherein for the first time in the history of Indian numismatics appears the

typical figure of a danseuse, clad in the feminine costume of the frontier, consisting of a loose robe and long trousers and holding a flower in her right hand.

Regarding the dance varieties that belong to the Mathura school, the danseuses can be divided into those that are conventionally clothed and those that display their female charms unveiled, as in the jamb from Bhuteswar; and the dances can be divided into non-Indian or Greek as typified by the Silenus and various other Bacchanalian groups, the Kushan or the Buddhist variety, the Hindu variety, and finally those that depict the Jain type, as an example of which can be cited the votive tablet (*ayagapatta*) of Lonasobhika, who herself was a very prominent dancer of the period.

A change from these subjects is the dancing group from the Kashmir *smuts* (Yuzufzai), where Siva performs the Dance of Death (*mrityu tandava*), and one of the same hero, recovered from Kurukshetra and now in the Lahore Museum, where Siva disports himself in the Dance of Bliss (*ananda tandava*), the former being of wood and the latter of terra-cotta. From the Kushan period of art in Northern India, in which the foreign or Greco-Persian influence made itself felt (as in the Greek and Bacchanalian scenes and dancing friezes and in that of the female Greek doorkeeper, dressed like Pallas Athene, which are all in the Lahore Museum), and in a lesser degree in the *srawasti* miracle, before which the Abbot in *Kim* came and burnt incense, we pass on through the manifestations of Andhra art, and that of the other southern races, the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandyas, to a brief period of quiescence, which preceded the intellectual quickening marked by the tremendous æsthetic vitality of the spacious days of the Gupta Empire, of which the conclusion in the artistic sense may be said to be the period of Harsha in the north and of his contemporary, Pulakesin II., in the south. Examples of the dancing art of this period (recorded by Kalidasa and Bana in literature) are legion, and so also are its representations of *Mithuna* in art, ranging from Badami and Aiwuli in the south, through Central India and Jhansi, across the United Provinces and the Punjab up to Masrur near Guler, Kangra Valley, whose monolithic temples, supposed to be dedicated to the Pandava brothers, are a Northern Indian or Aryavarta edition of the Pandava *rathas* at Mahabalipore, thirty-five miles from Madras.

If from Hindu sculpture we turn our attention to painting, we discover that the earliest representation of a *nritya* (dance) before a king is found in the Jogimara caves, Ramgargh Hills, the date of which may be assigned to the earlier part of the second century B.C. From this period the art of Indian cave painting—Buddhist, Hindu and Jain—attains a beauty and maturity like a bud expanding into a flower, as the finest examples of which may be mentioned those at Ajanta and Ellora in Hyderabad State and those

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of Bagh in Gwalior, especially the dancing scenes at Bagh, complete in every detail, those on the second-floor ceiling of the Kailasa Temple, the later frescoes overlapping the earlier, both being Hindu, and those at the Indra and the Jagannatha *sabhas* being Jain, many of which picture to us not only the dance and the dancers, but also the orchestra of the period. Contemporary with the later phases of Ajanta and Bagh art, and earlier than the art of Ellora, are the frescoes at Sittanawasal, Pudukottah State, in which as the gems of the entire collection stand out the figures of two danseuses, each with one of her hands outstretched in the attitude of an elephant's trunk (*gaja hasta*)—types of exquisite feminine beauty moulded to perfection by the plastic rhythms of the dance.

The sister art of Sigriya (Ceylon) appears to be too South Indian to need separate mention, and so from this we pass on by gradations to the fresco work in some of the early Pallava and Chola temples in the south, such as are to be found at Conjivaram, Tanjore, etc., on to Malabar and its sculptured shrines generally carved out of teak, till, crossing over the hills, we come to the fresco painting of the Maratha period in the temple of Rama at Mudhol, southern Mahratta State. We finally reach the last efforts of the Hindu brush in the late medieval palaces of Rajput chiefs, the northernmost limit of whose artistic influence are the temples of Kangra, Kulu and Chamba, which still have traces of painting on their walls, even though some of these, like the paintings at the *Samadh* of the "Lion of the Punjab," in Lahore, and at the houses of the terror of the Pathans, Nau Nihal Singh, both at Lahore and Gujranwala, were executed during the period of the last Hindu-Pad Badshahi—namely, of the Sikhs.

The number of cave temples—Buddhist, Hindu and Jain—containing dancing scenes, ranging from the caves of Western India like the Jogeswari, etc., to those of Eastern India or Orissa, like the Udayagiri caves, are too multifarious to be detailed here, and even so for want of time we must omit all the structural temples of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, which contain on their walls and pillars in their halls the history of Hindu dancing from the eighth to the eighteenth century A.D., though by far the largest examples, consisting of the highest forms of temple construction of the *Vesara* and the *Dramila* varieties, are to be found south of the Krishna river. As examples of the wealth of representations of dances with which the huge propylæa-like temples of the Dravidian south bewilder us may be cited the western and eastern gateways (*gopurams*) of Sri Nataraja's temple at Chidambaram. At the latter gateway are sculptured *ninety-seven* out of the one hundred and eight varieties of the *tandava* described by Bharata Muni in his book on drama-

turgy and dancing (*Natya Sastra*), added to which for our guidance each dance is correctly labelled. Similarly, also, some of the large temples of the Vesara, or the so-called Chalukya style, the northernmost limit of whose provenance is Maharashtra and the southernmost Mysore, contain hundreds of dancing scenes, as examples of which may be cited the Hoysaleswara (Halebid) and the Hindu temple at Kidrapur, which is now dedicated to the worship of Siva and situated in the State of Kolhapur. At this temple, whose art was first discovered by the writer, there are so many representations of dancing—from the *lasya* of Surpanaka before Rama to a large variety of dances, serious and gay, the danseuse being fully draped, half draped, and undraped—that it can be said to be a sculptured textbook on medieval Hindu dancing (eighth to eleventh century A.D.), whose thesis is “The proper study of Man is *Woman*.” Here any dancer can today learn to perfection the art and practical technique from the celestial dancers frozen into stone on the temple walls of this star-shaped shrine, and she can also spare herself the inconvenience of carrying a mirror, for some portions of its wall surface are so very well polished that they can easily be mistaken for pieces of ancient Indian bronze looking-glasses.

Of the Aryavarta group of temples, or of those belonging to the Nagara style of Hindu temple construction, at least thirty can be counted near Khajuraho, Bundelkhand, and a similar number round about Bhuvaneswar, Orissa, among which the best from the point of view of the representation of the dancing art may be instanced the *Vamana* and the *Kandaraya Mahadeva* temples at the former place and the *Konarak* (the Black Pagoda) and the *Vital Duel* at the latter.

In addition to the representation of this theme, dancing, so dear to the heart of the Hindu, on temple walls and towers, pillars and halls, we find that there are hundreds of delightful examples that have been handed down to us in bronze (the Natarajas, the Krishnas, the Ganesas, the Gopis and Parvatis dancing), in woodwork (Apsarasis, Gandharvas, Saraswati, etc.), and in ivory, and particularly in combs and other articles of the feminine toilet.

One can also trace the history of Muslim dancing in India, as shown in painting from the earliest example of it by Shapur of Khorassan, depicting Muhamad Bin Tuglaq enjoying a *nautch*, to examples in the spacious days of the great Moghuls Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan, with all the ramifications and branches of Muslim art down to the frescoes at the Gangan Mahal and the Ashur Mubarak palace (Bijapur), the Deccani schools of painting and those into which the Delhi school itself split, till its senility and decay during the last decadent reigns of the Vaziers of Oudh, examples of which are to be found in many British collections.

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Closely related to the Mughal miniature schools of painting and their branches which illustrate examples of the dancing art, both secular and sacred, like the dancing of the Dervishes, are the Hindu schools of miniature painting and book illustration, beginning from the earliest examples (now in the Lahore Museum), generally Jain in character, which continue to revel in the treatment of this subject. They belong to the so-called Rajasthani or the Rajput school, or the Kangra (with its varieties like the Guler, etc.), or the Basholi or the Jammu schools. The themes treated are not only religious like the *Sanahya Nritya* of Siva or the *rasas* of Krishna, but also secular and gay and in some cases even comic to a modern mind, as when they try to represent a few of the *ragas* and *raginis* like the *Nata Narayana*, etc. Of these, the Lahore and the Boston Museums each contains a choice collection.

Some of the Nepalese and Tibetan so-called temple banners also belong to this period, and contain representations of dancing activity, either of Mahayanist or Tantric divinities, both male and female, or of their devotees, which are analogous more with the *tandavas* of Siva than with his more humane *nrityas* or of the *lasyas* (soft feminine erotic dances) of his wife (*Sakti*) Parvati.

Finally, the vitally vigorous schools of modern Indian painting and sculpture, inspired by the technique of the Bombay or the Bengal schools of art, are giving us fresh inspirations and dream visions of colour, line and form from their rich palettes, waiting for the patronage of the East, as also for an understanding and sympathetic West, to mature into adolescence. These recapture the spirit of Ajanta, the Indian elements of China and Japan, of the Mughal and Kangra schools of painting, and express them in a new modern vocabulary which all who try can understand, and not the least of their studies is dancing, both secular and sacred, like the Garbha and the Kajri and those of Siva, Durga and Krishna and of the danseuses, both human and divine. Typical examples of this art can be appreciated in the paintings of Dhurandhar (till lately the Vice-Principal of the J. J. School of Art, Bombay), of Ahivasi, Nanda Lal Bose, Halder, Mazumdar, and of Katsuta, who though Japanese has reproduced to perfection the Indian technique in his representation of the temptation of Buddha by the daughters of Mara. It can also be studied in the fresco and canvas work at Baroda, at New Delhi and in India House in London. There are a large number of dancing scenes to be found in the various fine arts exhibitions held in India, generally in winter or early spring or at the close of the monsoon season, at Calcutta, Bombay, Simla, Lahore, Delhi and Madras, and lately at the one held in London under the auspices of this Society.

Still, in spite of all those glorious achievements in the past, classical

dancing in modern India has fallen on evil days, and unless the mentality of both the rulers and the ruled change in their views as to the type of education that Indians ought to receive, the various typically Indian arts such as architecture, sculpture, art and craft work, music and dancing have a hard struggle before them. Still, it can be divided into distinct schools, each having its own individuality. Thus the Hindu can be easily distinguished from the Muslim. The latter, familiarly known as the *nautch*, is a *nritya*, like a Russian or a Swedish ballet, and consists in the graceful movements of the limbs, gentle or violent, slow or rapid, without an attempt being made to express the feelings through the intricate vocabulary of the ritual language of the gestures. The Hindu varieties can be divided into (1) those of the north, both secular and sacred, the dances of the *rasadharies* of Mathura and Kangra belonging to the latter category. (2) Those of the western school, originating from Kathiawar, the most typical being the *garbha dance*, though some years ago, owing to the enlightened patronage of that æsthetic patriot among the Hindu princes, H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, a few dance families from Tanjore were settled at Baroda, and an attempt was made to revive this ancient art. (3) The eastern, or the Orissa, and the Bengal schools, consisting of dances generally Vaishnavite in character, like those that compose the *yatras* and others bequeathed by devotees like Chaitanya. To these may be added the courtship and other dances so popular among the Santals, and the Indra Puja full-moon night festival dances of the ladies of Bengal, a ritual dance never seen by men. In this the drummer sits behind a curtain; the women sing love songs and dance the whole night through, and in the morning go down to the river and bathe. (4) The southern school, which can again be subdivided into (a) the Vijayanagar school; (b) the Tanjore school; (c) the Tinnevely school; (d) the indigenous Malabar or Kerala schools, like the *Krishnan attam*, the *Raman attam*, the various dances performed at the Kathakali, Sakkiar Kuthu, Ottan, and various other Thulals, which, thanks to the fervent patriotism of the present poet-laureate of Kerala, Sriman Vellathol, are being kept alive and made to assume new forms of beauty in the academy he has founded for the revival of the national arts of poetry, drama, and dancing.

Passing on from India proper, bounded by the Himalayas, the two seas and the Indian Ocean, if we study the manifestations of Hindu dancing on the æsthetic life of her daughter colonies, Ceylon, Java, Bali, Laos, Siam, Champa, and Cambodia, or of those lands to whose spiritual development she can claim to have contributed, like Burma, Tibet, China, Japan, and Korea, we find that even in these countries the art can be studied through its manifestations in sculpture and painting, and through the survivals in the modern

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practice of the art. As the subject is too wide for a detailed study here, we shall indicate only a few points that mark its progress.

In the art of classical and medieval Java, before the fall of the Majaphait dynasty under the pressure of Islam, we find that the temple art of Borobudur, Parambanum and Panataran perpetuate not only the various forms and poses of Hindu dancing, but also the dance orchestra in use, long before the advent of the modern Gammelan music. At Borobudur alone, on the temple walls and on the corridors, are sculptured a very large number of dances, to each of which an appropriate Hindu text can be applied, and practically all the musical instruments of the dance orchestra depicted are in use today among the musicians and dancers of the Tinnevely district; and it may be added that the dancing here depicted is entirely South Indian, and can be perfectly rendered even today by the dancers hailing from this district.

At Prambanum, where the temple art recalls that of Kerala (Malabar) rather than that of Pandya or Chola, there are a few dancing panels, in one of which the danseuse is executing a *nritya* with a sword held in one hand and a shield in the other.

At Panataran, whence sculptures have found a home as far away as Edinburgh, we have also a few examples of this art, even though here the purely Hinduistic elements are succumbing to the influences of Indonesian art, like a ruined city in the grip of a tropical jungle. Among the Javanese bronzes that of the *trilokavijayi* may be cited, the best specimen being probably the one from Jogjakarta. In the modern representations of the Javanese drama and dancing, not only does the Hindu make friends once more with his familiar heroes of the *Ramayanda* and the *Mahabharata*, but with their wives and rivals; and in dancing he recognizes the various *mudras* (poses) of his country, like the *anjali*, etc., as well as that sinuous plasticity of bodily movement, which is his own contribution to the art, when by slow degrees the static becomes dynamic and vice versa.

In the neighbouring island of Bali, though the poses of Hindu dancing have undergone considerable modification, the poses used in worship (*mudras*) by the priests are still the same as those in use today in the temples of Malabar, where the divine service is conducted by Tantras, and the training of the dancers imitates that of the neighbouring district of Tinnevely with this difference—that the dancers are retired into the chief's palace at about the age of sixteen.

In Champa, whose people, like the southern Hindu, preferred Siva to Vishnu, a few of the temple tympanums have dancing panels, in one of which old familiar Siva blesses us once more with a display of his *tandava*.

In Cambodia, the foundations of whose greatness were laid by the

progeny of the South Indian Brahman Kaundinya, we find that dancing can be studied both from temple art and also from the modern practice by the court dancers at Pnom-Penh. The temple at Angkor-Vat contains many and varied representations of this art, and the galleries are full of dancing *devadasis*, who, though they seem to symbolize the *corps de ballet* from Heaven, are in fact reproductions of the best of the dancers of the period. The temple at Bayon and that at Iswarapura also make their contributions, though by far the finest specimen of a Cambodian dancer has now found a home in the Museum of Tourane (Pl. III.), although she hailed originally from Tra-Kieu (Quang-Nam), where her lovely features were immortalized in stone nearly thirteen hundred years ago. As that of Nataraja engaged in the Dance of Bliss (*ananda tandava*) or the *nadanta* dance at the Madras Museum (the bronze without the *tiruvasi* or the flame arch) (Pl. IV.), this figure of the Cambodian dancer also is so exquisitely beautiful, nay divine, that no description can convey her loveliness, and so we may conclude by saying that as Nataraja is the supreme triumph of the Asiatic bronzier in the conception of a male dancer, so also this lady descended from the celestial nymph Mera is the most perfect and beautiful of feminine dancers that the chisel of an Eastern artist has produced.

Regarding the modern Cambodian ballet, there are many points of similarity between the dancers of the court of Pnom-Penh and those of Siam, Laos, Java, and Burma in the choice of their subjects, in the interpretation, in the portrayal of characters, dress, make-up, poses, steps, and gestures, through all of which runs the golden thread of Indian influence. If we analyze only the gestures we discover that the Cambodian danseuses use the following poses of the hand (*hasta mudras*), which are entirely *Hindu*. They are the *anjali* (obeisance or adoration), *pataka* (flag or victory), *mushti* (clenched fist), *suci* (the needle), *ardha chandra* (half or crescent moon), and the *kapota* (the dove); and, as in the South Indian temple dancers (*devadasis*), there is not a single sentiment omitted from realistic interpretation in gesture language by the Cambodian ballerina; and they are executed with that strict conformity to tradition which takes several years to acquire, and once acquired is never forgotten, so perfect and automatic become the movements.

MUSLIM CALLIGRAPHY

BY KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN

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CALLIGRAPHY has been a favourite art among Muslims. Apart from the fact that representation of living things is forbidden by Islam, and religious Muslim artists found in calligraphy an outlet for their artistic talents, it was cherished by them as a religious duty. The reading and writing of the Quran was considered by Muslims as a pious deed, and they took special care to preserve it against loss or any addition or alteration. To achieve that end they multiplied its volumes by making fresh copies and went so far as to learn it by heart, a practice which still continues, and persons committing it to memory are called Huffaz. It was the desire of every believer to obtain a copy of the holy book either for reading if he was literate, or else to keep by him as a sacred relic. The only means of making fresh copies was to write it out by hand. Those who knew the art of writing could make copies, while others had to employ scribes for the purpose. The scribes plied their trade as a profession, but the copying of the Quran was also considered by them to be a pious deed. The early copies of the Quran were simple, but the matter did not rest there; the next step was that the scribes tried to make their productions attractive, and it led them to have recourse to calligraphy. The latter was thus cultivated among them, and it soon developed to perfection, enabling them to produce magnificent and fanciful copies of their holy book. As time went on, the art did not remain confined to the copying of the Quran, but was adopted generally as a decorative one and was applied also to mural work in the form of inscriptions. The artistic gifts of the Persians gave it a new impetus and raised it to a high level of excellence. It also flourished in India from the earliest period of the Muhammadan invasions, as is shown by the beautiful inscriptions which are to be found on the early buildings. It was, however, not until the Mughal period that the art of calligraphy attained the highest development in that country. The patronage of the Mughal emperors attracted many Persian calligraphists to their court and under their influence Indians, Muslims as well as Hindus, soon made themselves proficient in the art. From the specimens I am going to show you it will be seen that the writing of many Indian calligraphists competes in excellence and beauty of style with that of Persian experts. The interest of Mughal emperors in the art of calligraphy can be judged from the fact that it was an important factor in the training of princes. Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shahjahan, learnt

the art from Abdur Rashid Dailmi; Shah Shuja, his brother, also enjoyed a reputation for handwriting, and the specimens of the writing of these princes will show that they can be allotted a place among the leading calligraphists of their time. It is also stated that Aurangzeb, the third son of Shahjahan, used to copy the Quran as a religious practice even when he occupied the throne and had much state business to perform. Bahadur Shah, the last Mughal emperor, took a great interest in calligraphy and could write several scripts. Specimens of his writing in Naskh, Nastaliq, and Tughra characters will be shown to you.

The art of calligraphy has played a very conspicuous part in the field of decoration. Inscriptions artistically written formed a decorative feature in Muslim architecture, while specimens of calligraphy beautifully illustrated and mounted on cardboards were used as decorative pieces of household furniture. These specimens are called waslis, and the fact that they are found in great numbers in Oriental countries, particularly in the large cities of India, supports the view that they were commonly in use in olden times. Unfortunately the art has recently been neglected and is dying out, as it is not offered any scope at the present time. As an old art, however, it deserves attention, and it is desirable to make a systematic study of it, to show the development and decline, with suitable illustrations.

The main styles of the Muslim script are (1) Kufic, (2) Naskh, (3) Nastaliq and (4) Shikasta, the first two being attributed to Arabic writing and the remainder to Persian.

Kufic is angular, and on account of its artistic shape it was selected in the beginning for the transcription of the Quran. Gradually it assumed a fantastic decorative shape presenting difficulties in its transcription and decipherment, and consequently it was abandoned.

Naskh is a round script. Originally it was used by the Arabs for ordinary purposes, but it developed side by side with the artificial Kufic script until it reached the culminating point of its growth and replaced the latter about the thirteenth century A.D. The artistic talent of calligraphists devised many other styles and gave them different names, but they were merely products of their ingenuity, and their variation from each other was only conventional. Abul Fazl gives a description of some of them as follows:

"The Suls and Naskh consist each of one-third curved lines and two-thirds straight lines; the former is Jali (bold) and the latter Khafi (thin). The Tauqi and Riqqa consist of three-fourths curved lines and one-fourth straight; the former is Jali and the latter Khafi. The Muhaqqaq and Raihan contain three-fourths straight lines; the former, as in the preceding, is Jali and the latter, Raihan, Khafi."

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Nastaliq is a rounder script than Naskh, and this characteristic is more distinctly noticeable in the letters which end in curves. It originated in Persia, where the Arabic script Naskh was subjected to modification under the influence of the Pahlvi writing of that country, and led to the evolution of a new script named Taliq in the thirteenth century A.D. The latter did not remain long in use, but was replaced in the next century by another script, Nastaliq, which evolved from Naskh and Taliq characters.

Shikasta is only a variation of Nastaliq. It is a cursive script with too many ligatures. The date of its evolution is unknown; presumably it arose a little later than Naskh.

The slides which I am going to show you will represent all the above mentioned four scripts together with Bihar, Tughra and Ghubar styles. The last three are variations of Naskh or Nastaliq characters, and are not independent scripts. *Bihar* is a transition style between Kufic and Naskh, being neither angular nor round. It is believed to have been evolved in India, but it could not hold its ground against Naskh, which had already reached a high state of perfection. Tughra is an ornamental writing in which the letters are so interwoven as to assume a decorative shape which is difficult to read. *Ghubar* means dust, and denotes a thin writing wherein the letters appear as dust forming ground to set in relief an object or any other transcription. It may also be mentioned that the specimens of writing illustrated by these slides belong to the collection preserved in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology. That collection consists of specimens of more than one hundred calligraphists, and only a few years ago they were acquired by me. I also wrote an article on them, which has been published with illustrations as a Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India. If any of you are specially interested in Muslim calligraphy and want any further information on the subject they may perhaps refer to that publication.

SPECIMENS OF WRITING ILLUSTRATED BY SLIDES

1. A leaf from the copy of the Quran, written on parchment in Qufic characters. Their distinctive characteristic is that none of the letters has any dots, while Irabs or vowel marks are indicated by red dots. It is believed to belong to the eighth century Hijra (ninth century A.D.).

2. An illuminated wasli written in Naskh characters by Yaqut-al-Mustasimi and dated 680 A.H. (1281-82 A.D.). The real name of Yaqut-al-Mustasimi was Jalalud Din. He was the court calligraphist of al-Mustasim Billah, the last Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad, and was acknowledged to be one of the earliest masters of the art of calligraphy. He died in the year 697 A.H. (1297-98 A.D.) at the advanced age of over one hundred and twenty. A copy

of the Quran, believed to have been written by Mustasimi, is in my possession as an heirloom, and I have brought it with me to London. It is a very magnificent manuscript, and represents perhaps the best specimen of the writing of that famous calligraphist. If any of you want to examine it, I shall be most delighted to show it.

3. This is a Quran written in Bihar style, which shows a transition between Qufic and Naskh, the three lines in bold letters on every page being in Suls script. Its other characteristics are that Irabs or vowel marks are given with very thin horizontal lines instead of slanting ones, and the word "Allah" is written everywhere throughout the volume in gold. Traditionally it is related that the MS. was written by Firozshah Tughlaq, who reigned in India from 1351 to 1388. It seems to belong to the fourteenth century A.D.

4. Another Quran similar to the preceding one, except that the word "Allah" is written in a yellow pigment, called lajward, instead of gold. It also belongs to the fourteenth century.

5. An illuminated wasli written in Naskh characters by Muhummad Afzal, who calls himself a servant of Dara Shikoh. It is dated 1062 A.H. (1652 A.D.).

6. A Himayel, or small Quran, written in Naskh characters and said to have been the work of Haddad, who was a court calligraphist of Shahjahan, and had a great reputation for Khat-i-Khafi (thin writing). It is very richly illuminated, and has the interlined spaces adorned throughout with gold. The manuscript is a family relic of mine and it is available for examination in London.

7. A wasli written in Naskh characters by Qazi Ismatullah. He achieved great fame for his skill in calligraphy, and died in 1186 A.H. (1772-73 A.D.).

8. An illuminated wasli written in Naskh characters by Jalaluddin Rizvi, who flourished in the first half of the nineteenth century, and had been in the service of the last Mughal Emperor.

9. A wasli written partly in Naskh and partly in Tughra by Abu Zafar Bahadur Shah, the last Mughal Emperor. He was dethroned in the year 1858.

10. A wasli written in Nastaliq characters by Mir Ali, who was a contemporary of Amir Timur (1369-1404). He enjoyed great fame as a calligraphist, and is related to have contributed a great deal to the development of the Nastaliq script.

11. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq characters by Sultan Ali, who belonged to Mashhad and was one of the pupils of Mir Ali. He died about the year 1497 A.D.

12. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq characters by Mir Aliul Katib, who was a native of Herat. He was an accomplished scholar and an

Muslim Calligraphy

excellent calligraphist. He is given credit for greatly improving the art of calligraphy, on which subject he wrote two books, entitled *Rasmul Khat* and *Khat-u-Sawad*. The Emperor Jahangir is said to have possessed a very fine and authentic collection of the specimens of the writing of Mir Aliul Katib.

13. *Timur Namah*, or history of Timur, by Maulana Abdullah Hatifi, written in Nastaliq characters. The MS. bears five miniatures in Persian style and is dated 892 A.H. (1487 A.D.). The name of the scribe is not known.

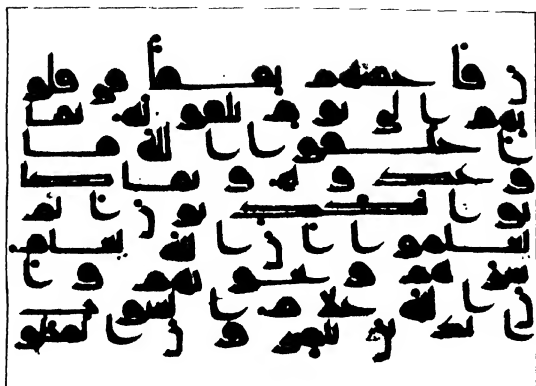
14. *Shah Namah of Firdausi*, written in Nastaliq characters and containing several miniatures in Persian style. It does not bear the date of transcription, but the endorsements on the flyleaf show that it cannot be later than sixteenth century A.D.

15. A wasli written in Nastaliq characters by Muhammad Ali, the son of Muhammad Husain Zarrin Qalam, who was a court calligraphist of the Emperor Akbar.

16. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq characters by Mir Imad al-Husaini, who was the most celebrated Persian calligraphist of the Safvi period. He led the simple life of a dervish at Ispahan, and never cared for rank or wealth. A story is related that Shah Abbas of Persia once offered him seventy gold mohurs, expressing a desire that he should transcribe a copy of the *Shahnamah* for him. A year after, when an inquiry was made as to whether the book had been finished, he sent to the Emperor the first seventy verses of the work with a message that the amount granted by His Majesty covered the wages of transcribing that number of lines only. The Emperor, being displeased, rejected the transcribed pages and made a demand for the return of the money. Mir Imad forthwith cut asunder those lines and distributed them among seventy of his pupils, who readily contributed a gold mohur each and provided the required money. The Emperor was greatly enraged at this, and arranged for the murder of the calligraphist through one of his officers named Mansur, who killed Imad when he was going to a hammam for his bath. This happened in the year 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.). The Emperor Shahjahan is related to have taken such a fancy to Imad's writing that in the beginning of his reign he used to bestow the rank of one hundred on anyone who brought him a specimen of his writing.

17. *Chihal Majlis*, a book on Sufism, written in Nastaliq characters by Abdur-Rahim, entitled *Raushan Qalam* (bright pen), in the year 1020 A.H. (1611-12 A.D.). It bears on the flyleaves at the beginning and end several seal marks and endorsements. One of the endorsements is by Shahjahan, which is dated 1037 A.H. (1628 A.D.), and refers to the receipt

SPECIMENS OF CALLIGRAPHY IN THE DELHI MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY



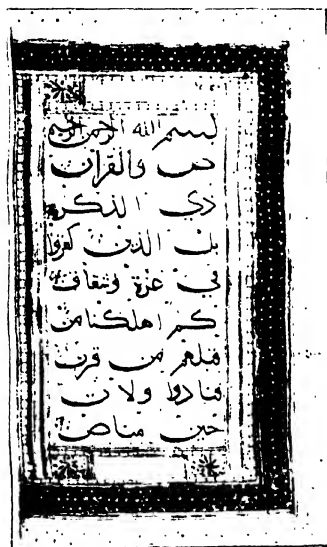
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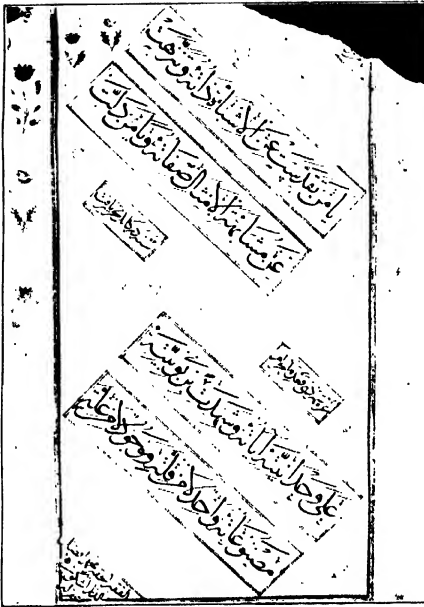
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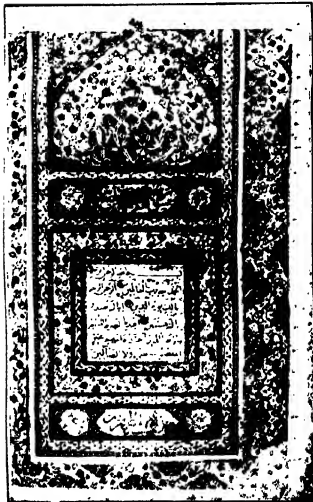
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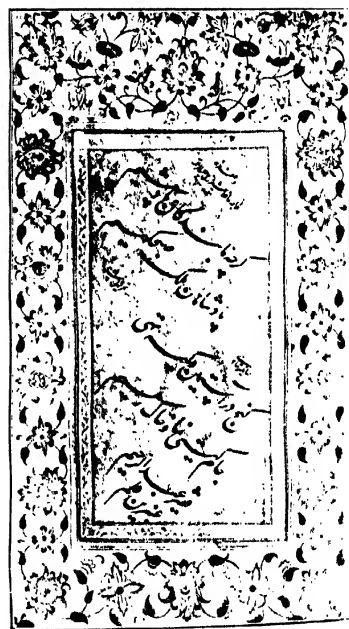
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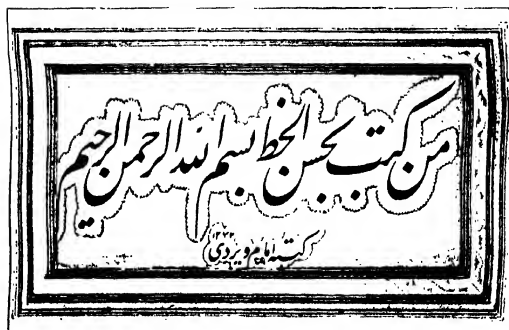
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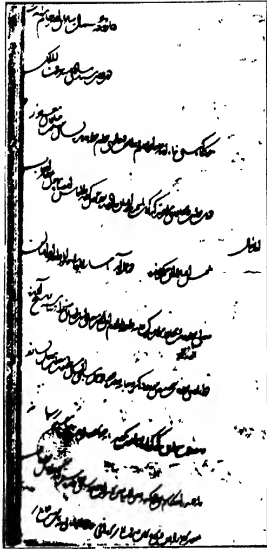
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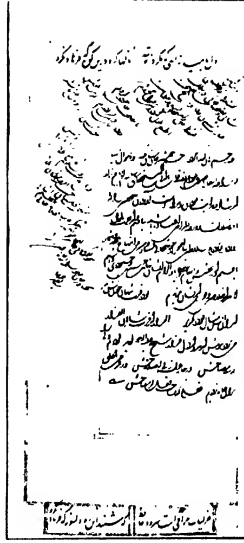
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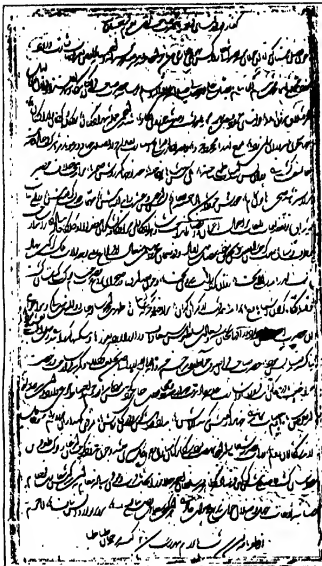
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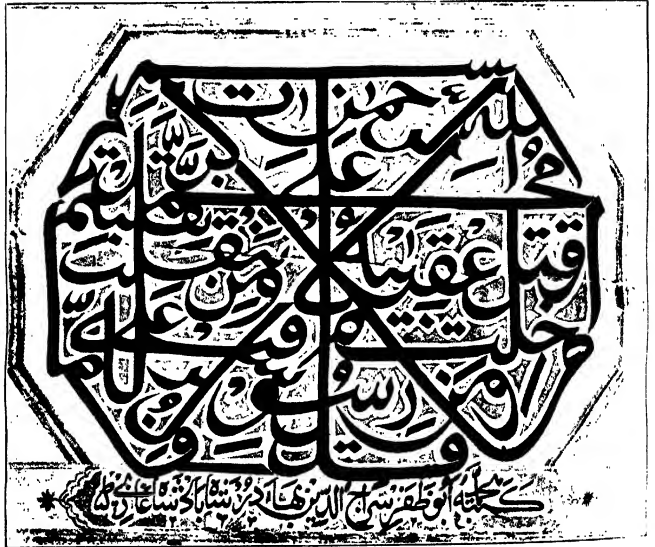
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of the MS. in the Imperial Library. Abdur-Rahim was a famous court calligraphist of Jahangir, and he had also the title of Anbarin Qalam (ambergris pen).

18. An illuminated wasli written by the same calligraphist, who assumes here the title of Anbarim Qalam and also calls himself Jahangir Shahi (the servant of Jahangir).

19. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq characters by Abdur-Rashid Dailmi, better known as Aqa. He was a nephew and pupil of Mir Imad, after whose murder he migrated to India during the reign of Shah-jahan, and was taken into royal favour on account of his skill in penmanship. Dara Shikoh, the eldest son and the crown prince of Shahjahan, learnt the art of calligraphy from him, and Zabun-Nisa, the talented daughter of Aurangzeb, is also related to have been one of his pupils. Abdur-Rashid died at an advanced age in the year 1081 A.H. (1670-71 A.D.).

20. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq script by the prince Dara Shikoh. It is dated 1041 A.H. (1631-32 A.D.), and is recorded to have been transcribed for Musvi Khan, who held the high post of Sadrus Sadur, or supreme judge of the Mughal empire in India. This gifted but unfortunate prince is known to us by many of his qualities. He was the author of several books on Sufism, which have attracted the attention of many modern scholars and have received their appreciation for the beauty of style and the high ideals that are discussed in them. He was also a poet, and the main theme of his verses was the same Sufism which had been his hobby. A copy of his *Divan*, which is, however, incomplete, is in my possession. I have brought it to London with me, and it is available for examination.

21. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq characters by the prince Shah Shuja, the second son of Shahjahan.

22. A wasli written in Nastaliq characters by one Mul Raj, who was Hindu by religion. It is dated 1099 A.H. (1687-88 A.D.).

23. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq script by Hidayatullah, entitled Zarrin Raqam. He was the instructor of the prince Kam Bakhsh, the youngest son of Aurangzeb, and of several other princes of the royal blood. He died in the year 1118 A.H. (1706-07 A.D.).

24. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq script by Muhammad Afzal, who was a native of Lahore and lived during the time of the Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-48 A.D.).

25. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq script by Muhammad Ali, who was a court calligraphist of the Emperor Shah Alam II., and the instructor of his son. It is dated 1196 A.H. (1782 A.D.).

26. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq script by Hafiz Narullah, who

Muslim Calligraphy

lived at Lucknow during the time of Asafud-Daulah, the Nawab of Oudh (1775-97 A.D.).

27. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq characters by Sarab Sukh Rai, who was a Hindu resident of Lucknow and a pupil of Hafiz Narullah.

28. A wasli written in Nastaliq characters by Mir Muhammad Husain Ata Khan, who also was a resident of Lucknow. It is dated 1192 A.H. (1778 A.D.).

29. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq script by Sayyid Muhammad Amir Rizvi, better known as Mir Panjah Kash, and dated 1257 A.H. (1841-42 A.D.). He was the most famous calligraphist of the later period and died in 1857 A.D.

30. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq characters by Agha Mirza, who was the most proficient pupil of Mir Panjah Kash. He did not survive his master, but died before him in 1857.

31. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq script by Bahadur Shah II., the last Mughal Emperor.

32. An illuminated wasli written in Nastaliq characters by Imam Verdi, who lived in Lahore about the middle of the nineteenth century A.D.

33. A farman written in Shikasta script and illuminated and mounted on a piece of cardboard like a wasli. It is dated 868 A.H. (1464 A.D.), and bears a seal impression of Sultan Abu Said, who was the grandfather of the Emperor Babur and reigned from 1452-67 A.D.

34. A specimen of the Shikasta writing of Sayyid Ahmad, who was a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period (1658-1707 A.D.).

35. A wasli written in Shikasta script by one Abul Qasim-al-Husaini. It is dated 1131 A.H. (1718-19 A.D.).

36. A wasli written in Shikasta script by Murid Khan Taba Tabai, who was a noble in the court of Muhammad Shah (1719-48 A.D.), and also an excellent calligraphist, particularly in Shikasta writing.

37. A wasli written in Tughra style by Bahadur Shah II., the last Mughal Emperor.

38. Quran written on a scroll of paper in Khat-i-Ghubar by one Ibrahim, a native of Astrabad in Persia. It is written in very minute letters, which form the ground setting in relief the larger central script consisting of pious phrases. It is dated 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.).

I have been asked, in addition to the subject of my lecture, to say a few words about the Archæological Department of India and its working.

The Archæological Survey of India is controlled and entirely financed by the Government. It is an Imperial Department under the charge of the

Director-General of Archæology, who is responsible for its administration to the Governor-General in Council. It embraces eight circles, each under the charge of a Superintendent, who is an executive officer and carries out archæological operations in his circle. The functions of the department fall under four heads, viz. : (a) Conservation, (b) Excavation, (c) Epigraphy and (d) Museums.

Conservation is given the greatest importance in India, and it was mainly for the repairs and preservation of its ancient historical monuments that the Archæological Department was established. There are several thousand monuments which are under the charge of that department and are maintained by it. They were mostly in a dilapidated condition at the time of their protection, and their present altered state speaks eloquently of the achievements of the Archæological Survey. Repairs to these monuments are carried out in strict accordance with archæological principles, avoiding any innovation to them, and taking care that they should retain their old appearance. They are kept neat and tidy, affording visitors an opportunity to study their style of architecture and recall to memory the past history associated with them. I have recently visited some of the countries in the Near East and South of Europe, and I noticed that, except in Italy, nowhere so much attention is paid to the conservation and maintenance of ancient buildings as in India. In Palestine, Syria and Iraq, such buildings are generally of a religious nature, and they are left to the care of the communities to which they belong, the Government not taking any responsibility for their conservation and maintenance.

Since the organization of the Archæological Department in India in the year 1903, excavations have also been carried out as far as funds permitted, and quite a large number of ancient sites have been dug out and their results published in the departmental reports. But having regard to the vastness of the country, which is larger than the whole of Europe and where innumerable ancient sites are to be found, the undertakings under this head are not very many, and on that account the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act has been recently amended, whereby private bodies are now permitted to make excavations there subject to certain conditions. In this connection I should point out that the ancient sites excavated in India are kept open and structural remains exposed are repaired and preserved from further decay. Every care is taken to maintain them in a neat and orderly manner. The movable antiquities are, however, removed to museums for exhibition. At important sites the movable antiquities are placed in the local museums erected at those sites to enable visitors to examine them in close association with the architectural remains with which they have been discovered. For your information and without any desire to criticize, I may state that matters are different in

Muslim Calligraphy

Palestine and Iraq, etc., where I find that after the removal of movable antiquities the excavated sites are covered again with earth in order to preserve the architectural remains. I was informed that the conservation and display of those remains was intended, but that this was postponed until funds became available.

Epigraphical work in India is under the charge of two officers, one dealing with the inscriptions of Indian languages, such as Sanscrit, Tamil, Telugu, etc., and the other with Arabic and Persian epigraphs. The results of researches under this head are systematically published in the periodical issues of the *Epigraphica Indica* and the *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica*. There is an independent publication for Burmese inscriptions, and it is entitled *Epigraphica Burmenica*.

The museums are of two classes, imperial and provincial, the former being under the control of the Archæological Department and the latter under the Provincial Governments. They are under the charge of qualified curators, who arrange for the proper display of the exhibits and for labelling them. Printed catalogues and handbooks of these museums are available for the guidance of visitors.

The scarcity of funds has stood in the way of greater archæological activities in India, and the prevailing economic depression has told very heavily upon them. The grant of the Archæological Department, which was already insufficient for its requirements, has been reduced by about one-third, and this has resulted in the abolition of its Exploration Branch, which was only lately established and was entrusted with excavation work. It is, however, expected that the amendment in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act will attract savants from overseas to make excavations in India and help the Indian archæologists to make new discoveries which they are unable to do single-handed.

ART NEWS

I

SURVEY OF INDIAN MUSEUMS AND ART GALLERIES

IN October of this year the Museums Association will commence a survey of the museums and art galleries of India, when Mr. S. F. Markham, Empire Secretary of the Museums Association, and Mr. H. Hargreaves, late Director-General of the Indian Archæological Survey, will proceed to India to visit every museum and art gallery in India, Burma, and possibly British Malaya. The probable itinerary will be museums of the Bombay area and the Delhi area in November and December, the Calcutta area and Burma in January, and Southern India in February and March.

As a result of these visits it is hoped to prepare an accurate detailed directory, and to preface this with a general statement on the museum movement in India as a factor in world scientific and artistic advancement.

This survey and directory will complete a survey of all the museums in the British Empire that has been carried out during the last six years by the Museums Association. Over 1,200 museums have already been visited and directories and surveys have been published.

July 19, 1935.

II

FRANCE

THE JUBILEE OF THE MUSÉE GUIMET, PARIS, 1885-1935

It is now fifty years since the Musée Guimet was founded by the wealthy son of the inventor of artificial ultramarine, the so-called "French blue." Although little now remains on view of what he had placed in the building for the purpose of illustrating the history of religions, we have to thank him for the existence of the museum which his recent successors have converted into the finest collection of Asiatic, and especially Buddhist, art in France.

The festivities planned by the Curators, M. Hackin and M. Ph. Stern, to celebrate the occasion proved a great success and brought large crowds of visitors to the museum.

On Wednesday, June 12, the temporary exhibition of the objects secured by the Hackin-Carl mission in Asia was opened by M. Huisman, Directeur-Général des Beaux-Arts, together with the other rooms which had not yet been formally inaugurated since their gradual rearrangement in the course of the last few years. After the official visit the members of the three

Societies which have their headquarters in the museum—viz., l'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient, la Société des Amis du Musée Guimet, and the Société des Amis de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient—were requested to attend performances of Oriental dances (by Toshi Komori and K. L. N. Rao), Oriental music (with a short commentary by Mme. Humbert-Sauvageot), and view slides of Oriental art (with explanations by Mme. de Coral Rémusat). This programme was calculated to last about forty minutes and was repeated four or five times in the course of the afternoon, and again on the next day, when entrance was free to all comers, as well as on Sunday, June 16. Moreover, the attachées (or chargées de mission, as they are now officially styled), Mlle. Auboyer, Mlle. Odette Bruhl, Mlle. Guentch-Ogloueff, Mlle. Hébert, Mme. Locquin, together with two unofficial assistants, Mlle. Hallade and Mlle. Morgenstern, were appointed to conduct parties through the rooms, three different "conférences promenades" (naturally very short and accurately timed), taking place in every hour. This, of course, is a common practice in England and in America, but was hailed as an entirely new departure in the French Musées Nationaux. The general public seemed much interested, and did not fail to express their thanks to the lecturers.

Meanwhile the office of the Association des Amis de l'Orient acted as a general information bureau, and endeavoured to make clear to all enquirers the different objects of the various Orientalist Societies (including the India Society), of the libraries, periodicals, etc.

The exhibits of the Hackin-Carl campaign in Afghanistan (1933-34) include many beautiful fragments recovered from the rubble at Bāmiyān, Kakrak, etc.; a cast of a marble statuette of Sūrya (third century A.D.?) from Khair-khaneh, where a Brahmanical temple was discovered for the first time on Afghan territory; some large-sized and very effective copies by M. Carl from the remains of frescoes at Bāmiyān; a collection of Sassanian and other coins, etc. Also a number of objects collected by M. Hackin in the Far East: a Bodhisattva of the Wei period (a very typical, finely executed statuette); the head of a Lohan (Sung or Yüan) and other small Chinese sculptures; two Japanese paintings—a large "portrait" of Amoghavajra (early Ashikaga) and a Mañjuśrī (late sixteenth century); some good examples of "Scythian" art; and a number of Tibetan paintings. All these are exhibited in what was formerly the lecture-room of the museum, the new lecture hall being much more spacious and better appointed as regards platform, lantern, lighting, etc.

The hope has been generally expressed that the recent festivities coupled with further efforts in the same direction will give the general public a better understanding and appreciation of the Eastern arts and civilizations.

J. ВУХОТ.

III

HOLLAND

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF ASIATIC ART

[The present notice has been sent for publication by the Hon. Secretary of this organization, with which the India Society shares temporary membership facilities.]

On Sunday, May 12, an excursion was made to The Hague to view the collection of Chinese art belonging to Mr. A. Schoenlicht, a member of the Council of the Society. The interest shown was very great, no less than fifty members with some friends taking the opportunity offered them in such a friendly way by Mr. and Mrs. Schoenlicht to view their collection. Assisted by some connoisseurs of Chinese ceramics among the members of the Society, they gave the necessary explanations.

The early part of the collection is exhibited in an attractive manner in a large summer-house. Open cabinets serve for the exhibition of the objects; in no instance is glass used, as reflections might interfere with the line of vision. The electric lighting effect is very successful.

The most valuable part of the collection is the beautiful series of ceramics of the Sung period, especially the Chün Yao, Ting Yao, and celadons. There are very good mortuary figures (pre-T'ang and T'ang), some fine bronzes, and attractive-looking small objects of jade and metal. An important wooden figure of a Lohan from the early Sung period attracted much attention.

The living-rooms of the house also contain several pieces of later ceramics, including some Ming specimens of a quality rarely seen in Holland. Mr. and Mrs. Schoenlicht's kindness was greatly appreciated by the members of the Society, and the Council hope to organize further visits to private collections in Holland.

TH. VAN LELYVELD.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY (1933)

MEMBERS of the Society are again being offered the *Annual Bibliography*, of which a new volume has just been issued, on advantageous terms, thanks to the courtesy of the Kern Institut. The price to members is eleven shillings and ninepence post free. In the event of a change in the value of the Netherland guilder it may be necessary to revise the price later. Members who desire copies of this and previous issues should write at once to the Hon. Secretary of the India Society, and send the remittance to him.

The following passages are taken from the Foreword of the new number of the *Bibliography* :

“ Notwithstanding the imposing array of combined auxiliary forces which have come to the rescue and which undoubtedly bode a substantial improvement in the financial position of the *Bibliography*, we have deemed it prudent to adopt certain measures, which, while tending to reduce the bulk of the present volume, have not, we believe, resulted in any material loss. Some of the measures adopted, such as the employment of certain abbreviations, will indeed hardly be noticed even by those who have had occasion to handle the volumes previously published. Some, such as the omission of academic and honorific titles in connection with the names of authors, will perhaps be regretted, but this measure having been carried through systematically, the regret need not be embittered by envy. An alteration of some greater import relates to archæological and historical journals, which in the preceding issues used to be enumerated under the letter A (Periodicals) in the different sections of the bibliography to which they belong, the full contents of each journal being added in each case. In the present volume the title and contents of periodicals have been noticed in the bibliography proper only in exceptional cases—viz., when the various articles contained in a journal are not separately dealt with or when a particular issue of a journal has been made the subject of a review. The list of abbreviations, however, which was a constant feature of previous volumes, has not only been retained, but has now been extended to a complete list of the periodicals with which we are concerned.¹ Those persons who are in the habit of consulting our *Bibliography* will be best able to judge whether this new arrangement is likely to cause any inconvenience. If such proved to

¹ Each title is followed by a reference to those numbers of the bibliography which deal with the various articles comprised in the journal in question.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology (1933)

be the case, it would be an inducement for reverting to the old arrangement. We trust, however, that such a retrograde movement will not be called for and that, on the contrary, the bibliography will be found to have gained in practical utility.

“ The modified method now adopted may easily lead to a misunderstanding with regard to the exhaustiveness of the present issue as compared with its predecessors. It will be seen that it comprises 706 entries, whereas volume VII, which appeared a year ago, contains 752 items. These figures, however, include respectively 16 and 67 titles of periodicals, so that the number of books and articles dealt with has not fallen but has, on the contrary, slightly increased.

“ The introductory portion of the present volume is, we believe, more representative than has been the case with previous issues. A novel feature is the general article on exploratory work in India during the year under review. We are greatly indebted to the scholars of different nationality who have contributed the various articles constituting the introduction. Some amongst them like Sir Richard Burn, Mr. G. Yazdani, Mr. S. Paranavitana and Dr. F. D. K. Bosch we may regard as our regular collaborators. The names of others are now met with for the first time in the Introduction, though not perhaps in the bibliography proper ; their co-operation is all the more welcome. They are M. Henri Marchal, directeur du service archéologique de l'Indo-Chine, Mr. H. E. Stapleton, I.E.S. (ret.), F.A.S.B., late Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, and Dr. W. D. van Wijngaarden, Conservator of the Museum of Antiquities, Leyden.

“ The able article devoted by the last-named scholar to Dr. Ernst Herzfeld's startling discoveries at Persepolis is illustrated by two excellent photographs which we owe to the courtesy of the discoverer himself. We wish here to thank Dr. Herzfeld for his kindness in placing them at our disposal. The photographs here published in connexion with the contributions of Mr. Paranavitana, Mr. Stapleton and Mr. Yazdani have been supplied by these authors themselves. The same is the case with the very fine photographs belonging to the concluding paper by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, Director of Archaeology in Netherlands India. Those relating to Kashmir we owe to the kindness of Mr. Kak, formerly Director of Archaeology in that State. The photographic prints which M. Georges Cœdès, Director of the French School of Hanoi, allowed us to publish along with M. Marchal's article have been supplemented by a few particularly fine views which we received from the Musée Guimet through the kind intermediary of the Countess G. de Coral Rémusat.

“ Of the text-illustrations the sketch-map of Bengal has been prepared by Major J. J. Mulder, late of the Survey Department of Netherlands India.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology (1933)

For the next one we are indebted to the friendship of Lieut.-Colonel Th. van Erp, R.E. (ret.). Figures 3 and 4 we owe to the Director of the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient*; whilst, last but not least, the attractive little sketch of the ancient mosque of Cheribon in Java is a good specimen of the draughtsmanship of Mr. Th. P. Galestin.

"This time the task of collecting and arranging the very extensive bibliographical materials was entrusted to Dr. Hermann Goetz and Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers. They have discharged it in a manner which will command satisfaction. Dr. B. C. Law, the new member of the Board of Editors, has now assumed the responsibility for books and articles written in the Indian vernaculars. Professor N. Fukushima, our Japanese collaborator, and his able assistant, Mr. Otoy Tanaka, have again favoured us with their valuable assistance with regard to archæological publications brought out in their country. In the editorial work we have received welcome help from Mrs. D. Kuenen-Wicksteed, Frau Dr. Hermann Goetz, M. Jean Buhot, Mr. J. S. Furnivall, I.C.S., late Commissioner of Settlements and Land Records, Burma, and Mr. W. H. Nicholls, formerly Chief Engineer, P.W.D., Madras. We wish here to record our gratitude for this help as well as for all other assistance by which the work has benefited."

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INDIA SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1934

EXHIBITION OF MODERN INDIAN ART

THE chief event of the year was the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art, which was held in the new Burlington Galleries in December, and was opened by her Royal Highness the Duchess of York. H.M. the Queen graciously lent two pictures from her collection, and also honoured the Exhibition with a visit. Other works were sent from the collections of their Highnesses the Maharajas of Baroda, Patiala, Indore and Jaipur, and the State Schools of Art of Baroda and Jaipur. Regional Committees were established in the various art centres of India to collect, select and send to London for inclusion in the Exhibition the most representative works from their respective centres. The reception given by the Press to the Exhibition was uniformly favourable and voiced the great interest taken by the British public in this first all-India display of contemporary works of art. The attendance was most satisfactory and far exceeded that at any of the other exhibitions held from time to time in these galleries. A detailed account of the Exhibition by the Honorary Organizer appeared in the last issue of *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*.

LECTURES

As in previous years, lectures were an important feature of the Society's work. Thanks to the continued generosity of H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, a number of distinguished scholars from the Continent were again invited to read papers on the influences of Indian art in the other countries of Asia. Other important lectures were given by Dr. E. Cohn-Wiener, Mr. F. H. Andrews, and Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon. As usual these papers were printed in *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*, and thus made available to those members who were unable to attend the lectures in person, and to the public.

The full list of lectures is as follows :

January 24.—Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers (Reader in the Comparative Archæology of Greater India at the University of Leyden) on "Hindu-Javanese Bronzes." At the Royal Asiatic Society. Sir Francis Young-husband presided.

February 28.—Dr. E. Cohn-Wiener on "Islamic Architecture in Central Asia

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and its Connection with India." At the Royal Society. Sir Francis Younghusband presided.

May 30.—Mlle. Jeanne Cuisinier on "The Sacred Books of India and the Malay and Siamese Theatres." At the Royal Society. Mr. John de La Valette presided.

June 18.—Dr. Arnold A. Bake on "Different Aspects of Indian Music." At 22, Hyde Park Square, by courtesy of Mrs. Emile Mond. The Marquess of Zetland presided.

July 11.—Mr. Fred H. Andrews, O.B.E., on "Central Asian Wall-Paintings." At the Royal Society. Sir Aurel Stein presided.

July 27.—Monsieur Victor Goloubeff (of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient) on "Angkor in the Ninth Century." At the Rubens Hotel. Sir Francis Younghusband presided. H.E. the French Ambassador was present.

October 22.—Dr. J. Kunst (Keeper of the Musicological Collection of the Royal Batavian Society, Java) on "Javanese Music." At the Netherlands Legation. Sir Francis Younghusband presided. H.E. the Netherlands Minister and Mme. de Marees van Swinderen were present.

November 21.—Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, K.i.H., R.B.C., I.E.S. (Director, Government School of Art, Bombay; Curator, Art Section, Prince of Wales' Museum of Western India) on "Modern Art in Western India." At the Royal Society. Mr. John de La Valette presided.

PUBLICATIONS

The usual two half-yearly numbers of the Society's Journal, *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*, have been issued, and contained the Proceedings of the Society, together with special articles, book reviews and numerous illustrations. Thanks to generous support from H.H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir the number of illustrations in the Journal has been increased during recent years.

The programme of the Society includes the immediate issue of an illustrated volume on "Indian Influences in Old Balinese Art," written by Dr. Willem Stutterheim, the Society's energetic representative in the Netherlands East Indies. A work on the pictorial art of the Deccan, by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, is in active preparation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Society is under a debt of gratitude to H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and H.H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, for their continued and greatly valued financial support, without which the Society could not have developed the special activities to which their Highnesses' contributions are respectively devoted.

Valued financial support for the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art was received from H.H. the Maharaja of Cutch, H.H. the Aga Khan and Messrs. Yule, Catto and Company, Ltd.; an earlier contribution by H.H. the Maharaja

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of Bhavnagar was acknowledged last year. Even with these generous donations, the Exhibition accounts show that this venture entailed an expenditure on the part of the Society which cannot be defrayed out of its normal revenue. It is therefore clear that a repetition of such an undertaking in the future will depend upon an adequate measure of financial support.

The Society is again under obligation to the Association Française des Amis de l'Orient in Paris, and to the Vereeniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst in Amsterdam, for valuable collaboration during the year.

FINANCE

The Council submit herewith the audited accounts for the year ended December 31, 1934. The most noticeable feature of the Balance Sheet is a reduction of the capital account from £916 3s. 8d. to £623 14s. 5d. To the extent of £257 9s. 2d. this reduction is due to the excess of expenditure over income on the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art. This liability, although not met within 1934, was incurred during that year, so that it has been necessary to provide a reserve for it. The details of the Exhibition account show that this adverse balance was arrived at after allowing £175 from donations, but without taking into account the sum of £50 from H.H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar previously credited to current income. The Council felt that the excellent results achieved by this Exhibition fully warranted the expenditure incurred.

The value of the Society's invested funds increased from £871 14s. to £908 11s. 6d. We cannot contemplate without misgiving any substantial reduction of our investments in view of the fact that a sum of £781 4s. on the Balance Sheet represents the reserve for Life Subscriptions.

Consequently the Council drew attention to the unsatisfactory relation between the Society's normal annual expenditure and the income from members' subscriptions. The averages for the four years 1931 to 1934 inclusive are as follows :

Administration and General Expenses	...	...	...	£231 per annum.
Printing of INDIAN ART AND LETTERS and of Special Publications, distributed free to members	...	...	...	482 "
Lectures (not including those under H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar's Fund)	...	...	...	71 "
Regular Average Annual Expenditure on the above items alone	...	...	...	<u>£784</u> "

Against this the annual subscriptions paid by members amounted in 1931 to £388, falling in the subsequent years to respectively £369, £337, and £299,

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figures which are all substantially less than the cost of the publications distributed free to members. The balance has been made good by generous donors. It is hoped that such generosity will continue also in the future to render the important undertakings of the Society possible. But quite clearly a strong effort on the part of members is required in obtaining new members. The existing membership requires large augmentation, if the Society's activities are to be maintained and, indeed, expanded as they should be. It is hoped that members will give this matter their serious consideration, and take steps to interest their friends in the Society's work.

Members will have noted with satisfaction the growth in the volume and in the number of illustrations in *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*, a development which has raised the cost of production from £221 in 1932 to £346 7s. 11d. in 1934. Towards this H.H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir was pleased to make a special donation of £50 per annum.

It will also be seen that the annual donation from H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda again enabled the Council to spend £99 1s. 3d. on special lectures. These, together with the Society's normal lectures, are published in *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*.

The Council desire to record their gratitude to the Hon. Secretary and the Hon. Treasurer, whose exertions permitted of so much work being performed at such a small cost. It is obvious that without the expert knowledge and assistance readily given by its members as occasion requires it would not be possible for the Society's activities to be effectively carried on.

AUDITORS

The Council desire to record their thanks to the auditors, Messrs. Rushton, Osborne and Co. (chartered accountants), for valued services in preparing the accounts.

COUNCIL

The Council regret to have to report the loss sustained through the death of Mr. E. B. Havell, one of the founders of the Society, and until recently an energetic and active member of the Council. His works made a lasting contribution to the securing of recognition for the importance and value of Indian art. Whatever changes subsequent researches may bring about in respect to some of the theories he advanced, there can be no doubt that Indians will remain under a debt of gratitude to him for the work which he did for the recognition of Indian art, while all those who were privileged to work with him will retain happy memories of his enthusiasm and devotion to the cause he had embraced.

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Mr. Basil Gray, of the British Museum, was co-opted a member of the Council under Rule IV. Further, under this Rule, the following members of the Council retire, but, being eligible, are proposed for re-election :

Sir William Foster, Mr. H. Hargreaves, Mr. Harold Speed, Professor F. W. Thomas, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson, Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, and Sir Robert Witt.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

It will be seen that the present is the Society's Twenty-fifth Annual Report, as it was founded in the year of H.M. the King-Emperor's accession. Much has been accomplished during that time towards the achievement of the Society's aims. In fact, the Society's early objective to gain recognition for India's contribution to the stock of the world's artistic treasure may be considered as fully attained. There is still need for a wider spreading of knowledge of the detailed aspects of Indian art, and for support of its development in practice ; but the battle for recognition has been won. It is therefore necessary to revise the Society's future policy, as well as to shape it in consonance with the developments now taking place in India. To this important matter the Council will give its earnest attention.

Meanwhile the Council desire to take this opportunity of expressing the gratitude which the Society owes, not only to those of its members, past and present, whose energetic activities have enabled it to achieve such great success with so slender financial means at their disposal, but especially to the successive Presidents, Honorary Secretaries and Honorary Treasurers of the Society upon whom such a great part of the burden of its work has fallen.

Arrangements are being made to provide in a future issue of INDIAN ART AND LETTERS an outline of our proposed activities in the period which lies ahead. It is hoped that this will provide members with an incentive and the means to further the Society's work by considerably increasing its roll of members ; for it is only on the basis of an enlarged membership that the Society can hope to undertake the great tasks that await it during the second quarter-century of its existence.

FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND,
Chairman.

JOHN DE LA VALETTE,
Vice-Chairman.

June 17, 1935.

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INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED
DECEMBER 31, 1934

EXPENDITURE.		INCOME.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Printing of INDIAN ART AND LETTERS	... 346 7 11	By Annual Subscriptions	... 299 18 4
" Books Purchased for Re-sale ...	... 21 0 11	" Sale of INDIAN ART AND LETTERS	...
" <i>Lecture Meeting Expenses</i>: ...	...	and Books	70 3 6
H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar's	...	" <i>Interest on Deposits</i> :	...
Lecture Fund ...	... 99 1 3	Post Office Savings	... 12 17 6
General Lectures ...	... 66 14 8	Bank Deposit	... 0 9 11
" Secretary's Honorarium	... 165 15 11	" <i>Dividends on Investments</i> (less In-	...
" Advertising ...	... 50 0 0	come Tax)	...
" Postage and Sundries	... 2 2 0	" <i>Annual Grants and Special Gifts</i> :	...
" Telephone ...	... 67 17 0	H.E.H. the Nizam of Hydera-	...
" Office Rent and Administration Expenses	... 7 8 11	bad ...	100 0 0
" Audit Fee ...	... 70 0 0	H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar	...
" Subscriptions to Societies	... 7 7 0	of Baroda	97 18 5
" Corporation Duty ...	... 2 12 1	H.H. the Maharaja of Kash-	...
" Reserve for excess of Expenditure over Income on	... 3 11 4	mir ...	50 0 0
Exhibition of Modern Indian Art, 1934	...	" <i>Increases in Valuation at December 31,</i>	247 18 5
	... 257 9 2	1934:	...
		Canadian Northern Railway	24 0 0
		Co. Stock	...
		Stock of Books	3 11 4
		" Life Subscriptions lapsed	27 11 4
		" <i>Excess of Expenditure over In-</i>	37 16 0
		come for the Year	292 9 3
	<u>£1,001 12 3</u>		<u>£1,001 12 3</u>

EXHIBITION OF MODERN INDIAN ART, 1934

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

EXPENDITURE.		INCOME.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Rent of Gallery ...	190 0 0	By <i>Donations towards Expenses:</i>	
" Clerical and Secretarial assistance ...	45 11 9	H.H. The Maharao of Cutch	100 0 0
" Advertising and Publicity ...	24 2 6	H.H. The Aga Khan ...	50 0 0
" Printing of Catalogue, Leaflets, and Notices ...	69 10 11	Messrs. Yule, Catto and Co.	25 0 0
" Unpacking, storing, and re-packing of exhibits; insurance; workmen and attendants; administrative and general organization expenses ...	182 3 8	" <i>Commission on Sales of Pictures</i>	175 0 0
		" <i>Admission Fees and Sales of Catalogues ...</i>	17 14 2
		" <i>Excess of Expenditure over Income ...</i>	61 5 6
			257 9 2
			<u>£511 8 10</u>

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BALANCE SHEET

(AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1934)

LIABILITIES.		£	s.	d.	ASSETS.		£	s.	d.
<i>Sundry Creditors</i>	7 10 0	Cash in Hand	2 10 10	
<i>Reserve for Excess of Expenditure over Income on Exhibition of Modern Indian Art, 1934</i>	...	...	...	257 9 2	Cash at Bank:				
					Current Account	...	...	249 6 4	
					Deposit Account	...	...	101 5 5	
<i>Life Subscriptions Account:</i>									353 2 7
<i>Balance as at January 1, 1934</i>	...	768	12	0	H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar's Lecture Fund	...	...	18 9	
<i>Add Receipts to December 31, 1934</i>	...	50	8	0	H.E.H. the Nizam's Publication Fund	...	...	5 9 9	
		819	0	0	Modern Indian Art for British Galleries	...	...	14 5 0	
<i>Less Lapsed during Year</i>	...	37	16	0	Central Museum for Oriental Art	...	...	7 8 8	
									28 2 2
<i>Capital Account:</i>					<i>Investments:</i>				
<i>Surplus as at January 1, 1934</i>	...	916	3	8	£400 4 per cent. Canadian Northern Railway Stock (as per valuation December 31, 1934)	...	...	380 0 0	
<i>Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for the Year</i>	...	292	9	3	Post Office Savings	...	...	528 11 6	
					<i>Stock of Books</i>	...	...	...	908 11 6
									380 1 4
									£1,669 17 7

JOHN DE LA VALETTE } *Members of the Council.*
F. H. BROWN }

We report to the members that we have examined the foregoing Income and Expenditure account and Balance Sheet with the books of the Society, and vouchers relating thereto, and have verified the Investments and Cash Balances. The Reserve for the excess of expenditure over the income on the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art represents the loss as at present ascertained. Subject to this remark we are of the opinion that the above Balance Sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the Society according to the best of our information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society.

RUSHTON, OSBORNE AND CO.,
Chartered Accountants.

May 28, 1935.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

THE twenty-fifth annual meeting of the India Society was held on Monday, June 17, 1935, at India House (by courtesy of the High Commissioner for India). In the unavoidable absence of the Marquess of Zetland, Sir Francis Younghusband presided at the meeting.

The Chairman moved the adoption of the Annual Report. After discussion and some small amendments the motion was carried unanimously.

The Chairman then moved the adoption of the Annual Accounts. The motion was carried *nem. con.*

The Chairman proposed a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. de la Valette, Mr. Andrews and Mr. Heath for their work in connection with the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art. The vote was carried unanimously.

The Chairman moved, and Miss Cumming seconded, the election of the following office-bearers of the Society:

President: The Marquess of Zetland.

Vice-Presidents: Sir John Marshall, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, Jonkheer de Maress van Swinderen, Mrs. Rhys Davids, H.E. The Persian Minister, Professor Paul Pelliot, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Dr. Denman W. Ross, Sir Eric Maclagan, H.E. The French Ambassador, H.E. The Japanese Ambassador, The Director of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Sir George Hill, The Viscount Halifax, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Sir Atul Chatterjee, Sir Denison Ross, The High Commissioner for India, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, M. Aimé Joseph de Fleuriau, H.H. Prince Bidya, M. Robin, Mr. Laurence Binyon.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. F. J. P. Richter.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. F. H. Brown.

Mrs. Rhys Davids moved, and Mr. A. A. Bake seconded, the election of the following members of Council, who retire by rotation, and were eligible for re-election:

Sir William Foster.	Prof. F. W. Thomas.	Mr. L. F. Rushbrook
Mr. H. Hargreaves.	Mr. W. F. Westbrook.	Williams.
Mr. Harold Speed.	Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson.	Sir Robert Witt.

Sir William Foster proposed, and Mr. Polak seconded, the appointment as Auditors for the ensuing year of Messrs. Rushton, Osborne and Co. (Chartered Accountants). The motion was carried unanimously.

BOOK REVIEW

Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the Year 1930. By Dr. M. H. KRISHNA. 24 plates. (Mysore Government Press, Bangalore.)

This is the second volume of the new series of reports in the form adopted by the present Director of Archaeological Researches, and it maintains the high standard of the preceding volume. The work done during the year 1930 included the survey of some fifteen monuments and of important ancient sites, the examination of coins and manuscripts, and the collection of more than one hundred inscriptions. The monuments newly surveyed included a fine star-shaped three-celled Hoysala temple at Ane-Kannambadi, the Hoysalesvara and Kedāreśvara temples at Halebid, and the beautiful, but smaller, temple to Īśvara at Arsikere. The sites surveyed and explored included Chandravalli, Brahmagiri, Siddāpur, and Jatiṅga-Rāmeśa in the Chitaldrug district, and the area of the old capital of Dorasamudra at Halebid in the Hasan district. The excavations at Chandravalli were continued from the preceding year, but the number of objects collected and brought to Mysore are so numerous that study of them could not be completed, and hence the present report contains no account of the work there. The trial excavations carried out near the Brahmagiri Rock Edict of Aśoka have revealed the existence of at least four different inhabited layers. The first or uppermost layer contains the stone walls of Hāneya, a fortified Chālukyan town of about 1100 A.D.; the second, the ruins of the Aśokan town of Isila of about 250 B.C.; in the third are vestiges of a prehistoric iron age town; while in the fourth, or lowest layer, remains of such remarkable age and character have been discovered that Dr. Krishna's description of them may be quoted. "These last," he writes, "come from a stone age settlement of the late microlithic period, yielding numerous pygmy implements of chert, chalcidony and other varieties of stones, among which can be identified a tanged crystal arrow-head, finely retouched knife-blades, scrapers and small well-ground flat celts, triangular in shape. These are associated with shell and bone beads and coarse rough, dark-ware pottery made up of clay freely mixed with mica. The potsherds are varied, showing marks of sunburning and firing, handmaking and turning on the wheel.

"That the South Indians had a knowledge of copper and iron even at this remote epoch is known from the occurrence of a copper fishing-hook and iron slag pieces. The condition of culture appears to be much earlier than that found in the excavated levels in the Indus valley and is probably akin to the pygmy flint culture of the Vindhya mountains."

Archæologists will eagerly await the publication of a detailed account of the excavations at this site, with photographs of the objects recovered.

We notice that Dr. Krishna refers to the ruins found in the second layer as those of "the Aśokan town of Isila." It will be interesting to learn if any new evidence is forthcoming to establish the identification of this town, the only hitherto known mention of which is contained in the local Aśokan inscriptions discovered by Mr. Rice in 1892.

In Part III. (Numismatics) some of the Vijayanagara coins of the Tuluva rulers, Krishna Rāya and Achyuta Rāya, are figured and described; while in Part IV. (Manuscripts) a very full summary has been given of an important Kannada MS., entitled *Haidar-nāma*, containing an account of the events in the life of Haidar Ali written by a contemporary biographer, probably a Hindu officer associated with his Government. Part V., comprising the bulk of the volume (pp. 107-295), deals with the inscriptions collected, giving the texts with transliterations, and translations or summaries of the contents. The oldest, and in some ways most interesting, of these are No. 88, the Kūḍalūr plates of Mādhavavarma of c. 475 A.D.; No. 3, the Keregālūr plates of Mādhava II.; and No. 36, the Devarahalli stone inscription of Prince Durvinita. The informa-

Book Review

tion contained in these records concerning the history and genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas and their relations with the Pallavas has been ably analyzed and discussed by Dr. Krishna. Examination of Plate XXIII. impels us to congratulate the editor on his decipherment of this valuable early lithic record, the first of its kind to furnish the genealogy of these Gaṅgas down to the time of Śivamāra.

Dr. Krishna must be complimented on the results of his second year's work as Director, as well as on the quality of his report, which has been carefully edited, clearly printed, and illustrated by well-produced plates. The delay in its publication has been explained in the preface. Having regard to the high value of the work being done by the department under Dr. Krishna's guidance, we hope the Mysore Government will see its way to allowing the annual reports to continue to be published in the present form ; and we look forward to the early appearance of the succeeding years' reports as promised, and to the publication of the special monographs on the architecture of the State.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE INDIA SOCIETY

"THE ancient history and the art of India are of unique interest in the history of human endeavour." These words are taken from the reply of His Majesty King George V. to the address presented to him on the opening of the School of Oriental Studies on February 23, 1917. The India Society is anxious to give, within the limits of its opportunities and resources, practical application to this noteworthy utterance, and invites the adhesion of all who sympathize and agree with it.

OBJECTS

The INDIA SOCIETY was founded in the year 1910 by a small body of scholars, artists, and men of letters (both English and Indian) with the object of promoting in the West and in India itself a better appreciation and understanding of the historic culture of India, especially as represented in the Arts. During the years which followed the Society has won for its work the sympathy and active support of a distinguished body of members, including several of the ruling Princes of India, together with leaders in art, literature, and the public services in many quarters of the world.

It holds itself entirely aloof from the political controversies of the day, and seeks to unite its members, and all whom its influence can reach, in the study and admiration of those aspects of Indian culture whose beauty and nobility can be recognized and appreciated by all.

LECTURES AND CONFERENCES

Lectures at which papers are read by leading British, Indian, and Continental specialists, have become a regular and important feature of the Society's activities. In order that members resident abroad may be able to share in the benefit of these Lectures, papers and proceedings are published from time to time in *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*, together with additional articles from the Society's correspondents abroad, and book reviews. Visits to private collections of Oriental Art are also arranged. Exhibitions are organized from time to time. An Exhibition of Modern Indian Art was held in December, 1934.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP

The Annual Subscription for members who join after December 31, 1928, is One and a half Guineas (£1 11s. 6d.), payable on election, and on January 1 of each succeeding year. Life Subscription, Twelve Guineas. *Cheques should be made payable to "The India Society" and crossed "Lloyds Bank."* Forms of application for membership can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, 3, Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1. Members receive *free* in return for their subscription (i) an annual volume of the Society on Indian Art or Literature, (ii) the Journal of the Society, entitled *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*, and, when in Great Britain, invitations to the Society's lectures and meetings, or to those of the Association Française des Amis de l'Orient, whilst staying in Paris or Strasbourg.

Similar facilities on the Continent are offered to members by Les Amis de l'Orient in Brussels and Der Vereeniging Van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst in Amsterdam. Members should, however, in each case first write to the Hon. Secretary of the India Society for a letter of introduction to these foreign societies.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

To THE HON. SECRETARY,
THE INDIA SOCIETY,
3 VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, S.W. 1.

SIR,

I desire to become {an Ordinary Member
a Life Member} of THE INDIA SOCIETY, and shall be glad if you will
bring my name before the Committee at their next Meeting.

Name and full designation, as it should
appear in the List of Members {

Full permanent address

Date

My temporary address until is:

Members are invited to pay their subscriptions by means of the Society's Banker's Form.
Cheques should be made payable to "The India Society" and crossed "Lloyds Bank."

I enclose my subscription for { Life Membership, £12 12s. od.
Ordinary " £1 11s. 6d.

BANKER'S FORM

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Messrs.*

Address

Please pay to the INDIA SOCIETY'S ACCOUNT at LLOYDS BANK, 38A, VICTORIA
STREET, LONDON, S.W. 1, my Annual Subscription of One and a half Guineas now, and on
the 1st of January every succeeding year unless otherwise ordered.

(Signed)

£1 11s. 6d.

This Order to be filled in by the Member, signed, and returned to the Hon. Treasurer,
INDIA SOCIETY, 3 Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1.

* Fill in Name and Address of your Banker.

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TWENTY-THREE PLATES OF ILLUSTRATIONS



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Indian Art and Letters

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DISCOVERY OF CHOLA FRESCOS IN TANJORE

BY O. C. GANGOLY

DURING the last few years our knowledge of the history of Indian painting has grown and become so widened, thanks to the discovery of many new documents and data, monumental as well as literary, that it has been difficult on the part of the ordinary students of Indian culture to keep pace with it. But it is doubtful whether our specialists and official archaeologists have half realized the significance of the discovery of the remarkable body of wall-paintings which was announced in 1930. The credit of this discovery belongs to Mr. S. K. Govindasvami, a young lecturer of the Annamalai University.

These frescoes have been found on the walls on both sides of the circum-ambulating passage (*pradakṣiṇa paṭha*) which runs round the *garvagriha* of the main shrine of the Brihadīśvara Temple, otherwise known as the Rājārājesvara Temple, and is popularly famous under the name of the Great Temple of Tanjore (Tanjāvur, Tanchāpuri), the capital city of the Chōla kings in the tenth century. As testified by numerous inscriptions, the temple represents the religious aspirations and the spiritual dream of Rājārāja the Great (A.D. 984-1020?), who raised Chōla power to the highest pinnacle of its glory. The temple must have taken several years to build, and according to an inscription "it was in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, A.D. 1009-10, on the two hundred and seventy-fifth day of the year, that the king handed over the copper pot for the finial at the top (*kalāṣa*) of the *vimāna*."*

The most important areas of the frescoes are on the back of the eastern wall of the *sanctum*, on either side of a remarkable figure of Naṭarāja, placed at the middle of this wall. The passage is absolutely dark, except for a perforated opening opposite the figure, but this is hardly sufficient to light any portion of the frescoes, which have to be examined with artificial lights. Very much in the manner of the newly discovered frescoes at Elūrā,† the

* "It appears that the construction of the temple began in the nineteenth year and that a considerable portion of it was completed by the twenty-third year. On the two hundred and seventy-fifth day of the twenty-fifth year the king presented a copper pot to be placed on the pinnacle of the central shrine. We may conclude from this that the topmost portion of the central shrine must have been ready by that time, for, so far as the central shrine was concerned, the fixing of the copper pot on the pinnacle would have been the last thing to be done."—V. Venkayya, Introduction, p. 5, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. ii., 1916.

† D. V. Thomson, "Preliminary Note on Some Early Hindu Paintings," *Rupam*.

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earlier frescoes in this temple (which we propose to describe in this article) were covered by a thick coating of later frescoes, probably executed during the rule of the Nāyakas in the sixteenth century. And it is the peeling off of these later frescoes at some places that has revealed the painting underneath, executed on the face of the stone wall on a thin priming of *chunam* (lime). There can be little doubt that these frescoes were executed shortly after the completion of the temple, and must be regarded as contemporary evidence of the quality of the art of painting current in this part of Southern India during the reign of Rājārāja the Great.

Having regard to the innumerable donations that this great Chōla king made to cover all possible items of services to the temple—from every kind of gold ornaments and jewellery to flower gardens and temple servants—minutely described and recorded in the network of donative inscriptions on the walls of the various parts of the temples, one would expect to find some references to these wall paintings to corroborate their authenticity. Unfortunately the records so far published do not seem to throw any light on these remarkable pictorial decorations. Inscription No. 6 of Rājārāja (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II., p. 73) records a donation of six thousand *karanjū* of gold “for decorating the sacred hall which (the goddess) Umāparameśvarī who is the consort of our lord Dakṣiṇa-Meru-Viṭankar, and (the goddess) Umāparameśvarī who is the consort of our lord Tanjai Viṭankar, are pleased to enter, when they are carried in procession (at) the sacred festival (*tiru-virā*).” But it is impossible to deduce any reference to wall paintings in this vague expression of “decorating.”

Probably search in other parts of the main shrine may bring to light some inscription containing actual references to these frescoes. That frescoes (*bhitti-citra*) were regarded as necessary ceremonial decorations on the occasion of the first installation and consecration of a temple is supported by texts bearing on the subject. Mr. S. Srikantayya* cites a relevant text, which is worth quoting here : “Images on the Gopura, Prākāra, Vimāna, Mantapa, Balipīṭha, Dhvajasthambha Dīpasthambha, *images written on cloth, on walls (pateva bhitti-citreva)*, images made of mortar, in wood, or of earth, before ceremony of installation, for the performance of the Abhisheka (lustration) will become purified on being shown in the mirror, and their reflections being properly bathed as prescribed.”

The largest areas of the early frescoes revealed are on the right section of the wall, between two pilasters, one of which is visible on the right of the illustration (facing page 93). The *tour de force* of this part of the painting is a remarkable procession of an elephant, striding in mighty grandeur, carrying a figure seated near the neck. The man is represented as playing on a pair of small cymbals.

* “The Symbolism of the Hindu Temples,” *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. xi., 1921, p. 228.

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He wears moustaches and has his hair tucked up in a circular bundle on the back of his head, which is elaborately decorated with a garland of flowers. He wears ear-pendants, pearl bracelets, and necklaces. The elephant is also loaded with trappings and decorations, of which the most noticeable are the painted networks with pearl festoons on the crown of the head and the breast-plate carrying the usual strings of bells. A curious feature of the painting of the elephant's head is the representation of moustaches. Mr. Govindaswami has suggested that the seated figure on the elephant may represent Rājārāja himself taking part in some ceremony connected with the initial installation of the shrine. Whether the figure represents the king or not, there is little doubt that the scene represents some important ceremony connected with the installation, as the position of this group is in close proximity to a representation of the shrine, with a painted image of Naṭarāja (not included in the photograph) in front of the temple.

The elephant is led by a vigorously moving figure riding on a horse, looking back and flourishing a stick with a little festoon on its end, very much in the manner of similar equestrian figures met with in the frescoes of Ajaṇṭā. The drawing of the elephant, in long sweeping curves, also recalls the best manner and the technique of the Buddhist frescoes.

That this procession is of some paramount religious significance is further attested by a group of singing heavenly beings riding on a cloud, the curling tails of which reach the head of the elephant rider. Though separated by the outlines of the cloud from the rest of the composition, the chorus of singing and dancing nymphs forms part of the pageant, and is obviously related to the story illustrated in the picture. One is tempted to suggest that the fresco represents in pictorial form the installation of the Rājārājeśvara *liṅgam*, in the Śrī-Vimāna of the Great Temple in the year 1009 A.D., an event later recorded in the popular form of a drama. "This grand undertaking of Rājārāja must have created an admiration for him in the minds of his subjects. In later times the several incidents connected with the foundation of the Rājārājeśvara temple and its equipments appear in themselves to have become the theme of a popular story. For, in the fourth year of Rājendradeva (*i.e.*, 1055 A.D.), we are told that the provision was made for the performance of the drama *Rajārājeśvara-Nāṭaka* on one of the festive days in the temple."*

The chorus of nymphs, with each individual figure distinctively posed with remarkable grace and vitality, is undoubtedly the masterpiece of this group of frescoes. In gesture, jewellery, decoration, and dresses (with strings of pearls standing out against their dark brown complexion), these figures, in conception and execution, are related to the Buddhist frescoes of Ajaṇṭā; yet in treatment of form and in vitality of conception they are free from any

* V. Venkayya, Introduction, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. ii., p. 11, footnote.

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suggestion of a repetition of earlier formulas, such as is evident in the frescoes of Śigiriya. The painters of these frescoes, though continuing an earlier tradition, have been using a pictorial language which was their own vernacular, having a fluency and a flexibility of its own, not reproducing the fixed formula of an archaic, or dead, language. They invite comparison with the contemporary Pāla paintings of the Bengali and Nepalese Buddhist miniatures on the one hand, and the frescoes of Sittanavasal on the other. They have greater affinity, both in technique and in style, to the remains of the latter frescoes of the Pallava period, and have to be regarded as the continuation of the pictorial traditions of the Pallava epoch. Curiously, though on the brink of the mediæval period, these Choḷa frescoes hardly reveal any traces of a tendency to descend from the best manner of classical Indian painting. In their romantic vision, conception, and grandeur, the indications of inheritance from Ajaṇṭā are more marked than the pronouncedly mediæval character of the ninth century Vaiṣṇava fresco at Elūrā. Of the seven members of the chorus of the cloudland, the most striking is the central figure, performing a complicated gyration, very skilfully depicted by his twisted body, recalling similar figures in stone relief on the façade of the Virūpākṣa Temple at Paṭṭadakal (c. 740 A.D.). To his left is a pair of *apsarases* (?) conceived in very lively gestures, emphasized by profuse strings of pearls which decorate their nimble limbs, descending from their shoulders and running round their busts and upper and lower arms. Of the four figures on the left, one is playing on a pair of large flat cymbals, while the next is a spirited drummer, with his right hand about to descend on his drum that hangs from his neck. The next figure is also a drummer flourishing a *damaru*, a diminutive drum associated with Śiva. On the upper tier, apparently related to the same group, is a dwarf form of a *gaṇa* (a member of Śiva's demon army), portrayed in the conventional form met with both at Ajaṇṭā and on the reliefs of the caves at Bāḃāmi. But the most significant feature of the upper group is the richly caparisoned form of a seated bull, Śiva's *nandi*. It seems to be enjoying a rest, having deposited its rider after a strenuous journey. Does it possibly suggest that, answering the prayers of his faithful devotee Rājarāja—*Śiva-pāda-śekhara* ('he whose crown is the feet of Śiva')—the Lord of Kailāsa has descended from his heavenly abode to reside in the superb temple erected by his devotee?

Under the effect of the superimposed frescoes of the later periods, the original colour schemes have been somewhat submerged by a haze of lime-wash, owing to which it is difficult to characterize the exact colour-values of the original. The complexion of some of the groups follows the deep brown and copper shades of the Ajaṇṭā figures. In some groups the complexion of the figures is golden yellow, with the details drawn in pink and yellow

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ochre. The background in most places has assumed a pinkish white shade, the result of the superimposed frescoes.

On the corresponding wall on the right of the Naṭaraja figure is a fine group of standing devotees, echoing each other in similar gestures with joined hands (*añjali-hasta*). Though conceived in static poses, the figures are extremely sensitive in form, and vibrate with an intensity of religious fervour, which lends them a superb grandeur and dignity. They have long, drooping eyes, with large pupils and emphatic eyelashes, with their hair tied in big circular tufts hanging over their left shoulders, and balancing their heads with remarkable grace and power. They seem to recall similar types in the frescoes of Ajaṇṭā. The coiffure is rather peculiar, and is not paralleled in contemporary stone sculpture, though similar tufts are known in Malabar and in Orissa. In most of the traditional bronze portraits of Chola princesses in the temples of the Tanjore district the tufts are worn high over the head. The figures seem to represent types rather than individuals, otherwise one might hazard a guess that they might possibly be portraits of the queens of Rājārāja. One item of their ornaments deserves notice. The figures wear a long tapering bracelet with a straight band across the rings. This ornament comes next to the *valaya*, and covers the greater part of the lower arm. It is frequently met with in the figures of Sāñchi and Bharhut, and in the sculptures of Mathurā. It survives in the jewellery still worn in Rājputānā and in Northern India and, till recently, in Bengal, where it is known as *bāntī*. It also occurs in many sculptures in Orissa between the tenth and twelfth centuries, and appears to have been a fashionable item of jewellery in Northern India. It occurs in many of the figures at Ajaṇṭā, from which it may have been derived. Mr. Govindaswami informed the writer that this ornament is not known to be current in Southern India. Rajendralala Mitra (*Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I., 1881, p. 234, fig. 76), identifies this ornament as *śankha*, the most indispensable and significant ornament for a married woman in Northern India (corresponding to the *tālī* in Southern India). "It is formed by cutting the shell into amulets, and eight or ten of them are arranged in a tapering form and then mounted with gold beads, bosses and other decorations." In a much shorter form, it is found on the arms of the bronze portrait of Sola-ma-devī, one of the queens of Rājārāja in the Śiva temple at Kalahasti.*

This fine group has been somewhat badly damaged by wanton pilgrims, but we can guess the sensitive quality of the designs of the head from another group on the opposite wall, still covered by the layers of later frescoes. Their large expressive eyes, the beauty of which is enhanced by the fine curves of

* Fig. 12, p. 37, *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, by T. G. Aravamuthan, 1931 (India Society).

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the eyebrows, are echoed by the finer curves of the contours of the cheeks and of the chins, which are again re-echoed by the emphatic curves of the pearl-strings, which stand out clearly against the brown complexion of the figures.

Very near to this group is another patch of frescoes depicting a row of seated women in a very animated and closely-knit composition. Judged by the patterns of their faces, ornaments, and jewellery, they seem to belong to another type. The models of the faces, with long eyes, sensitive lips, and fine chins, also recall in some respects the manner of Ajaṇṭā. Their thickly laid necklaces (*upagrīvas*) practically cover their chests and lend a piquancy to the figures. Could they be taken to represent a group of dancers, of which a long string of names are recorded in the inscriptions on this temple? There is ample evidence here, whether we regard these frescoes as the continuation of the tradition of Ajaṇṭā or not, that the fame of the Buddhist artists of Central India had been richly upheld by their successors in the south, who were in no way inferior to the monk-artists of the cave-temples in vision, imagination, or technique. They have indeed upheld the glories of Indian painting at a high level at so late a time as the eleventh century.

By way of comparison* we may refer here to a piece of the later frescoes (probably executed during the rule of the Tanjore Nāyakas) which covered up the earlier Chola paintings. It is on the wall on the left side of the corridor, opposite the fresco of the elephant. It seems to represent the epic of the wars of the gods and the demons, the leading part being taken by Durgā as Mahiṣāsura-mardini. The eighteen-handed goddess thrusting her spear to kill the demon is seen on the left side of the frieze. The male figure at the other end is probably Virabhadra followed by his soldiers, all wearing conical headdresses. Though there is considerable animation in the rendering of the figures, the quality of the line has lost its old classic grace and its monumental character, and stands on a far lower level as compared with the earlier Chola paintings. These remarkable survivals of early eleventh-century frescoes, justifying as they do the finest features of Indian pictorial conceptions, prove the immense energy and vitality of Indian pictorial tradition, flashing into new flame under conditions and in an atmosphere wholly different from those inspiring the Buddhist frescoes of the Northern School.†

* Other remains of wall paintings which deserve comparison with the frescoes on the walls round the *sanctum* of the central shrine of the Brihadiśvara temple, with a view to a discovery of possible affinities, are: (1) the paintings in the Kailāsanāth temple at Conjeeveram, of which tracings have been obtained recently (see *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1930-31, p. 1, and p. 37 Appendix D); (2) the paintings in the hall at the hippodrome gate in Tanjore (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. iii., pp. 15 f.).

† The writer is indebted to Mr. Govindaswami for assistance in obtaining the photograph illustrating this article.

HINDU-JAVANESE BRONZES*

BY A. J. BERNET KEMPERS

I AM very grateful for the opportunity that has been accorded me to say a few words to the members of this distinguished Society about Hindu-Javanese bronzes. Practically nothing has been written about this subject in any other language than Dutch. Yet it seems to me that these bronzes richly deserve your interest, for they possess a high æsthetic value, and may be regarded as being of great importance from the point of view of Indian iconography. There is one aspect which I want especially to discuss in this lecture. It is the fact that these bronzes are a characteristic and typical expression of the ancient Hindu-Javanese civilization.

This civilization had been created and developed by a people which was descended partly from Indians, partly from Indonesians. It contains, consequently, elements of both cultures. One of the most interesting problems of Javanese history is the study of the ways in which these elements have been fused up into a new entity. I shall try to give you an impression of the manner in which this process has evolved in the case of the bronzes. My argument must needs be more or less sketchy, since it is not yet possible to fix the chronological order of the data which I shall quote in the evolution of Hindu-Javanese bronzes in general. Unfortunately, very little is known so far about this evolution. I have therefore to deal with Hindu-Javanese bronzes as a whole, without assigning them to different periods or arranging them according to local types. I can only give you one indication as regards their date—that is, that Hindu-Javanese art so far as we know it covers the period from about A.D. 750 to 1450. Most of the bronzes which we shall discuss date from the earlier centuries of this period.

To avoid being too abstract, I think there is no better way of beginning than showing you some Hindu-Javanese bronzes. They may serve as an introduction to this class of Eastern Art. Many of you, I am sure, have seen the fine collection which Raffles brought back from Java, now in the British Museum. Such an introduction will be unnecessary for them.

I have already mentioned two reasons why Hindu-Javanese bronzes occupy a worthy position in the art of "Greater India": their artistic beauty and their interesting iconography. The following instances will make this

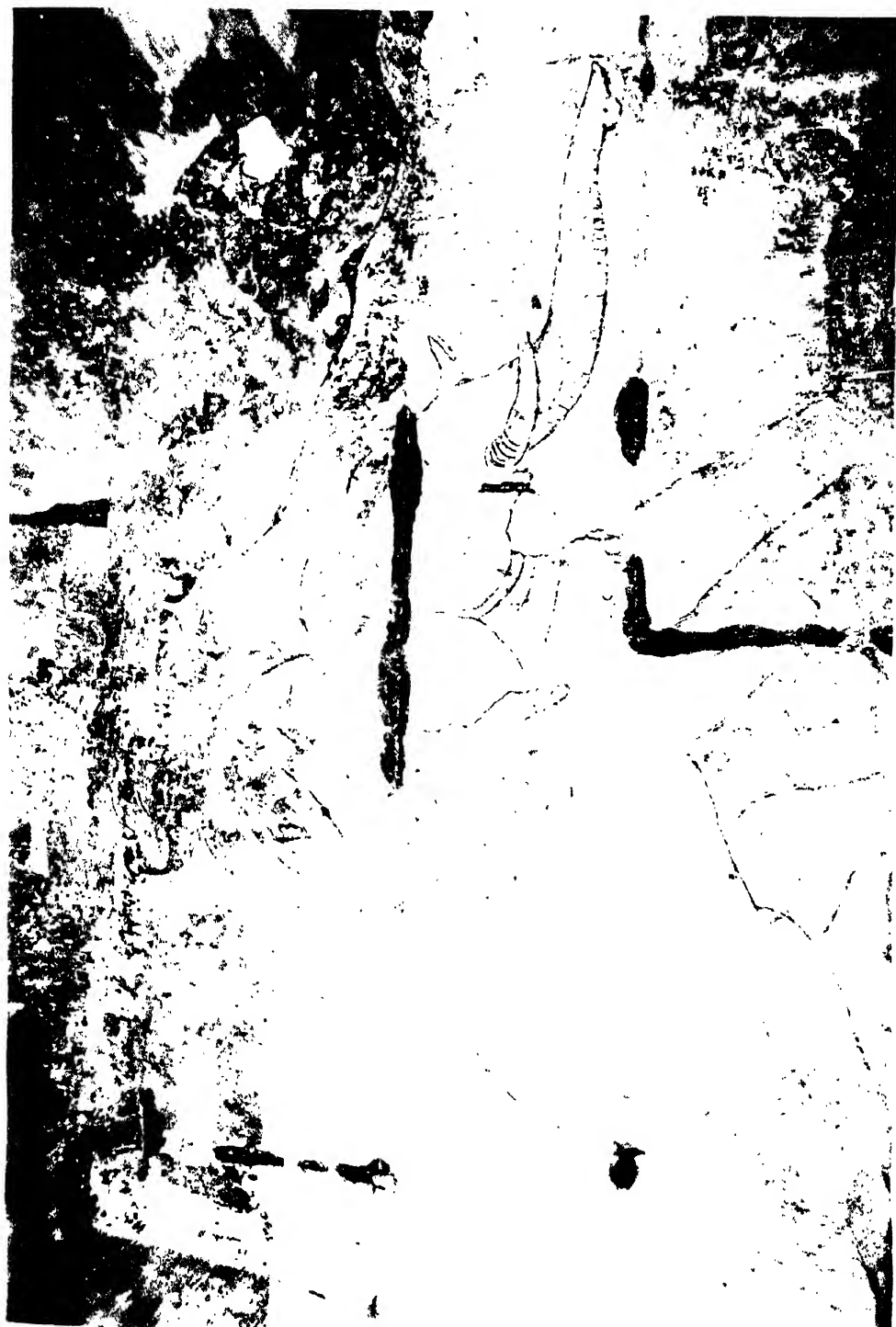
* A lecture delivered before the India Society on January 24, 1934.

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clear to you : There is perhaps no bronze statuette from Java more fitting to open the series than this beautiful image of Śrī, the goddess of fertility and wealth, who was identified in Java with the rice-goddess (Fig. 1). This deity, no doubt, has played an important part in the daily life of the Hindu-Javanese. It is therefore very probable that her images have been used as domestic divinities.

Extremely interesting from an iconographical point of view is the large bronze find of Ngandjoek which was discovered about twenty years ago in the neighbourhood of a temple in Eastern Java. There are altogether about ninety figurines, most of which are now in the Batavia Museum. The principal figure is a form of Manjuśrī with four heads. There are also a few ornate Buddhas on pedestals, some of which still show their backing, but the great majority consist of small statuettes on a lotus-flower, with or without a halo. All of them hold the most curious emblems, which have puzzled the archæologists ever since the collection has been discovered, and it was only very recently that Dr. Bosch, the Director of Archaeology in Netherlands India, has thrown some light on them. He says it is probable that the bronzes of Ngandjoek represent a complicated Mahāyāna Buddhist system of gods which must have once existed in India, but is now only known from Balinese manuscripts and, in a more complete form, in the Japanese Shingon sect. The group must have comprised originally the still present Manjuśrī as the central figure. In the second place there are the Buddhas mentioned above with their customary mount, and the small images which were grouped into various sections in the system. Apparently a group of deities of one section was distinguished from that of another by a difference in type. Fig. 3 shows the two main types into which the smaller specimens of the Ngandjoek bronzes can be divided. There is a tall type to the right, with an oval-shaped face, a long nose, high eyebrows, the *ūrṇā* or circular mark placed high on the forehead, the image being provided with a nimbus. On the other hand there is a smaller type, in which the shape of the face is short and broad, and, especially in the regions of the chin and the mouth, somewhat soft. The nose is short, the *ūrṇā* is placed directly above the nose. The face has a meditative expression, whilst in the first type the image often looks, so to speak, pleased.

It is interesting to pay some attention to the attributes held by the figures. The image on the left carries the rather unexpected emblem of a cuirass, that on the right holds a chain. Fig. 4 shows two goddesses, which were among the most beautiful pieces of the collection. Unfortunately, they were lost, together with many other excellent examples of Hindu-Javanese art, in the fire that destroyed the Dutch pavilion at the Colonial Exhibition of



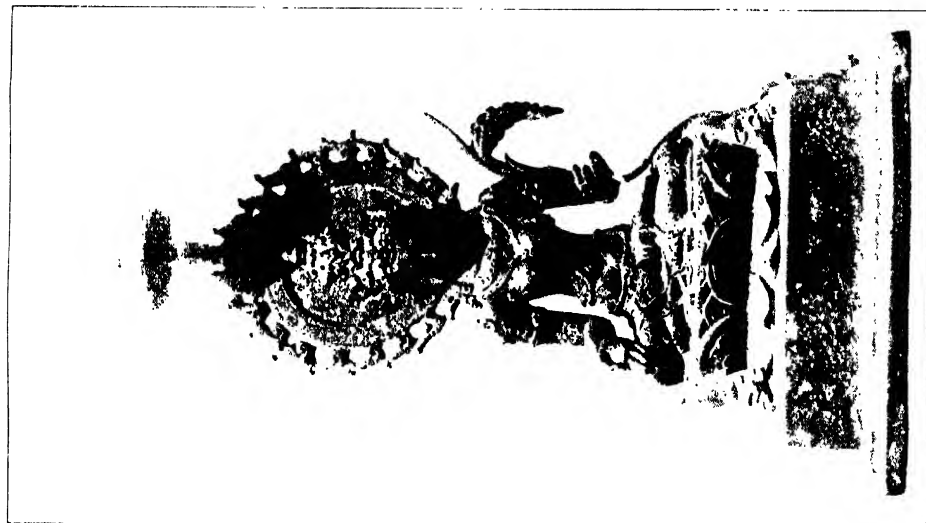


FIG. 1. SEE THE GARDENS OF LUNEFY IN
WATUM.

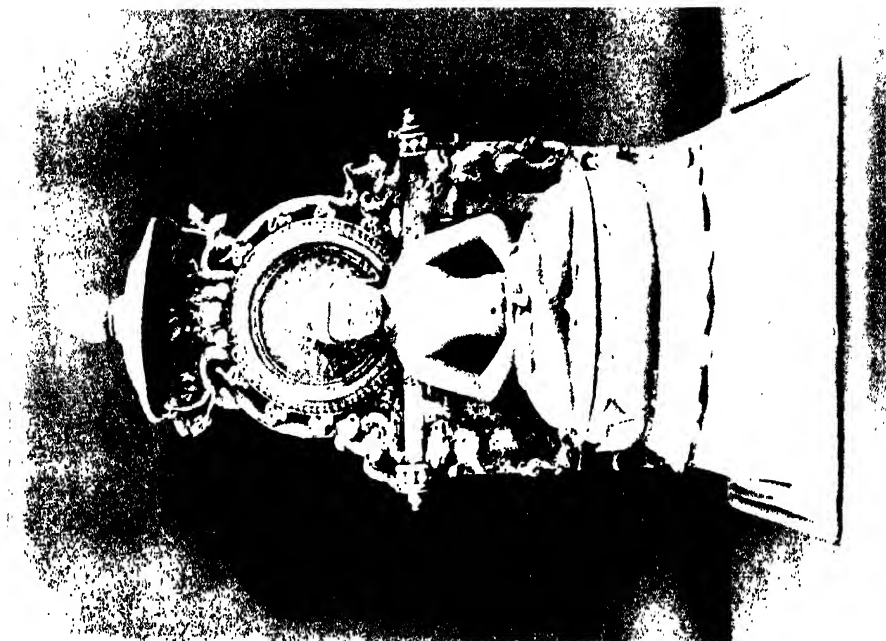


FIG. 2. BODHISATVA OF JAWA.



FIG. 3. TWO MAIN TYPES OF THE NGAVDOLK BRONZE.

Figure 3. Two main types of the Ngavdolk bronze.



FIG. 4. TWO GODDESSES OF THE NGAVDOLK BRONZE.

Figure 4. Two goddesses of the Ngavdolk bronze.

Figure 1. The Discovery of the
Mummy



Figure 2. The Discovery of the
Mummy





FIG. 7. COLLECTION OF MODELS BROUGHT BACK FROM BURMA BY FROELICH-SCHERMAN.



FIG. 8. BRONZE BUDDHA IN THE LEYDEN MUSEUM MADE BY THE *CHI PEROU* PROCESS.



Fig. 1. Person in a dark, textured garment, possibly a coat or uniform, standing against a light background.



Fig. 2. Person in a dark, textured garment, possibly a coat or uniform, standing against a light background.



FIG. 11. —ŚĀKYAMUNI (NĀLANDA).

Berni Kempers: The Bronzes of Nālandā.

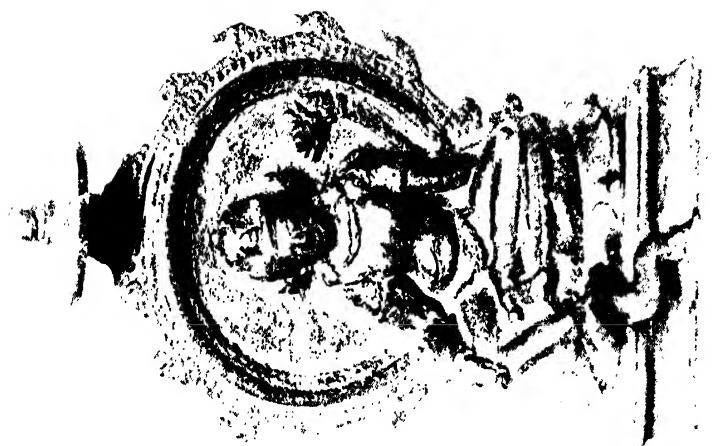


FIG. 12. VENKATESWARA, JAVA.

Photographed by H. C. Purcell.

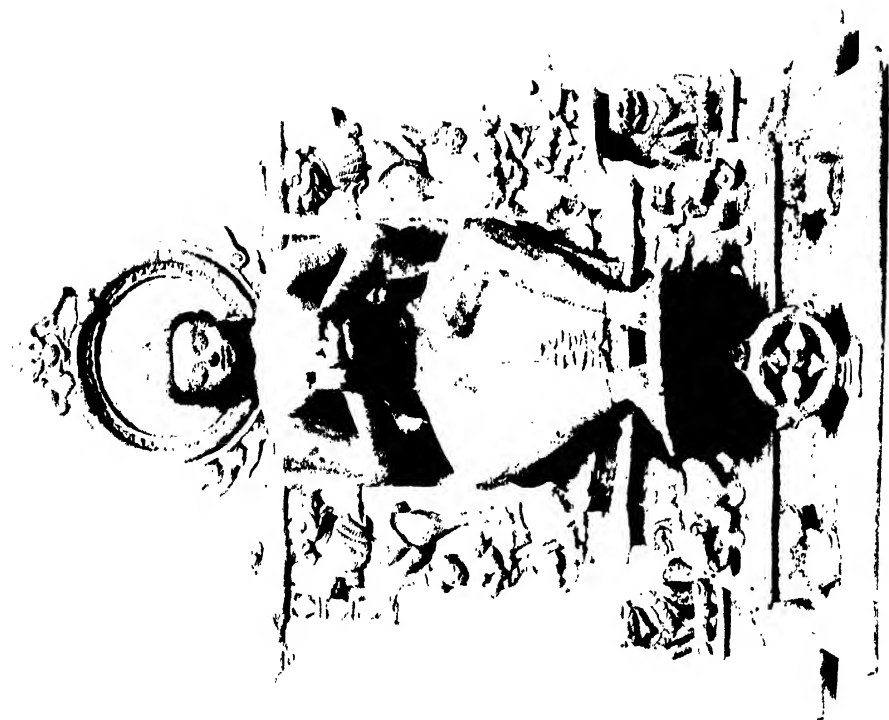
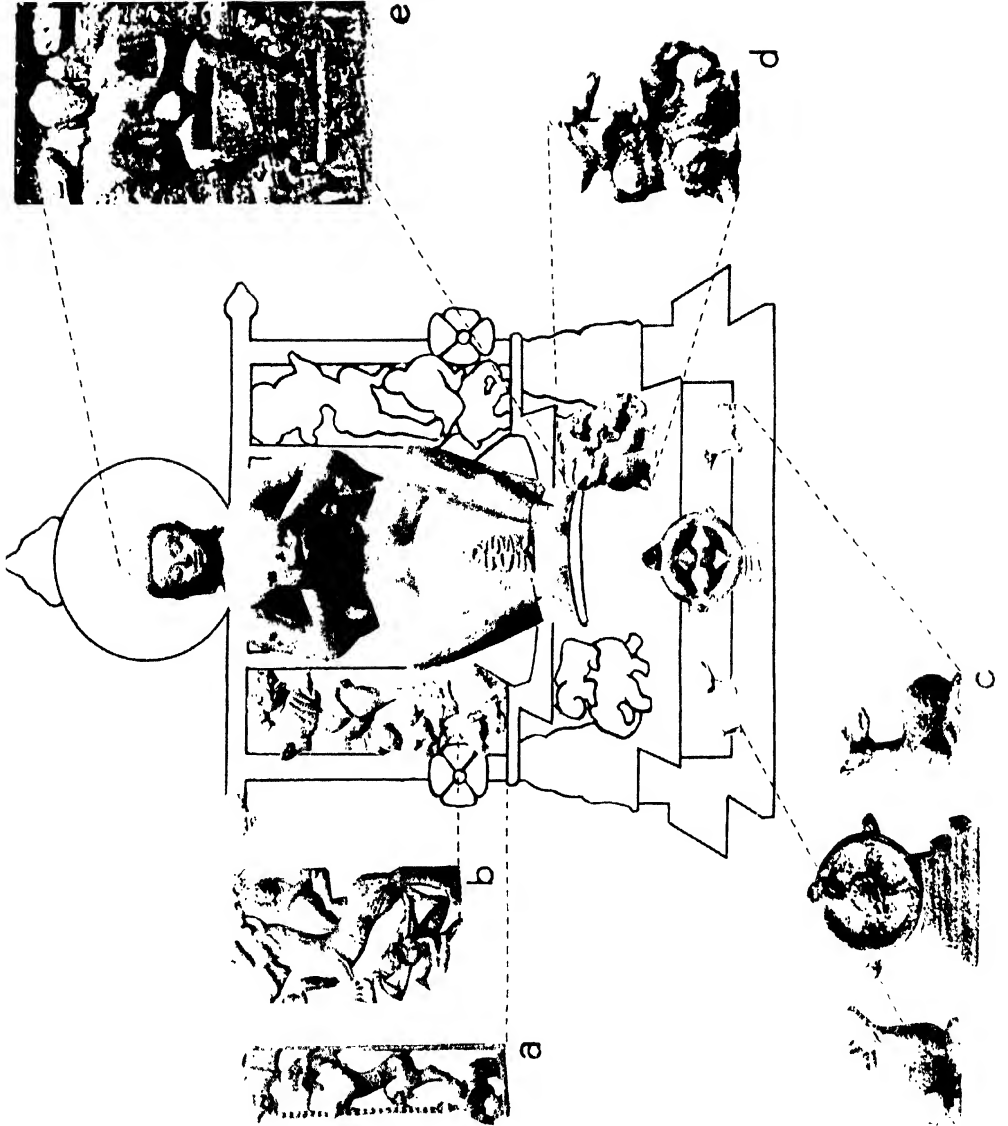


FIG. 13.—OF JAVANESE TYPE. IN STATUE IN THE TITAN MUSEUM.



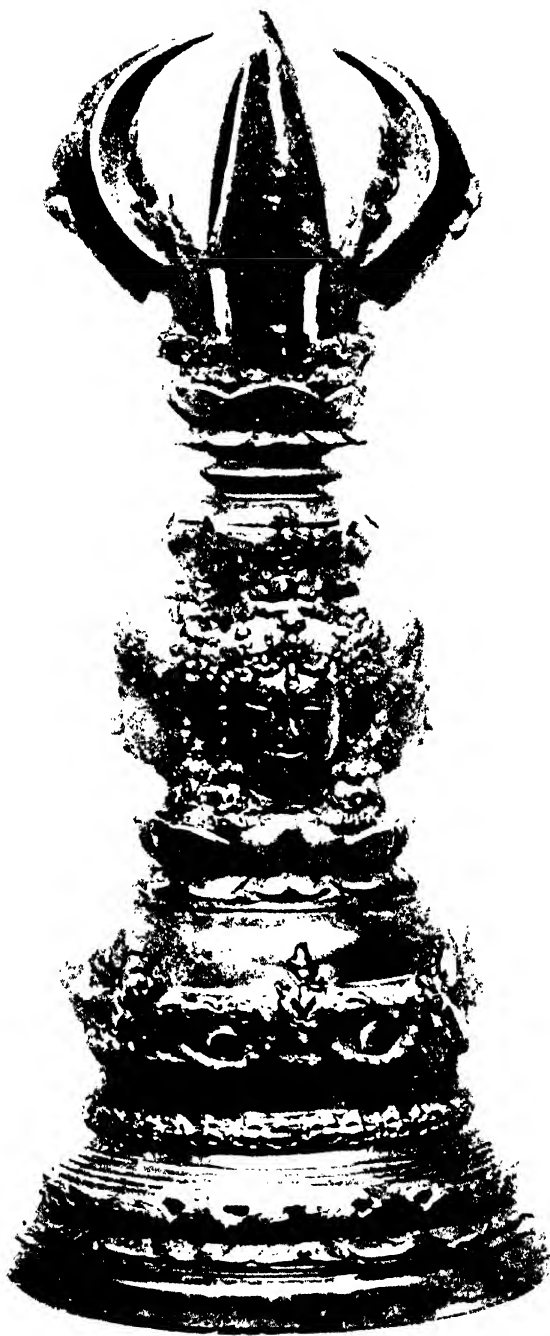


FIG. 15. —BRONZE BELL.

from the Antiquities of the East, vol. 1.

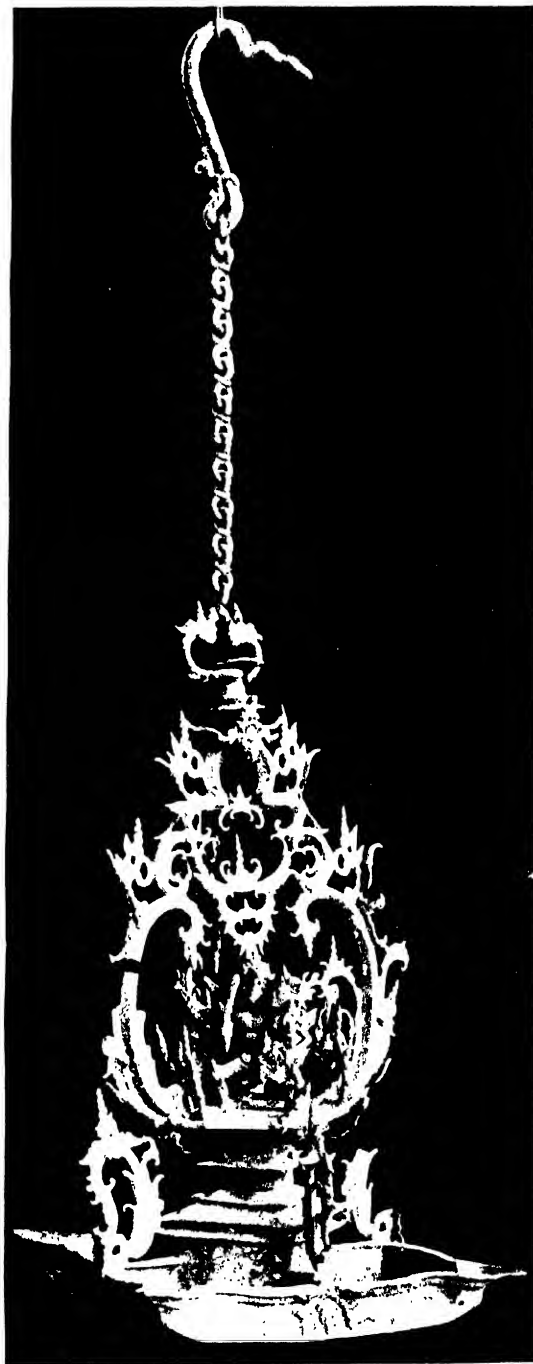


FIG. 10. — BHOZE LAMP.

*Illustration enroulée par l'auteur
dans le Journal de l'École Polytechnique, 1850.*

1931 in Paris. The first goddess holds two lamps, the second clasps in her hand a hand bearing a *vajra* or thunderbolt.

So far I have shown you only statuettes of rather small dimensions. The height of Śrī, for instance, is about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, that of the ordinary bronzes about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. There are, however, other bronze images which are considerably larger. The Avalokiteśvara in Fig. 5, for instance, measures 34 inches. For a long time this image was more or less renowned as the largest statue in bronze from the Indian Archipelago, but in 1932 a Śiva was discovered which measures $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches from head to foot. Moreover, last year a statue of a Buddha was discovered in Celebes which must have been even larger. Yet these pieces would be considered small in comparison with the enormous statues which must have been erected in some of the sanctuaries of Java. The principal statue of Tjandi Kalasan must have measured not less than 19 feet, whilst a fragment has been excavated in the neighbourhood of another important temple, consisting of seven curls from the head of a Buddha, each of which has a diameter of 2 inches. The whole figure, consequently, must have been about 12 feet high, if it was a seated Buddha.

The deities represented in those bronzes, without exception, are part of a pantheon which was introduced from the Indian continent. The maker of these images was not allowed to work at discretion, to follow his own taste and his own conception of the divine beings. The statue of a deity is not a mere outward image, but in a sense an actual manifestation of the god or goddess, who at a certain moment during the making of the statue descends from his heavenly abode into the image and sanctifies it by his temporal presence. This manifestation is only possible if the image answers entirely to the true appearance of the god, as described in the sacred books. The bronze-caster, as well as the painter or sculptor, has to follow these rules, otherwise he will produce a worthless object. He has to provide his statues with all the characteristics and attributes and even the proportions of the body which are given by these sacred traditions. Some Indian manuals mention in the aggregate 256 measurements for the body, nine of which are only for the nose. This tradition was also followed in Hindu-Javanese art, the statues being properly provided with the necessary emblems and formed in accordance with the measurements prescribed.

In regard to the manufacture of the bronzes may I add a few words about the more technical side of the work. The system followed is the so-called *cire perdu* process. The Hindu-Javanese workman has used this method in such a way that the images produced were not solid, but hollow. Thus, less metal had to be used and the weight of the statuettes is small. The former Director of the Museum of Ethnography in Munich, Professor

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Lucian Scherman, has thoroughly studied this process in Burma, where bronze casting is still flourishing, while it is a forgotten art in Java. Fig. 7 reproduces a collection of models brought from Burma by Professor Scherman, which clearly illustrate the method. In the first place a ring of clay is made which is gradually completed until a suitable nucleus of clay is formed which you can see in (5). This is then covered with a coating of wax (6) which is modelled in such a manner that it agrees in all details with the proposed image (9). Now a coating of clay is put around the previous layers. Nails are driven into the whole block. This is done in order to prevent the nucleus from shifting inside the clay coating after the wax is melted between the two. Then a second coating of clay is made, and the whole block (7) is put into the fire. The wax melts and runs through a hole. Thus a negative mould has been produced which can be filled with fused metal, and afterwards cooled and broken. A bronze image appears (8), which is the very counterpart of the wax model (6). The rough spots are eventually cleared away, the nails are filed off, the nucleus of clay is removed and the statuette is ready (9). It is hollow.

Fig. 8 gives an illustration of the practice of this method in Hindu-Javanese art. We see here the statue of an ornate Buddha in the Leyden Museum, on the right side erect, on the left lying down. The hollow clearly shows that in manufacturing this image a nucleus of clay has been used, which comprised the pedestal, the lotus seat, the legs and the trunk of the body. The arms and the head are solid, and thus they have been made in wax without a nucleus. Besides, the statue differs from the Burmese Buddha in the presence of the halo and the parasol. The manner in which the halo can be modelled is illustrated in the examples in the upper left corner. In the first case it is modelled in wax, and cast together with the figure itself; in the second it is modelled and cast separately and fixed on the back of the head by means of a nail. The latter method has also been used in the case of the Buddha on the right.

So far we have seen that the Hindu-Javanese bronze-caster produced religious images, and this was the reason why he was so much bound by traditional rules, which, to a great extent, fixed the subject and form. It may be useful to bear in mind that these rules were not alien to ancient Javanese culture. The Hindu-Javanese craftsman had not so much learnt them from handbooks as he had inherited them from the Indian side of his ancestry. They consequently formed an essential part of his own mixed culture. It is only natural that if a Hindu-Javanese, born in such a sphere, created his own art, this art must have been in accordance with this Indian tradition.

These facts may suffice to explain the presence of Indian elements in part

of the Hindu-Javanese bronzes. I allude to those specimens which have been composed according to Indian tradition, but do not show the direct influence of any special Indian school of sculpture. Among those images may be reckoned the beautiful figure of Śrī in Fig. 1. It is entirely in agreement with the Indian tradition, but only an artist for whom this tradition was not an acquired but an inherited property could have made such a harmonious figure. Moreover, I do not believe that it shows signs of any direct influence of Indian art. That it differs from Indian art is not caused by the addition of Indonesian elements, for lotus, halo, ornamentation, and so on, are all Indian, but is due to an atmosphere of serenity, which characterizes Hindu-Javanese art in general.

It is necessary to discriminate between on the one hand the general points of agreement of Indian and ancient Javanese art, which are brought about by tradition ; and on the other hand such elements of Hindu-Javanese art as were influenced directly by some Indian school. The mere presence of images of the Buddha in Ceylon and Java, for instance, cannot be considered as a proof of the direct influence of Ceylon on Java, for statues of the Buddha are also found in many other countries. It is only when such images in both these countries show some peculiar features absent elsewhere that such an influence may be assumed. There are indeed many points of special agreement of this kind, not only between Ceylon and Java, but also and in a higher degree with other countries, which clearly show that Java has been repeatedly influenced by various schools of Indian art.

There is first of all Ceylon. Then there is the region of the Kistna, where the monuments of Amarāvati and other sites were erected some time before the period which we are now discussing. More important was the influence of Magadha, the centre of Buddhism in its earliest as well as in its last days in India. This famous country was in regular contact with other Buddhist lands as the result of the pilgrimages to sacred places and important monasteries. In this manner it has influenced many regions, among others Nepāl and Tibet, Burma, Ceylon, and Java. The bronzes of these countries, consequently, exhibit a certain number of similar features, which at first sight is often somewhat surprising and misleading. It is necessary to keep in mind that small-sized bronzes are light and easily carried, and must often have served as mementos for pilgrims returning from sacred sites which they visited. Bronzes, consequently, will influence other schools far more easily than stone sculptures, which are generally too heavy to be transported. This simple practical fact explains why there is so much more evidence of influence and affinity in Hindu-Javanese bronzes than in stone sculptures and architecture.

Let me show you in the first place an image which has been discovered

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in Eastern Java, but which had obviously been made in Ceylon (Fig. 6). It differs from other statues of the Buddha by the curious folds of the robe at the proper left. The features of the face, too, remind us of the art of Ceylon. The statue undoubtedly has been imported. The type, however, remained an isolated example, and has never influenced the Buddha statues of Java. These rather show the influence of a different school—*viz.*, that of the Kistna region of South India (Fig. 9). Here the right shoulder is bare; at the proper right side the robe fits closely to the body, while at the left side the hem of the upper garment forms a curve in front, and an angle at the back. The same treatment of the robe as in this South Indian statue is found in the next Buddha, a specimen of the most common type of the standing Buddha in Java (Fig. 10). This agreement cannot be accidental, for the robe is treated in this style only in these two regions, and in an entirely different manner everywhere else. For instance, the treatment is essentially different in the Buddha type of the northern school of bronze casting, in which both shoulders are covered, whilst there are two swallows' tails at both sides of the body. This type is *not* represented among Hindu-Javanese bronzes, though the art of the Pāla Empire in general has in some respects influenced Java, as may appear, for instance, from the following images. Fig. 11 represents the so-called "historical Buddha", Śākyamuni, at the moment of calling upon the Earth to bear witness to his supernatural generosity. He is sitting on a throne, ornamented with the *vyālaka* motif, which consists of a lotus, an elephant, a *vyālaka* or horned lion, and a grooved knob. The same elements are found in the next bronze figure (Fig. 2), this time coming from Java, and obviously influenced by the type of Magadha. The base of the throne is replaced by the pedestal usual with seated figures, and the *vyālaka* motif, too, has somewhat changed. The elephant in the Nālandā image is extremely small as compared with the lotus and the *vyālaka*. The Hindu-Javanese, who never copies thoughtlessly, has tried to diminish this disproportion, and has given only the head of the elephant.

It is not always easy or even possible to distinguish between Indian elements which from the very beginning were present in Hindu-Javanese art and those which were introduced later by different influences. To do this we would have to look for all kinds of apparently unimportant details, for instance, in the ornamentation or in the dress. I shall mention here only one of those elements of comparison, a peculiarity in the head-dress—*viz.*, a fillet looped at both sides of the head near the ears. It is found only during the Pāla period of Magadha and Bengal, and in countries that have been influenced by its culture, for instance, in Nepāl and Tibet. On the other hand, it does not belong to Hindu-Javanese dress. Whenever it is found, there are

also other proofs of Pāla influence. For instance, in the next image (Fig. 12), a Tārā in the Leyden Museum, which shows the following peculiarities: a circular backing against which the figure is modelled as a bas-relievo, the loops mentioned before, the pose with one leg hanging down with ease, which is, to say the least, uncommon for Javanese women. On the other hand, there are also some features which indicate that the statuette has not actually been imported from the Indian mainland. That it is the work of a Hindu-Javanese caster is shown, among other things, by the absence of legs under the pedestal. The most remarkable feature of the figure itself is the easy and somewhat nonchalant pose. This will seem to be even more striking when we compare this piece with the Śrī which we discussed before (Fig. 1). Instead of elegance, we feel in this case serene tranquillity. This is the result not only of the expression of the face, but also of the pose of the legs, which here are folded, and of the body, which is straight. In the case of figures with a backing it will be noticed, moreover, that the body and the backing are separate from each other. I think that the difference between the two types can be explained by the assumption that the first, Tārā, has been made under the influence of Pāla art, whereas the second, Śrī, as said before, may be regarded as purely Hindu-Javanese, created in accordance with the tradition, but without the direct influence of Indian art.

Hindu-Javanese art, however, cannot be regarded as a mere offshoot of Indian art. The bronzes possess a peculiar character of their own, which I have not yet described. The name "Hindu-Javanese" seems to indicate that there is in them a mixture of Indian and Javanese elements. The ancestors of the Hindu-Javanese were not only Indians, but Javanese as well. The cultural influence of the latter must have made itself felt not less spontaneously than that of the Indians, but where and in what manner? Is it possible to pick out certain features which must be called Javanese in the same way as the Indian elements can be indicated? There are indeed some categories of objects, especially secular ones such as bronze lamps, which are decorated with domestic scenes, and they might therefore be called in a certain sense genuinely Indonesian. It is only natural that Indian tradition did not exercise a great influence on lay objects. In religious art, on the other hand, it is generally possible to trace the Indian origin of each detail of the composition and ornamentation. Fig. 13, for instance, shows a statuette, now in the Leyden Museum, which I have analysed in the following manner (Fig. 14):

The composition in general recalls the statue of the Buddha from Nālandā (Fig. 11). The base of the throne is found in this more complicated shape already in the art of the Pāla Empire. The same applies to the

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grooved knob and the *vyālaka* mounted on the elephant (*a*). The kneeling figure, which is missing in Pāla art, is part of a *vyālaka* motif from Sārnāth of the Gupta period (*b*). The wheel between the two deer is the well-known Indian symbol of the preaching in the Deer-Park of Benares, and the parallel is taken from a clay-seal of the Pāla period, which even contains the pyramidal basement of the sacred wheel (*c*). The lion mounted on an elephant, the so-called *gaja-simha* motif, is already found at Ajañtā (*e*) (beside the Buddha's feet), though in a form different from that of Java, which latter agrees once more with Pāla art (*d*). The central figure seems almost copied from Ajañtā (*e*). We find thus nothing but purely Indian motifs and elements, and the same applies to Hindu-Javanese bronzes in general. Yet those bronzes have a character which is absolutely different from that of Indian statues and can easily be distinguished from them. What, then, is the peculiarity of Hindu-Javanese art, if it is not the presence of Indonesian components? In the case we have just analysed it is the manner in which the Hindu-Javanese artist has combined the Indian elements. In other instances it is some alteration which he has introduced. For example, the attitude and the composition of some statuettes exhibit a striking similarity to certain Tibetan figures. This can easily be explained if we remember that both Java and Tibet have been influenced by one and the same school of art—*viz.*, that of Magadha in the Pāla period. The terrible ferocity of Tibetan gods, however, is not characteristic of the Javanese deities, who, as far as possible, are shown as calm and self-controlled. Another point of difference is the absence of the *Śakti* or female energy, which in Tibet is represented in union with the god. No doubt the Hindu-Javanese regarded this representation as unfitting, and he consequently left the *Śakti* out. The same anxiety to omit anything that might disconcert the pious sentiments of the devotee can be noticed over and over again in Hindu-Javanese art. If a god must be represented together with his *Śakti*, the method is adopted of placing both gods on one and the same pedestal.

A still more important factor is the gift possessed by the Hindu-Javanese artist of lavishing a wealth of detail on the object he is decorating, while preserving a perfect harmony. Some of the most beautiful bronze objects from Java will make this clear to you.

Here, for instance, is a fine example of a Hindu-Javanese bronze bell as used for divine service (Fig. 15). Similar bells, crowned by a *vajra* or thunderbolt, occur also in Nepāl, Tibet, Ceylon, and in Further India. Thus, the idea itself is not an original invention of Hindu-Javanese art, but you will find that nowhere else could the artist give to his bell such a wealth of fine decoration with such an accomplished harmony in the whole.

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Finally let me show you the photograph of a bronze lamp (Fig. 16). This is, in all probability, a piece of later times, and is eloquent evidence of the high standard of workmanship maintained until a late date in East Java.

Let me summarize my conclusions :

Hindu-Javanese art contains elements of two different civilizations, fused into a new entity. On the one hand, there is the Indian element, on the other the Indonesian—both directly inherited from their own ancestors, who were partly Indians, and partly Indonesians. The natural result of this is that the bronze-caster inherited from the Indian element of his forefathers a tradition which fixed in a high degree the subject-matter and the outer form of his productions. And, as he further borrowed elements of different schools of Indian art, Hindu-Javanese bronzes show ample signs of Indian influence. Against this abundance of Indian elements the purely Indonesian ones are of minor importance. Thus the peculiar character of the ancient Javanese bronzes is not due to the mere addition of Indonesian components, but to the fact that the elements partly inherited and partly imported from India have been combined, changed, modified and, above all, raised by the Hindu-Javanese artist to a perfect harmony in the wealth of its detail.

SOME INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN PERSIAN AND INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

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THE recent intense growth of nationalism, potent in reviving spirit and ambition in many countries, threatens to distort history. Various nations each proclaim that they are "the chosen people," and that by their unique powers they have created their own and very superior culture. But culture is a co-operative enterprise, and the nearer unique in the sense of being self-dependent, the more sterile and uninteresting is a culture likely to be. The history of any significant culture is the history of the constant interchange of ideas and techniques with other and often contrasting cultures. Humanity has a life of its own that fortunately has survived the most devastating conflicts of the past, and will yet survive the parochialism of politicians or the artificial animosities they engender. Economic internationalism has proven itself a formidable fact. Cultural internationalism is just as fundamental, and no nation or race is likely to understand its own past or be able fully to develop its own intellectual and artistic powers along isolationist lines.

It has long been a commonplace that the great advances of civilization have been initiated by just such stimulating contacts between contrasting cultures and that every great nation is an amalgam of many elements. To this India is no exception, and the contrasting cultures from which she in her long history has derived greatest benefit issued from the Iranian plateau and its eastern marches, while Persia in her turn was at the same time the recipient of contributions from India that have not yet been measured. In fact, for several thousand years there has been a constant and creative cultural exchange between these two regions, and in each there have been significant achievements which cannot be properly understood without reference to the other. Yet, saving in the field of language, only a few of these interchanges have been even cursorily explored. To trace and evaluate these relations is one of the prime problems before the historians of Asiatic culture.

Mere contact between different cultures of itself does not necessarily produce beneficent results. Cultural interchanges may be momentous, releasing fresh creative power on both sides, but not necessarily nor always so. Nations often exchange vices, and especially in art a mechanical mixture

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of styles by no means guarantees happy results. The product is more often an imitation of the obvious, a composition of inferiorities, an issue of ambiguous and bastard forms that are both temporary and sterile. But where capacities are complementary and mutually corrective; where contrasts are mediated by a common understanding, as has so often been the case between India and Persia; where the idea of one may find realization through the technique of another; where on both sides art has already acquired substance and individuality through its kinship with language, religion, and custom, there new impacts are sure to summon a vital response, arousing new energies for the realization of great results otherwise unobtainable.

The contrasts between India and Persia are so striking that at first sight they might seem to preclude any real cultural co-operation. But, in fact, it is these very differences, mediated as they have been by the Aryan kinship in language and custom, which are indeed favourable for the most profitable type of cultural interchange. Because of these contrasts and because of repeated military aggression from the Persian side, the relations between India and Persia have often been misconstrued. The general public has been too much aware of the invasions from the North and West, with their accompanying tales of fanaticism. Even cultural relations have been thought of in terms of rivalry, and have led to reckless statements. The results of such juvenile belligerency may occasionally be brilliant insights, but more often they are bad guesses sprinkled with downright errors.

The fact is that India and Persia have together played an essential rôle in history, and their co-operation, even though largely unconscious, has been more important than their conflicts. Nor is the difference in the cultures of the two so profound as it might seem.

True, these contrasts are at first sight formidable. Persia is a small country and India a vast subcontinent; Persia relatively homogeneous, India an amalgam of numerous races and languages; Persia a severe, limited country, where the high altitude, harsh desert and stimulating sunshine, the somewhat scanty and scattered population, and various other and sundry climatic, geographical, and cultural features have in the past compelled men to intense activity. These conditions find complementary expression in the art of the country: lucid, precise, brilliant, imaginative, with ever an emphasis on pure form.

In all these respects India presents a striking contrast. Where Persia is meagre and limited, India is rich, varied, and prolific. The incredible profusion of its life has expressed itself in a varied and luxuriant culture. The concentration and simplicity of Persian art and thought contrast sharply with the wealth of ideas and institutions in India. Where Persia is objective and

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rational, India is immersed in subtle speculation, frequently tinged with melancholy; where Persia has expressed herself in action, India has sought reality through contemplation. It was India's destiny to know creative discovery in the realm of the spirit and to give moving expression to it in image and symbol, while Persia forged ideas into objects.

The Persian genius was more eclectic than that of India. She was an organizing and synthesizing as well as originating power, and she was the clearing house of many cultures: Mesopotamian, Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Central Asian, and Far Eastern, as well as Indian. From these she welcomed contributions, and upon their ideas and inventions she was often able to impose a common form.

Many of these contrasts are symmetrical and define complementary qualities that are always to be found united in the supremest expressions of civilization. From their very nature Persia and India were destined to profitable co-operation wherever the fundamental interests of the two peoples could find free expression untrammelled by war and politics. Contact once founded, civilization was certain to be mutually enriched in many ways.

Essential contacts were apparently initiated in prehistoric times. The challenging problem of the emergence of civilization is still enveloped in considerable obscurity, although recent archaeological work in Persia and Mesopotamia are bringing us nearer to a solution. But it is clear that a sophisticated civilization appeared on the Iranian plateau before it did on the Indian subcontinent, and Sir Arthur Keith has advanced the bold theory that it was invaders of Iran who organized out of the primitive populations of India the astonishing early civilizations of Harapa and Mohenjodaro, which reached their apogee shortly after the beginning of the third millennium B.C.¹

As soon as India attained a definite cultural status, we find her influence extending westward. Seals found at Ur, Tello, and Susa attest a direct contact that was already evident from the striking similarity of many features of the civilization of both places. The bull motive, so early and so important in Indian art and religion, penetrates along the southern coast of Persia clear up to Fars, as Sir Aurel Stein has recently proved;⁴ while the winged bull of the famous Nihavand cup of the Boston Museum⁵ is but a belated echo of the Mohenjodaro "unicorn."⁶ Further archaeological investigations are certain to reveal other vital connections between the two regions.

But we are not on sure historical ground until the times of the Achæmenid kings, when we know, from the recently discovered boundary plates of Darius, that his empire extended to Sind and the Indus. The city Brahmanidam, which was founded then by Achæmenid Persians, existed as late as the eighth century. Alexander's conquest swept into India many Persian ideas

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and influences. A Greco-Persian empire dominating the world was his dream. The Alexandrian contacts were in some degree maintained, and we read of an alliance between Chandragupta and Nicator. Again, in Parthian times there was even more contact, as we know from the witness of the coinage. Parthian kings ruled in upper India, and their expeditions followed down the Ganges even to lands beyond. Again, the East-West passages, that under the Parthians carried the silk trade between China and Rome, carried also in each direction many a precious cargo from India, intellectual and religious, as well as material.

By late Parthian times, at least, Buddhism had penetrated well into Iran, and the remains of a great monastery with remnants of mural paintings quite in the Buddhist style² were discovered at Kuh-i-Khwaja in Seistan by Sir Aurel Stein. There are a number of Chinese documentary references to Buddhist temples in north-east Persia and in the vicinity of Bukhara and Samargand they seem to have been in active use down to early Islamic times.³

In Sasanian times, Bahram Gur, according to Tabari, made a journey to India (421-442), and on returning to Persia he brought with him twelve thousand musicians, dancers, craftsmen, and other artists. Chosroes I. (531-571) is reputed to have made an expedition to India, and it is well established that his empire extended to the Indus, while Persian merchant ships so commonly reached Ceylon that some historians assumed that Ceylon had become Persian territory.⁷ Shapur II. had an Indian physician. From India Chosroes received a copy of the famous animal stories of the *Kalila wa Dimna*. Chess was imported at this time. Pulakesin, King of Maharashtra, sent an embassy to Chosroes II. in 625 with many presents.⁸ The Scythian invasion brought in other Iranian influences, for the Scyths were of Iranian stock and language while their animal art in particular is truly Iranian. The beautiful sculptural reliefs of Taq-i-Bostan and many of the famous Sasanian gold and silver plates show marked Indian influences, and some are almost purely Indian. There is plenty of evidence that a very lively sea trade between Persia and India was carried on from the earliest times,⁹ despite the difficulties presented by the bleak and inhospitable coast.

The cultures of Iran and India interpenetrated and overlapped in Afghanistan and Central Asia, and it is known from recently discovered Coptic documents in the Fayoum that Mani spent some time in India and there appropriated Buddhistic elements for his famous heresy. How far Buddhism was able to make its way in Persia in spite of a hostile environment is not known; it is a matter upon which scholars eagerly await more data. Buddhistic elements in Western Persia, at least, must have been meagre, for the powerful Zoroastrian clergy resented the intrusion of alien religions in the later Sasanian

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empire, and individuals owing allegiance to any other god but Ahura Mazda or his vice-regent, the King of Kings, were challenged, forbidden, and persecuted. This policy had a political basis. The Sasanian kings were by their own witness fearful of political complications arising from subjects owing any kind of allegiance to alien authority, spiritual or political.

But Buddhism certainly did make its way in the eastern provinces, as the Kuh-i-Khwaja monastery shows. And as the Buddhist mission passed on its errand of mercy and enlightenment to the Far East, it was for several thousand miles in Iranian territory or in lands peopled with Iranian stock. The Iranian culture of these regions, which was refreshed and sustained by the contacts with the civilization of the central plateau, contributed many elements to Buddhism, while the latter, with its stupas, monasteries, and victory columns, left a permanent mark on the architecture of the entire region, which later contributed its quota to the development of Persian architecture of Islamic times.

In Afghanistan in particular the Buddhism of India united with the established Sasanian culture so completely that M. Grousset feels warranted in speaking of a Sasano-Buddhist civilization.¹⁰ Certain it is that many Sasanian Persians were converted to Buddhism, but at the same time retained many of their original customs and ideas.

The contacts which were initiated in Sasanian times were renewed in a rather brutal way with the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazna and continued, as is well known, in various forms down to the eighteenth century. Although most of the invaders were of Turki or Mongol stock, and their indigenous culture was meagre, they moved always through Iranian territory, and nearly all their culture and technique, aside from their methods of warfare, were largely Persian. Conquerors like Babur were thoroughly imbued with all the graces of Persian civilization. Akbar's mother was Persian, as was also Nur Mahall, the able and justly famous wife of Jahangir. The Moguls brought with them Persian administrators, jurists, financiers, theologians, artists, and architects, and thus in a way established a valuable connection between the cultures of the two regions.

In the long history of these various relations between India and Persia, architecture has received but scant attention, yet it should be most revealing, for architecture was ever the mistress art. By its very nature it conserves the traditions and records the practices and preferences, the capacities and ideals of a people more adequately and certainly more permanently than any other agency. The culture of neither country can be fully intelligible until we understand the architecture of each more thoroughly, especially in their relations to each other.

India has produced an architecture of great magnificence, of rich variety,

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and high seriousness. It has often been wrought with exemplary skill both in construction and ornamentation; it has a marked individuality and frequently profound emotional power. Incontestably it forms one of the world's great styles. To Persia we owe extremely ingenious constructional methods, especially of dome and vault construction, out of which have been created monuments that are often of quite extraordinary beauty, marked by a noble monumentality, simplicity of mass, encrusted with dazzling ornament that has never been surpassed. Both countries are responsible for ideas that have profoundly influenced architectural history, yet neither is properly understood. In this respect India has fared better than Persia.

Thanks to the labours of Fergusson, Cunningham, Burgess, Griffiths, and Marshall, as well as to the Archaeological Survey of India, the principal monuments have been well presented. Havell made a valuable contribution in emphasizing the dependence of Indian architecture on its cultural background, of which it is often a specific and eloquent expression, and Coomaraswamy has thrown precious light on its early development by his acute studies of ancient documents and terminology.¹¹ Yet despite these and Fergusson's still impressive work, an adequate history of Indian architecture has yet to be written, for monuments and records are missing for several critical periods, especially between the eighth and eleventh centuries, and a serious investigation of the evolution of styles is still wanting.

Of the architecture of Persia we know far less. Although a number of admirable works have appeared relating to Iranian architecture, of which those by Sarre¹² and Diez¹³ are outstanding, and although it is quite the fashion to speak familiarly of Persian architecture, it is in fact far less known than the architecture of India. Not 10 per cent. of the monuments of Persia have been even cursorily published, and literally hundreds of interesting and beautiful buildings await but the briefest citation. A formidable obstacle, religious fanaticism, has until recently prevented all entry by Europeans into the mosques and shrines, which are by far the most important structures standing. Under the enlightened and progressive rule of Riza Shah Pahlevi, however, this difficulty has largely been removed, and in 1929 a systematic survey of the architecture of Persia was initiated, which is now being vigorously carried forward by the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology. Since 1929 the Department of Antiquities in Iran, under the direction of M. André Godard, has been gathering much valuable material concerning Persian architecture, and M. Godard has made many important discoveries and studies, of which further publication is awaited with greatest interest. The results have already been most surprising, and a wealth of magnificent and totally unsuspected monuments, especially of the

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eleventh and twelfth centuries, to say nothing of the fourteenth and fifteenth, have been brought to light, that put a new aspect on the history of architecture in Western Asia and Persia's rôle therein, and show that to the master builders of Persia the world owes some of its greatest masterpieces.^{13a}

Valuable light has been thrown on the important and little known architecture of Turkestan, an essential link between the architecture of Persia and that of Mogul India, without which the latter cannot be understood, by the recently published work of Dr. E. Cohn-Wiener, which is so admirably documented and illustrated.¹⁴

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that the important relation between the architecture of the two countries has never been properly defined, and dogma and speculation have for the most part had the field to themselves.

Of course, a great deal of the architecture of both countries is without the circuit of any effective interchange. There is only the vaguest evidence of Iranian influence on the great stupas, and it is useless to look for any influence they may have exercised in Persia. In late Sasanian times there was, perhaps, an interchange in the Eastern Iranian territories, and Professor Diez thinks that the Zoroastrian fire temple, with its dome set on four columns and open on all four sides, was the effective influence in the lightening of the stupas by the subsequent building of great interior chambers.¹⁵

In general, the architecture of India has been thought of as self-originating and self-contained, a challenging exception to the rule that there is no such thing, although Fergusson and others long ago suggested that the sources of the Islamic architecture of India, like the religion which inspired much of it and the conquerors for whom it was built, must be sought for in Persia and Turkestan. Yet even this has been unreservedly, not to say vehemently, denied by Havell, who contended that even the Mogul architecture of India is wholly Indian in all its ways, and that if it shows any resemblance to the architecture of other lands, it is because the latter is merely a copy of Indian originals, or at least based on Indian principles.¹⁶ This thesis could not be effectively challenged or even seriously examined so long as our knowledge of the architecture of Persia, Afghanistan, and Turkestan was so meagre, but now it can be shown that, at least from the beginning of the Islamic invasions down through Mogul times, the architecture of Persia played an inspiring and creative rôle in India, while in her turn India had imparted to Persia certain conceptions that were fundamental to her architecture and which she in turn developed and transmitted to the West. Of these, the pointed arch is, measured by its consequence, the most important.

As to the priority of the pointed arch in India, there cannot be two

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opinions. It first appears in the sun windows of the Buddhist caves and Buddhist niches which are found in many places several centuries before Christ.¹⁷ It is important to note, however, that the original Buddhist arch is not, strictly speaking, structurally satisfactory. It is an ogee arch, the peak of which is elevated to a sharp point, suitable to the representation of a leaf or a flame, but this is not a practical construction. A framework of bamboo might easily take this form, but nothing in brick or stone if it had to carry any real load, for the point of reversal of the arch has a fatal structural weakness. This, of course, was no deficiency in India, where the primary interest was symbolic and where the early representations are wholly pictorial, being hewn out of the solid rock or designated in drawing or carving.

That Islam had derived the pointed arch from India was first and most emphatically affirmed by Havell,¹⁸ but while this conclusion is true, the reasons given were not convincing, and the thesis failed to meet with acceptance. Mr. Havell speaks of the Buddhist monasteries in Western Persia, with their conspicuous row of Buddha niches, which, on the advent of Islam, were abandoned, the images being destroyed, leaving empty arched recesses which suggested a new and interesting form to a young religion whose iconography was in the making.⁹ But the site of no Buddhist monastery has yet been located in Western Persia, nor has any document concerning such an establishment in this region yet been published.

If the pointed arch was transmitted from India to Persia, it was by another route and a quite different process, as is shown by the fact that the pointed arch had already been adopted in the Western world before the advent of Buddhism there. The arches of Qasr ibn Wardan in Syria (561 to 564) have been carefully re-examined and measured by Captain Creswell, who supports Butler's original statement that here we have a true pointed arch, although an extremely cautious one. The arches are struck from two centres that are approximately one-tenth of the span apart.¹⁹

If these arches may be regarded merely as a tentative experiment or a device adopted for some mechanical reason, and not really beholden to Indian models, we have nevertheless conclusive proof of the familiarity with the Indian form of arch in Sasanian Persia in the clearly drawn elevation of a domed and columnar structure engraved on a Sasanian bronze salver in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.²⁰ This arch could have been transmitted to Persia in various ways. The contact with Buddhism all through East Persia, Afghanistan, and the provinces of Persia in South Central Asia had been constant for centuries. Travellers, merchants, soldiers, officials must have had constantly before them this typical Buddhist form in the many Buddhist structures that were scattered throughout the East Iranian provinces and along

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the principal routes that connected Persia and the Far East. Moreover, the form could be transmitted by the little portable stucco shrines²¹ as well as temple banners which the faithful carried with them.

Again, there was a fundamental kinship in religious idea between Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. The shape of the Buddhist arch may have reflected originally the outline of the leaf of the pipal tree under which Buddha received his enlightenment, but the shape was synchronized with that of the flaming halo, which better signalizes the enlightenment. It was, however, on a sacred flame that the attention and reverence of the Zoroastrian worshippers were concentrated, and religions have ever welcomed confirmation of their own tenets in the dogmas of other cults. In the Buddhist-Sasanian mingling that took place in Scistan, Afghanistan, and Turkestan, this common reverence for the flame must certainly have been a fruitful point of contact and have suggested a definite form for the envisagement of the sacred fire of Zoroastrianism.

The presentation of the structure on the Berlin salver is so precise that it must represent not merely a building to the eye of fancy alone, but rather the record, however schematic, of an actual structure. The portal is drawn in the form of the typical Buddhist pointed arch, revealing the sacred altar within.

In the form in which Buddhism presented it, the pointed arch had no future as a structural entity. It was the practical building genius of the Persians that launched the form as a transmissible motive in the history of architecture. For æsthetic reasons, also, Persian builders were apparently ready to welcome this new form. The elliptical arch which they had used in late Sasanian times was not in itself an attractive shape and had apparently been adopted for mechanical reasons only. A literal copying of the Indian form in stone or brick as a structural unit was impossible. Where the form had been used in India, as is represented in a number of the cave entrances, the pointed form takes almost the place of a moulding or a projection which owes its security to the round arch which backs it and to which it is firmly attached. This solution was evidently not acceptable to the Persian architects, but the shape gave them an ideal and a goal, and they found that, by striking the curvature of the sides from two centres, they approximated the Buddhist form and at the same time secured proper structural strength.

But Persian architecture never forgot this original inspiration, and from Sasanian days almost to the present we find Persian architects working by various devices to retain the ogee form of the Buddhist arch. Nearly all the great pointed arch portals in Persia show a peak that has been definitely lifted above the normal curvature of the arch.

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It is significant that this tendency is more marked in the East than in the West, and in those regions that are nearest to Buddhist monuments and Buddhist influence this feature is most conspicuous. A striking example is to be seen in the great portal to the sanctuary in the Masjid-i-Gauhar Shād in Mashad. The general form of this arch is quite Buddhistic and the proportions suggest the Buddhist arch. It is, in the first place, wider at the springing than at the base, and, in the second place, the peak is lifted above the normal centre of the arch by a total distance of several feet. The weakness that is thereby invited is provided for by a thick construction behind as well as below the peak (Fig. 1).

The Buddhist niche was also presented in the form of a trefoil arch, and this likewise appears in Persia as a confirming witness of the transmission of the simpler form. This trefoil, which is really only the compound aureole that shines back of the shoulders and head of the Buddha, is almost certainly of Indian derivation. There are no independent structural or iconographical motives that would have suggested its development in the West, while it was common in India from a very early date. It appears at Gandhara in the first century and at Nalanda a little later, and later still at Martand in the eighth century and on the Siva temple at Payar in the tenth century. Examples could be easily multiplied. It is notable that the form was especially common in Kashmir, which was always in close contact with Persia, and is conspicuous in the grottos of Bamiyan. It could also have been transmitted by the portable shrines. In Persia it is to be found in the oldest parts of the Masjid-i-Jāmi' in Iṣfahān, which probably date in the eleventh century. This form may of course be of only structural intent, designed to relieve the pressure on the peak of the arch, but it is thin and exerts very little force and an iconographic motive is at least equally probable (Fig. A). The Persian builders saw no way to make the trefoil arch a structural unit, and so it is presented as a decorative facing on the true, functional arch. It occurs again in carved bronzes of the twelfth century, where we have a seated figure in the trefoil niche astonishingly like some of those of centuries earlier (Fig. B).

The pointed arch was promptly adopted by Islam, which, like Zoroastrianism, found it iconographically congenial, for the Prophet himself had early used the symbol of the light in the niche as an illumination from heaven (Sura 24, Vers 35).²² That early Islamic theology was able to find a kinship with the light or fire notion that had played such an important part in Zoroastrianism and Buddhism must have helped commend Islam to its Eastern converts, and made it seem to them less strange.

One of the most interesting inventions in the whole history of architecture was the transverse vault. To cover large areas with a permanent material

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like brick and stone was in itself a difficult problem, and one which baffled the Romanesque architects for a long while ; but the solution of the plain tunnel vault, mechanically sound, was æsthetically and practically unsatisfactory. No safe way of piercing the vault for windows was known. Hence what light entered was at low levels, an arrangement which was both inefficient and disagreeable. The breaking up of a long tunnel vault by a series of cross-vaults at right angles was a happy solution, for it permitted piercing the walls at the end of each of these cross-vaults with windows, thus introducing abundant illumination at a high level.

Credit for this solution is by common consent given to the Persians, and the Sasanian examples in Persia are clearly the first instances of this construction in the permanent material. It seems generally to have been overlooked that the idea and principles of this construction were already well known in India, and that by the first century B.C., as we know from perfectly clear representations on some of the early sculpture, such as the Bodhi Gaya railings, which date from 100 B.C., the principle is perfectly set forth.²³ There were sufficient relations between Persia and India for the idea to have been appropriated in early Sasanian times. Once more India provides the idea and the suggestion, Persia the practical engineering resourcefulness which translates it into a monumental reality.

There is another feature of Persian architecture which it may ultimately have owed to India. The octagonal form in building is not altogether convenient, but it has certain structural advantages, and permits a very dignified monumental treatment. The octagonal form of such buildings as the Taj Mahal was anticipated by many centuries in Persia. The palace of the Khalif el Muti, built in the tenth century in Baghdad, was on an octagonal plan, as is a great stone and brick structure of the twelfth century, the Jebel-i-Sang, still standing in Kerman (Fig. 2). The Gulpaigan mosque makes the utmost of the octagonal dome base (Fig. 3). The mausoleum of Uljaitu at Sultaniya (Fig. 4), one of the most magnificent structures ever built in Persia, is octagonal, as are other contemporary mausoleums in Kum and Iṣfahān. Uzun Hasan built an octagonal palace near Tabriz in the fifteenth century that quite dazzled European visitors, while the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw new types developed, such as the beautiful octagonal domed shrines at Mashad (Khwaja Rabbi), Nishapur (Gadam Gar) (Fig. 5), and Gulpaigan. But we do not hear of octagonal buildings in Achæmenid or Sasanian times, which would suggest that the form was not indigenous to Persia. It was, however, characteristic of Indian architecture, and although we can point to no early monuments in this form, the *Silpa Sastras* specifically commends the octagonal plan as especially sacred. Once more it is a

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religious idea that has created the form and given it value. At present there is no suggestion as to how this idea of the octagonal structure may have passed into Persia. We can only suggest that such a transmission is not only possible but probable, and leave the decision to future research.

In short, India has proposed and Persia disposed, but what India gave she received back again in a new form that enabled her to pass to fresh architectural triumphs.

For her profound religious beliefs India needed and sought for various embodiments, and the very intensity and sincerity of her conviction conferred upon the symbols she chose authority and significance. But these expressions, even when they took monumental form, were not purely architectural in its truest meaning. The great stupas belong almost to the realm of sculpture. They are like colossal monoliths carved with imagination and splendour that make them unique in monumental art, and perhaps by the very fact that they are solid stone—as were the great Chaitya halls and temples such as those at Ellora—gave them a sense of timelessness that comported well with their religious meaning. But they are not things builded or constructed, and they could have no future in the world of art until they could be translated into actual, practical structures. Some of them never could be, and remain peculiar to India. Others were, and this was Persia's great service to India and the world, that she translated the symbols and images of India's faiths into such forms as could be reproduced and transmitted.

Persia, for all her poetic mysticism, has by the very nature of her conditions of life been forced to practicality and ingenuity. The scarcity of timber has been the necessitous mother of many fertile structural inventions, particularly in brick. By this fortunate conjunction of capacities and interests, the vision of India has been made real and substantial by the technique of Persia, and religious convictions have received a kind of embodiment that has made them transmissible and given them universality.

But although Persia has received richly at the hands of India and has in a sense co-operated with her in the creation of significant forms, Persia has not been slow in returning the debt, and her greatest gift to India has been certain structural principles, which among other things made possible the realization of the great mediæval domed structures for which India is justly famous.

It is not impossible that the dome idea, too, originally came from India, since we find the dome form an early feature of Buddhist iconography. But domes on a large scale were known in Mesopotamia and Assyria a full millennium before Buddhism, and in Persia there was a practical need and perhaps also further instructive antecedents in the great tent structures which

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were developed by the nomads of Central Asia. Yet India made her contribution to the history of the dome, and the peculiar bulbous dome, which was so common in Persia after the fifteenth century and which spread to other parts of the world, certainly appeared in form at least first in India—for example, at Ajanta in the domed canopies of the Chaitya XIX. and XXVI. None appear in Persia, however, until long after the Mongol invasions, and if the idea of a bulbous dome did come from India, it was probably via the Central Asiatic route and the Buddhist structures and representations that remained there. In any case, it was only the form that India imparted, as these early representations are not in the least structural. But it was an idea that suggested the structure and which was in a very real sense its origin.

Wooden domes composed of planks attached to umbrella-like ribs of bent bamboo were no doubt common in India in early times as some of the sculptures indicate, and there were buildings which were no doubt crowned with dome-like looking structures. But no true brick or stone domes are known or even indicated in India until long after influences from Persia had shown themselves effective there. The original and typical Indian dome is supported by a series of corbels projecting inward in successive layers until they join at the peak, where a keystone prevents the final course from falling inward. But these corbels extend outward almost as much as inward and their weight is balanced on the walls or columns that bear them. In such constructions the voids are relatively slight and the solids truly monstrous. A dome-like form has been secured, but it is more like something hollowed out of a single block than a real construction. The dome that is formed by a succession of stone beams across the angles until the opening is small enough to be closed by a single slab is equally remote from true dome construction. In all these cases the weight is carried downwards in a straight line, and they remain examples of post and lintel construction.

The true dome is constructed on the wholly different principle of radiating arches, by which the pressures are transmitted in curving and oblique lines, which is quite another matter and permits a building of relatively light and thin-shelled domes of vast size as well as great and varied beauty of contour. But the hemispherical dome presents another problem, one that quite baffled the efforts of the Romans, mighty builders that they were, and that is, how a circular dome can be placed on a square plan—how the sphere of the dome can be combined with the cube of the space below. These shapes do not fit and can only touch at a few points, structurally wholly insufficient, and æsthetically even more impossible. Domes can be set on circular drums or colonnades, but this is an evasion of the problem. Circular buildings are in-

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convenient and unsatisfactory. Even if we place the dome on circular walls or columns within a rectangular building we shall have created awkward and useless spaces within and will have surrendered the superb and moving beauty that emerges from a natural and coherent union between such contrasting forms as the sphere and cube, which is indeed one of the triumphs of architecture.

It is to the architects of Persia that we owe the solution that was subsequently adopted in all the true domes built in India. This solution consists in interposing a third zone between the square chamber below and the round dome above, called the zone of transition. This zone, by means of little arches or bridges, called squinches, thrown across the corners of the square chamber below, transforms it at a higher level into an octagon, and then where necessary similarly reduces the angles of the octagon, making it sixteen sided, which in form is so near to that of a circle that the slight residual angularities are easily masked. There are many forms of squinches, but the principle is the same, an arch across the corners which are thus brought out to meet the circle of the drum.

This solution first appears in the Sasanian palace of Sarvistan in the middle of the fourth century, and was from then on richly developed and widely disseminated throughout Armenia, Syria, Byzantium, reaching Europe as well as Central Asia. The form culminates in the Dawazdah Imam of Yazd (1037), the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Iṣfahān (1080-1088), of Kazvin (1113), of Gulpaigan (1104-1118), and of Ardistan (1155), the domes of which are mediated by squinches that are the most magnificent known.

How superior the Persian dome system is to the original method of dome building in India is easily shown by any comparison of the characteristic examples in the two countries. The dome of the porch of Hīlal Khan Qazī's mosque in Dholka, near Ahmedabad, dated 1333, is the type that results from the Indian principles of dome construction. Seen from the outside, it is hardly more than an awkward, conical mass.²⁴ Even the handsome dome at Funah, near Gujerat, is constructed by the corbelling method, and cannot compare in beauty of form with the superb Seljuq domes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Persia.

The Persian principle of dome construction gradually spread to other parts of the world. It was standard in all the cities of Turkestan, where Persian culture, which had been dominant in Achæmenid and Sasanian times, was again renewed under the Samanids in the tenth century, and it was primarily from this region, as Fergusson long ago suggested, that the characteristic forms of the early Islamic architecture of India were introduced, a fact that can be promptly established by the most elementary comparison of the

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architecture of the two regions. All of the great free-standing domes of mediæval India are built on constructional principles that were worked out and applied in hundreds of structures in Persia centuries before they appeared in India.

By the fifteenth century true Persian domes were being built in various parts of India. The Great Mausoleum of Darya Khan at Ahmedabad (c. 1453)²⁵ follows in general proportion and in width of the zone of transition the Mosque of Gulpaigan, which was built at the beginning of the twelfth century, and the conical squinches with concentric semicircular courses like those of the Ala Darwaza in Delhi (c. A.D. 1311)²⁶ are in every essential like squinches of a tomb at Kasan which was built in 1340-41 (Fig. 8),²⁷ and which had antecedents in Persia proper such as in the little mosque at Mehme, and which in principle go back to the squinches of Sarvistan and Firuzabad of Sasanian times. Furthermore, squinches almost identical with those at Delhi and Kasan, but at least as old as the twelfth century, were recently discovered by M. Hackin in Afghanistan, near Bamiyan.

For the dome contour and the more developed squinch forms of the Mosque of Alif Khan at Dholka, there are literally scores of antecedents in both Turkestan and Persia, earlier by two centuries or more. The simpler form of squinch which preceded these at Dholka and Ahmedabad is to be found in the Jāmi Masjid at Mandu (Fig. 9), which in turn follows closely on numerous earlier models in Persia, and in fact is hardly distinguishable from some squinches in the first small dome on the west side of the sanctuary of the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Ardistan (Fig. 7), which was finished in 1158, a form which first appears in the Persian mosque at Kilwa, built about 875 (Fig. 6), and the contemporary Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Shiraz.

But it is in the Gol Gumbaz of Bijapur that we see the greatest triumph of Indian, and indirectly Persian, dome building (Fig. 10). This is architecturally a supreme creation, the world's largest dome, if measured by the enclosed space, and one of the best constructed measured by any standard. The sphere of the Pantheon dome is larger, but it sets on circular walls, and hence involves no special problem. But there is no dome anywhere set over a square chamber that approaches in size the masterpiece of Bijapur. The essential element in its construction, which has been so enthusiastically admired, is the reduction of the square by means of what, from one point of view might be regarded as huge, interlocking squinches, and from another, as a system of intersecting ribs. For it is the great arched ribs cutting across the corners in a succession of intersecting planes that reduce the summit of the vast square to a circle (Fig. 11).

Even a superficial study of Persian architecture shows that since the

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twelfth century this has been one of the commonest methods of dome construction in Persia, superseding entirely, by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the earlier squinch types. Ingenious as it is, the mechanical scheme is relatively simple, once thought out, and, as a scheme, is presented in its entirety by some of the ribbed vaults of the Masjid-i-Jāmi' in Iṣfahān, some of which seem to date from the ninth century, and none of which are later than the last quarter of the eleventh century (Fig. 12). It appears again in small scale in one of the little domes of the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Ardistan, and on a greater scale in the Masjid Gauhar Shad in Mashad, dated 1418, and the Masjid-i-Shah in Iṣfahān, which dates from about 1600. The domes of city gates, caravanserais, bazaars, baths, and private dwellings, and the half domes of most monumental portals, are everywhere in Persia constructed on this principle (Figs. 13, 14). The number of large buildings which use this scheme still standing in Persia runs into the hundreds, and small ones are uncountable.

But nowhere in Persia has this idea been carried out with such boldness as at Bijapur, and in this glorious dome we have a dramatic demonstration of the advantages that come from the sharing of artistic and technical resources. India had an ancient admiration for the dome, but India herself devised no scheme for the construction of a great dome over a square chamber. Yet it was India's love of grandeur and her ambitious imagination, and her resources in money and skilled labour, that carried to their supremest fulfilment these constructional ideas that were derived from Persia.

There are other features of the Gol Gumbaz that hark back to Persian originals and further emphasize the derivative character of its essential elements. Its points of similarity with the Mausoleum of Ismail the Samanid, a Persian structure built in Bokhara at the beginning of the tenth century, are too numerous and too fundamental to be accidental (Fig. 15).²⁸ In both we have the same square chamber, of the same proportions; in both, the same arched portal similarly placed and of similar contour and proportions. Around the upper part, the same arcaded gallery in both, and in both the round corner columns or turrets. Both have five domes, and the contours are again very close. When we recall that this Tomb of Ismail and buildings derived from it must have been known for many centuries to all the principal invaders and travellers from Turkestan to India, there can be no doubt left of the essential dependence of the Gol Gumbaz on models of this type. The claim advanced by Mr. Havell,²⁹ without the support of any published evidence, that this design of the Gol Gumbaz was wholly and originally Indian, was apparently intended as a compliment to India. Is it not an even greater compliment that Indian builders were sufficiently sincere and open-minded to appro-

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priate excellence wherever found which could assist them in carrying out their own genuinely great conception?

Other structural and decorative forms, less important, were transmitted to India almost intact. Although the cusped arch was probably originally of Indian inspiration, it was early developed in Central Asia at Mashad-i-Misrian (tenth century), and there combined with other elements, giving rise to ensembles that were closely copied in India. For example, the portal with cusped arches, with large disks in the spandrels, in the dome of Safed Bulan (twelfth century) (Fig. 18), is repeated with surprising fidelity in the mausoleum of 'Alī Shāhi Pīr-Kī Masjid at Bijapur (sixteenth century) (Fig. 17).

Although the idea of the minaret may have originated in India, the actual structures there to-day have their Persian prototypes. The most magnificent tower in India and surely one of the world's finest is the Qutb Minar in Delhi, built about 1190. The structural essentials of this and other minarets or towers of victory, as many of them certainly were, are to be found in the curious ground plan, which shows radiating stellate flanges, or sometimes semicircular projections, which in elevation give a very rich effect of a cluster of columns or ribs. In the Qutb Minar these alternate. The shaft generally tapers, and is divided into horizontal zones or bands of great richness. Long before the Qutb Minar was built, scores of these superb towers arose in Persia, where, despite the combined efforts of earthquake and human vandalism, many still remain. Some of them are funeral towers, some watch-towers perhaps, and others seem to be victory towers, although quite a number of them were originally minarets.

The matchless towers of victory at Ghazna of Mahmud and Masud III., which date from the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, are sometimes thought to show Indian authorship; but no antecedent or contemporary monuments of the kind are known in India, while the ornament shows that both buildings are purely Islamic.

At Dāmghān there are four, all of the eleventh century: two round towers, Pīr-i-Alamdār (1026) and the Chāhīl Dukhteran (1056), while the two minarets were built before 1100. At Semnān is another minaret of the same date, and three of enormous height are in Iṣfahān—two of the eleventh century and one of the twelfth. Kāshān and Gulpaigan have similar towers; others are to be found in Usgend (early eleventh century), Sava (1110), Sabzewar (1110), and Bokhara (1121). Nor does this exhaust the list.

As for the towers with the stellate flanges, the greatest of them, the colossal Gumbad-i-Kabus, 200 feet high, was finished in 1006, and was followed by a whole series of similar if lesser towers at Rayy, Damavand, Vāramīn, and Radkan. Some of these, especially those of East Persia, show

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a striking resemblance to the Qutb Minar, such as the tower at Radkan near Kushan in Khorassan, and especially the tower of Kishmar, also in Khorassan, which, like the Qutb Minar, has the wedge-shaped flanges alternating with the cylindrical projections. How widespread the style was is shown by the handsome minaret of Jahar Kurgan in Turkestan,³⁰ the nearest antecedent of the Qutb Minar. It has the same fluted structure, although not the prismatic flange. It is, however, girdled by a band of inscription at a considerable height from the ground in quite the same manner as its more famous derivative. Nearly all these monuments date from before 1200, and prove that the monumental tower was indigenous to Persia and Turkestan and intrusive elsewhere.³¹ Yet the idea may originally have come from India, and the Asoka columns, which are not part of any structure, but which exist in their own right as spectacular affirmations of authority and triumph, were sufficiently dramatic to be remembered and sufficiently handsome to arouse emulation. Various theories of their relation to the Persian monumental towers have been suggested, but the whole subject is still obscure. The Qutb Minar is one more building which owes much to Persian models, but it was enriched by Hindu ideas, and a distinctly new creation ensued which had unique merits of its own. The Qutb Minar is forty feet higher than any Persian minaret; it is of more permanent material, and if, as seems to many, it tapers too much, there is consolation in the beautiful colour contrasts. Once more Persia and India conspired to produce a masterpiece.

The Persian contribution to Indian Islamic architecture extended down to innumerable details, ample proof of how complete the artistic invasion was at this time. Again, because of the insufficiency of published material, the Persian origin of much Mogul ornament and detail has been overlooked. The faience mosaic in the fort of Lahore has its precise antecedent in scores of Persian buildings, where it had been the chief decoration since the fourteenth century; while the polychrome stucco in the fort at Agra is so close to that of the earlier palace of the Chahil Sutun at Iṣfahān that they might have been the work of the same artist. The flower sprays that adorn so many buildings of Mogul times often copy with perfect fidelity the decorated silks of Iṣfahān, Kāshān, Yazd, and Abianeh. Cable mouldings appear in Persia and in Balkh in the fifteenth century, and are not common in India until the seventeenth. The great recessed portal, which was in later times enriched by a cluster of stalactites, is Persian in origin; while the amusing device of the porcelain niches, such as we find in the fort at Agra and other Indian buildings, goes back not merely to the palace of the Ali Kapu in Iṣfahān in the early seventeenth century or the mosque of Ardabil still earlier, but well into the fifteenth century, as we know from miniatures.³²

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Nor is the Persian contribution to Indian architecture in any way an isolated or surprising phenomenon. It is merely one instance of a veritable flood of artistic influences that flowed from Persia towards India after the Islamic invasions, and enriched many phases of Indian life in Mogul times. India was probably never indifferent to the garden, but it was apparently not until the time of Baber that gardening was taken seriously as an independent art, and great spaces, planned and embellished as a single highly organized whole, were carefully co-ordinated with architecture. Baber's memoirs are decisive on this point, and he obviously felt that he was a pioneer in the gardening art in India, although Firoz Shah before him (1351-88) is credited with having built a hundred gardens. That Baber's gardens were purely Persian is plain enough from his own words. One of them, indeed, was called the *Chahil Sutun*, a name in earlier use in Persia for a garden palace. Nor did the greatest Mogul gardens ever compete in extent and hardly in magnificence with the vast *Iṣfahān* gardens of *Sharistan* and *Ferahabad*, to say nothing of the famous gardens of earlier times at *Kazvin*, *Tabriz*, *Nishapur*, and *Shirāz*.

In short, Persian contributions in Mogul times to the arts of painting, textile design, carpet weaving and garden planning were decisive. Persian poets, calligraphers, illuminators, designers, weavers, indeed master-craftsmen of all kinds, thronged the courts of Akbar, Humayun, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and if their work was soon acclimated and later in a certain degree submerged by the density and pressure of the surrounding Hindu culture, it remained an essential element in Indian civilization, and at the height of its power was responsible for many masterpieces.³³

Meanwhile Indian contributions to Persian architecture continued to show in certain details, although the moment of fundamental inspiration had passed. The little arcaded niches above the entrance arch in such typically Persian mosques as that at Anau,³⁴ and the arched panels that frame the portals, are they not, in some degree, the last reflection of the Buddha niches that surround the portals to the *Chaitya* Caves? The use of panels and blind arcades was already well developed in Sasanian times, and such a motive can easily have two sources. They may or may not in themselves be related, but the monuments in which these panels and arcade arrangements are most conspicuous are again, significantly enough, found in the East and in closest contact with Buddhist forms. The early Persian domes apparently were without finials, and the characteristic three-globe finial which tops so many domes in Persia is plainly of Indian origin, as Mr. Havell has shown. In Persia it is called *kalsa*, obviously the Indian *kalasa*.³⁵ Indian influence on Persian dome ornament shows on the lotus petal design on the dome of the *Masjid Mir Chaqmak* in Yazd (Fig. 16). In the eastern provinces of Persia,

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and naturally in Afghanistan, decorative and structural elements from India play an important part down through the nineteenth century, while the prestige of the great domed mausoleums, of which the Taj was the most notable, quite likely reinforced the native Persian interests in such monuments; and the very name of the shrine at Nishapur, Gadam-gah, the Footprint (of the Prophet), is an evidence, as Diez has pointed out,³⁶ of Indian influence, for such shrines were common in India. But these later interchanges are more superficial than creative.

These various interchanges of idea and form, of religious symbol and constructive technique, culminated in a supreme moment which must be seen as a co-operative creation, the most perfect expression of the combined genius of India and Persia. By common consent of architect and general public the Taj Mahal marks the crowning achievement of Indian architecture and, many indeed think, of the whole world. Its glories have been so often recounted by poets, critics, and travellers, who have lavished on it their utmost resources of language, that there are no more words of praise to offer; but the serious effort to fully comprehend is the sincerest homage, and the full significance of the Taj Mahal will not be revealed until we more clearly understand its origin and rescue it from sentimentality and various myths that so often cluster around a momentous creation.

Its place in Indian life and indeed in the history of art and culture generally has been obscured by the myth which affirmed that this *chef d'œuvre* was due to an Italian jeweller, named Veroneo. That such a tale, supported by no real evidence and utterly improbable on the face of it, could gain such wide currency in Europe is dreary evidence of the incorrigible arrogance of the West that has in the past so readily assumed that everything of supreme merit must of course be European in origin. This fantasy has already been devastated by Mr. Havell,³⁷ and now belongs to the realm of bedtime stories. It would be well if the door could be locked against its return.

What are the facts? Father Manrique, an Augustinian friar, writing some years after the event, claimed that a Portuguese missionary told him that Veroneo was the architect of the Taj Mahal,³⁸ a suspiciously brief statement and one wholly unsupported by any other witness and to be found in no other record of any kind. Yet there were thoroughly competent Europeans like Tavernier and Bernier, interested in architecture, who were in Agra at the time, with far superior facilities for observations on such matters than Father Manrique could have claimed. Father Manrique's accounts of various other matters, when critically examined, show that as an observer he was incompetent and untrustworthy. The story is, moreover, inherently unreasonable. Jewellers do not design great architectural monuments. Architecture is

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neither a question of pretty designs nor delicate craftsmanship. How to compose the thousands of tons of stone and hold aloft in secure repose these mighty masses is a severely technical undertaking for which an itinerant jeweller could have no qualifications. Several documents exist giving us definitely the names of the builders and the principal workmen,³⁹ all of whom were Asiatic, and whoever is really familiar with the architecture of Asia will find in every feature of style and every element of construction nothing but Asiatic influences. That Veroneo may have expressed some opinion at the time the designs were being considered is probable, and that Italian craftsmen may have executed some of the ornament is conceivable, although by no means necessary in view of the Persian antecedents of carved and inlaid marble, to say nothing of the faience, mosaic, and all the highly developed Persian textile ornament which supplied the models for many of the patterns that decorate the Taj Mahal.

The documents name Ustad Isa, alternately of Shirāz and of Agra, as the chief architect.⁴⁰ There is no contradiction in the two names. Ustad Isa, like many of his compatriots and colleagues, could easily have originally come from a Persian city, where he had lived and worked and established his reputation, and from whence he had been attracted to India by the great building activities of the Mogul emperors, and the cordial welcome and generous terms which they extended to the acknowledged masters from Persia.

But that the chief architect was Persian would not itself make the Taj a Persian building. The Taj was built in India after the most painstaking consideration by an Indian patron. The transcendant passion which conceived it was Indian, and so was the extravagant ambition to achieve absolute perfection. Such pouring out of wealth for a single monument is characteristic of the lavishness of India when great emotions and great hopes are stirred. The fundamental elements of the structure are originally Indian. The dome itself, the five-dome scheme, the octagonal plan, to say nothing of the smaller details, are as old and characteristic of India as Buddhism.

It is none the less out of the question that such a building could have been achieved in India alone. It is not quite in the spirit of India, which normally seeks a richer, more lavish expression. The simplicity of mass, the austere purity of contour, these had for centuries ample antecedents in Persia but few in India. The exquisitely exact logic of the plan, this also is more Persian than Indian, and the foundation principles which are embodied in the structure would probably have remained in the realm of symbols had it not been for the architectural genius of Persia by which they were translated into practical and artistic realities. The prolific splendour of Indian thought, its deep and exuberant emotion, its far-reaching imagination, its feeling for the absolute,

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are all eloquently expressed in the Taj, but they are formed and disciplined by Persian reserve and lucidity. Its lofty tranquillity, its majestic setting—these also are Persia's contributions; the utter surrender to a great vision, the uncompromising resolution to achieve an ideal of perfection surpassing the world of fact—this was an inspiration from India. Persia and India merging their ancient traditions, pooling and exchanging their inherited resources, blending their marked but different talents, together achieved the impossible. Thus are the supreme moments of civilization attained.

The Taj Mahal has been seen as a perfect expression of a profound passion, the most glorious monument to love that has ever been known. It ought also to be regarded as a monument to artistic and intellectual co-operation, the profitable exchange of technique and ideas between kindred cultures, a proof that civilization is a common task, of which the progress depends upon sympathy and co-operation between allied peoples.

Such a significant co-operation between two great cultures, one inspiring, the other realizing, calls for much further research and elucidation. It has been a significant and beneficent force in the world's history concerning which we urgently need to know more. Further archæological research on the innumerable rich and promising sites in both countries is essential. Documentary research, photographic and architectural surveys, must be completed.

There are other ways in which this long and fruitful co-operation can be set forth. If the infinite treasures of Asiatic art that are now scattered like the leaves of some precious book throughout public and private collections could only be rationally assembled in special museums, the essential unity and integrity of Asiatic art would be dramatically revealed, and a new chapter in the history of culture opened that might have momentous consequences—intellectual, artistic, and even practical. We could then more directly and more fully understand the life, the art and philosophy of Asia, a culture in which we were cradled and from which we yet have so much to learn.³⁷

NOTES

¹ Sir Arthur Keith, "The Riddle of Civilization," in *New York Times Magazine*, April 3, 1932.

² Sir Aurel Stein, "Innermost Asia," Oxford, 1928, Vol. II., p. 919.

³ There was, for example, at Arfud, between Bukhara and Samarkand, a Buddhist temple with images that existed until well into the Islamic period. See also *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. I., article on "Bukhara," p. 776.

⁴ Sir Aurel Stein, "Archæological Reconnaissances in Southern Persia," in the *Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXXIII., No. 2, February, 1934, and "The Indo-Iranian Borderlands, their Pre-History in the Light of Geography and of Recent Explorations," the Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1934, in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXIV., London, 1934, pp. 119-202.

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⁵ Unicorn cup in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, illustrated in *The Studio*, London, Vol. C.I., No. 454, January, 1931, p. 5, in an article by Arthur Upham Pope, "The Spirit of Persian Art."

⁶ Discussed in some detail by Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, "Early Iranian Animal Styles," in the forthcoming "Survey of Persian Art," Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1935.

⁷ Hadi Hasan, "A History of Persian Navigation," London, 1928, p. 68.

⁸ E. Diez, in *Eastern Art*, Vol. I., 2, p. 117.

⁹ Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.

¹⁰ R. Grousset, "L'Iran Extérieur: Son Art." Publications de la Société des Études Iraniennes, No. 2, Paris, 1932, p. 9.

¹¹ A. K. Coomaraswamy, in *Eastern Art*, Vol. III. (1931).

¹² F. Sarre, "Denkmaler Persische Baukunst," Berlin, 1901-04, p. 9.

¹³ E. Diez, "Die Kunst der Islamische Völker," Berlin, 1915, and "Churasanische Baudenkmäler," Berlin, 1918.

^{13a} Some brief preliminary notices have already been published as follows—Arthur Upham Pope: "Some Aspects of Persian Mosques," in *Illustrated London News*, August 30, 1930; "The Most Closely Guarded Shrine in Persia," in *Illustrated London News*, September 27, 1930; "Islamic Architecture in Persia," in *Illustrated London News*, February 4, 1933; "Persian Architecture," in *Country Life*, January 3, 1931; "Persian Brickwork," in *Country Life*, December 31, 1932; "Some Recently Discovered Seljuk Stucco," in *Ars Islamica*, Vol. I., Part 1 (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1934), p. 110; "The Historical Significance of Stucco Decoration in Persian Architecture," in *Art Bulletin*, Chicago, December, 1934; "Report of the Fifth Season's Photographic Survey of Persian Architecture," in *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, December, 1935. Sir Edward Lutyens: "Persian Brickwork—II." in *Country Life*, February 4, 1933. Stanley Casson: "Persian Architecture and the West," in *Architectural Review*, June, 1933. André Godard: "Tarik Khaneh," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, December, 1934; "Les Tours de Maragha," *Publications de la Société des Études Iraniennes*. No. 6. Paris, 1934.

¹⁴ E. Cohn-Wiener, "Turan," Berlin, 1930.

¹⁵ E. Diez, "The Principles of Persian Islamic Architecture," in the forthcoming "Survey of Persian Art."

¹⁶ This thesis has been frequently advanced by E. B. Havell as follows—"Indian Architecture," London, 1913, pp. 99 ff., also p. 115, where he says, for example: "The true history of Indian architecture, Buddhist, Hindu and Muhammadan, is written in the monuments which exist only in India itself." "A Handbook of Indian Art," London, 1920, p. 106: "Musalman architecture had . . . established . . . no great original masterpieces to hold up as examples for the Hindu builder," and (p. 109) the Indian builders solved the dome problem "in the traditional way by a system of pendentives." But the pendentives of the baths at Jerash anticipate any in India by more than one thousand years. In this same book (p. 110) Havell says that Indo-Muhammadan architecture was really "a new and brilliant development of the ancient Indo-Aryan building traditions under the pressure of foreign domination. The æsthetic ideas which found expression in Musalman architecture in India came from the mind of the Indian builder and not from his Arab, Pathān, Turkish or Mongol master," and (p. 130) that "the Mogul building tradition was . . . wholly Indian," and later, on p. 130, "there is no peculiarity of design or construction characteristic of Western methods in any buildings of the sixteenth or seventeenth century."

¹⁷ See, for example, for the Chaitya Cave at Nasik (c. second century B.C.) and the Lomas Rishi Cave at Barabar (257 B.C.), Vincent Smith, "A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon," Oxford, 1930, second edition, Pl. 7. Similar constructions exist at Bhaja and Karli. For an illustration of the portal to Cave XIX at Ajanta, see E. B. Havell, "Handbook of Indian Art," Pl. I.

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¹⁸ Havell, "Indian Architecture," pp. 4-13.

¹⁹ Captain K. A. C. Creswell, in a letter to the author dated June 19, 1933.

²⁰ Arthur Upham Pope, "A Sasanian Garden Palace," in *Art Bulletin*, Chicago, Vol. XV., No. 1, 1933.

²¹ I owe this suggestion to Mr. K. de B. Codrington.

²² Dr. Oscar Reuther, in a letter to the author, dated September 22, 1932, wrote: "Wäre es nun nicht möglich, dass die sasanidischen Perser den rahmenden Spitzbogen von Indien nicht nur als Form sondern mit seiner symbolischer Bedeutung übernommen hatten und dass er so der unmittelbare Vorläufer des Mihrab wäre? Ich denke da an die Sure 24, Vers 35, wo es ja heisst: 'Allah ist das Licht des Himmels und der Erde. Sein Licht ist gleich einer Nische, in der sich eine Lampe befindet,' etc. Ich habe immer geglaubt, dass diese Sure, auf die ja die zahlreichen Mihrabs mit den Darstellungen an Ketten hangender Lampen oder Ampeln hinweisen, mit dem zoroastrischen Lichtkult zusammenhangt und dass der Prophet sie verfasst hat, um den Zoroastriern eine Brücke zum Islam zu bauen."

²³ Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Architecture," in *Eastern Art*, Vol. III. (1931). The relation between the transverse vault and representations in Indian reliefs of the same form in wooden structures has also been noticed independently by Professor Monneret de Villard in an article on the "Westward Expansion of Sasanian Architectural Forms" in the Second Part of the forthcoming "Survey of Persian Art."

²⁴ The dome of the porch of Hilal Khan Qazi's Mosque in Dholka is illustrated in Havell, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIV.

²⁵ Havell ("Indian Architecture," p. 110) says that the interior arrangement of intersecting arches in the tomb of Darya Khan, near Ahmadabad, is really a device characteristically Hindu-Indian architecture. But this is purely Persian, and can be found in scores of buildings much older than any similar structures yet cited in India.

²⁶ See K. de B. Codrington, "An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Art in India," in *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*, Vol. VII., No. 2, Pl. XXII.

²⁷ E. Cohn-Weiner, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI.

²⁸ There were, of course, numerous other monuments of the same character, some of which still survive in part, such as the tomb of Djelal ed din el Hussein (1152) at Usgend, illustrated in Cohn-Wiener, *op. cit.*, Plate XII., and another one, unidentified, in the same city (1186-7), illustrated in the same book on Plate XV.

²⁹ E. B. Havell, "Handbook of Indian Art," p. 127.

³⁰ To be illustrated in an article by E. Cohn-Wiener in the next issue of *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*.

³¹ Illustrations of many of these towers will be found in Diez, "Churasanischer Baudenkmäler," and others will be illustrated in the forthcoming "Survey of Persian Art."

³² L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, "Persian Miniature Painting," London, 1933, Pl. LXVIII.a.

³³ Dr. Herman Goetz has summarized this influence in a recent article, "The Genesis of Indo-Muslim Civilization," in *Ars Islamica*, Vol. I., Part 1, 1934, p. 47: "What Stambul was to the orthodox clergy, the Persian court was to Mughal aristocracy. Isfahan, admired and envied at the same time, was their model of elegant taste. As early as the sixteenth century Humayun had spent his years of exile at the court of Shah Tahmasp, and on his return he had brought with him not only Persian manners, but also well-known artists among his followers. Since this time a continuous stream of Persian emigrants came to the Mughal court, where they attained great power by their cultivated manners and cleverness. . . . It may be said that from the years in which Djahangir was recognized as crown prince up to the reign of Awrangzib there existed a regular Persian party among the Mughal grandees, which included the families of some of the most powerful empresses." Persian elements in the Mogul architecture of India have been

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briefly though ably set forth by R. Grousset in "The Civilizations of the East," India, London and New York, 1932, pp. 344, 350, 362. See also K. de B. Codrington, *op. cit.*

³⁴ E. Cohn-Wiener, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXIV.

³⁵ Havell, "Indian Architecture," p. 32.

³⁶ E. Diez, *op. cit.*

³⁷ E. B. Havell, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-7. Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-5, discusses the problem in some detail, taking an elaborately judicial attitude, finding great merit in Father Manrique's positive assertions, but so many of his assertions on other matters are untrue that the case is one where the indirect evidence deserves the greater weight.

³⁸ "Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique," Hakluyt Society, Oxford, 1927, p. 173.

³⁹ Havell, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-4.

⁴⁰ The designation "Rumi" might mean nothing more than "foreigner from the West."

⁴¹ The proposal for an Asiatic Museum in London, long felt as a painful necessity, was first formally proposed at a meeting held by the India Society in London in February, 1931, and was subsequently more fully discussed at a specially convened meeting under the auspices of the India Society at India House in London in May of the same year.

[Nearly all the Indian monuments referred to in this article are illustrated in various volumes of the Archæological Survey of India.]

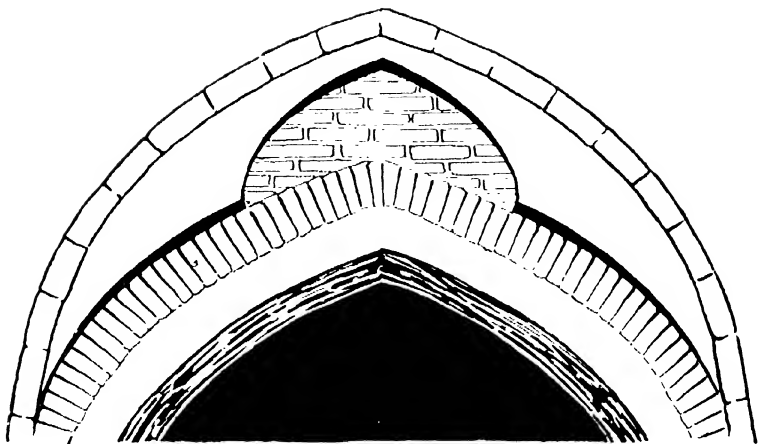


FIG. A. STUPA, MA-HI-D-I-FAM.
 From the eleventh century, according to Buddha's form
 (Cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1911, p. 101).



FIG. B. SEATED FIGURE IN NICHE IN BUDDHIST GATE, TWELFTH CENTURY,
 FROM A PERSIAN CARVED BRONZE BOWL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

(Cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1911, p. 101).

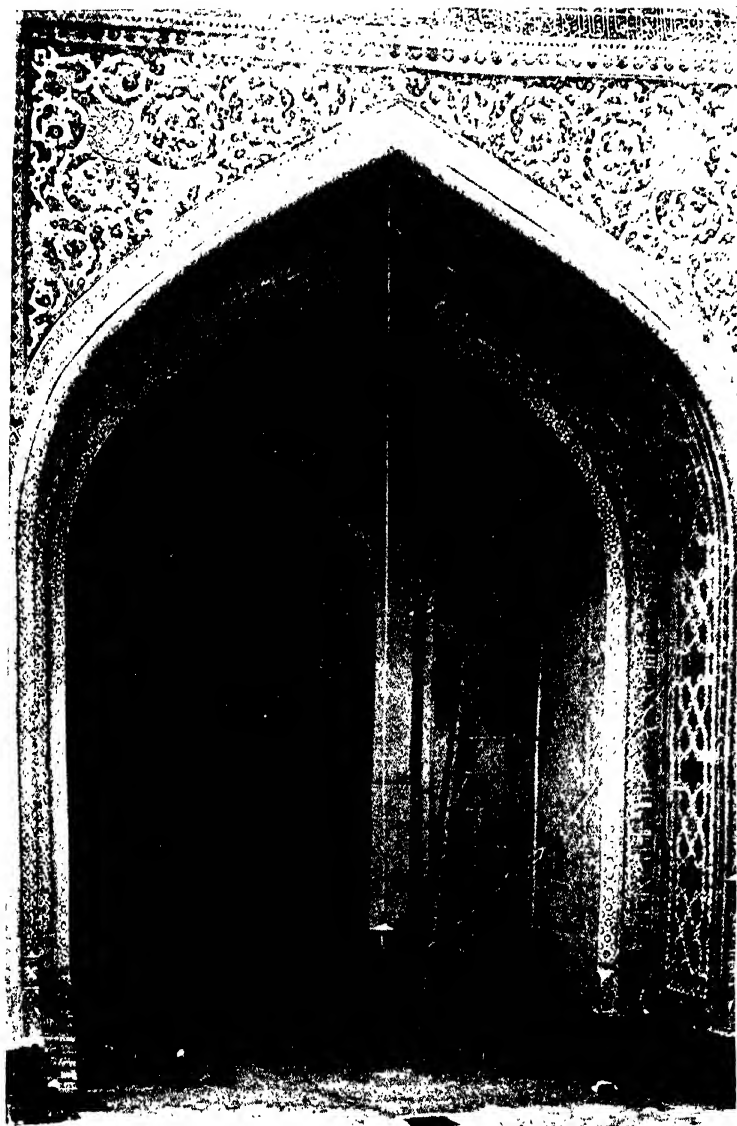


Photo. Toft

FIG. 1. MASHAD: MASJID-I GAUHAR SHĀD (1118), S. W. IVAN,
SHOWING INDIAN INFLUENCE IN SHAPE OF ARCH.



FIG. 3. GULFAGAN, VANDERBILT CAMP (12-1115) SHOWING
FURNACE ON OCTAGONAL STRUCTURE (P. 1004).



FIG. 2. OKKAM, THE TILLOTSONS, A TWELFTH-CENTURY
OCTAGONAL STRUCTURE.



FIG. 6.—REMAINS OF A CASTLE RUINS OF HSIENAN MOSQUE
CHINA. PHOTOGRAPHS FROM SHEN CHAI, 1875.



FIG. 7.—ARISTONIAN MOSQUE, LAMU, 115-60, SHOWING INTERNAL
ARCHES AND SMALL SQUARES LIKE THOSE AT MANU.



FIG. 8.—LANSAT SQUINCH IN TOMB OF A SAINT (?) (1310-14).
From Colm-Werner's "Türkei" (First War in the Publisher).



FIG. 9.—"AMİ" MASHID, VANDU, SHOWING FERISAN SQUINCHES.

Photo. the author

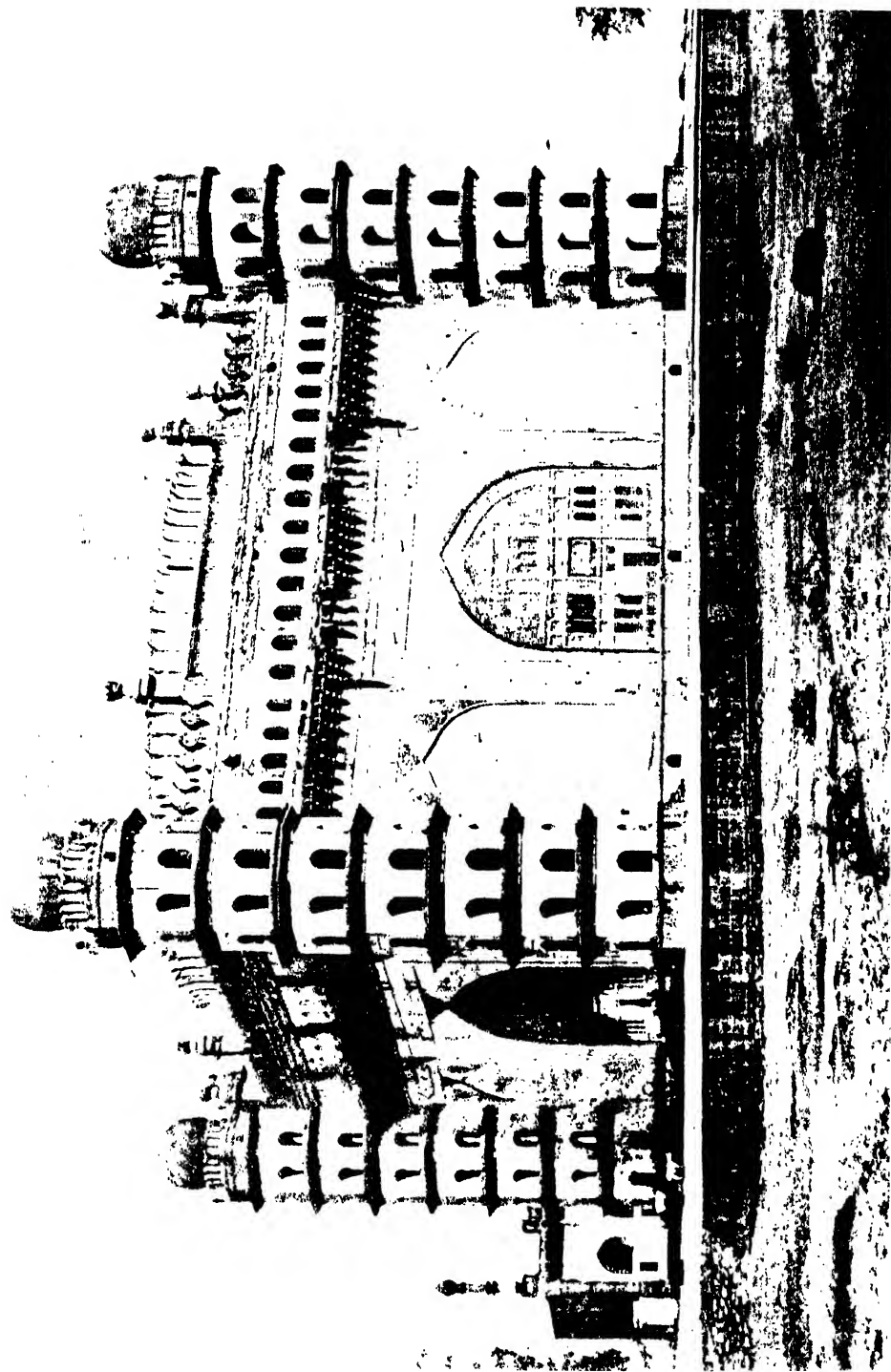


FIG. 10. THE GATE OF ELLORA CAVE.

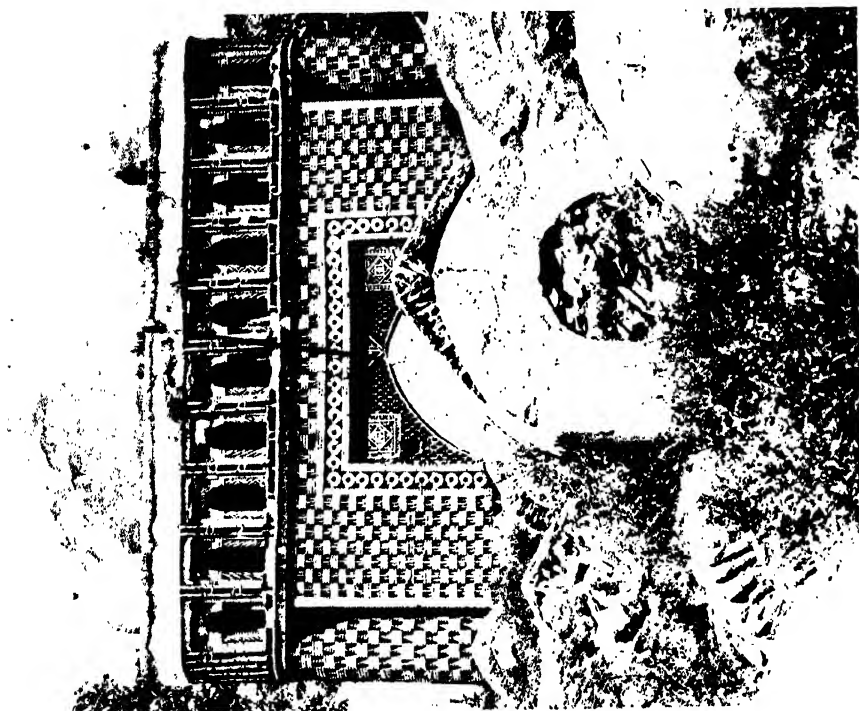


FIG. 13. — Gumbaz at Bijapur, India. (From *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1907, p. 100.)

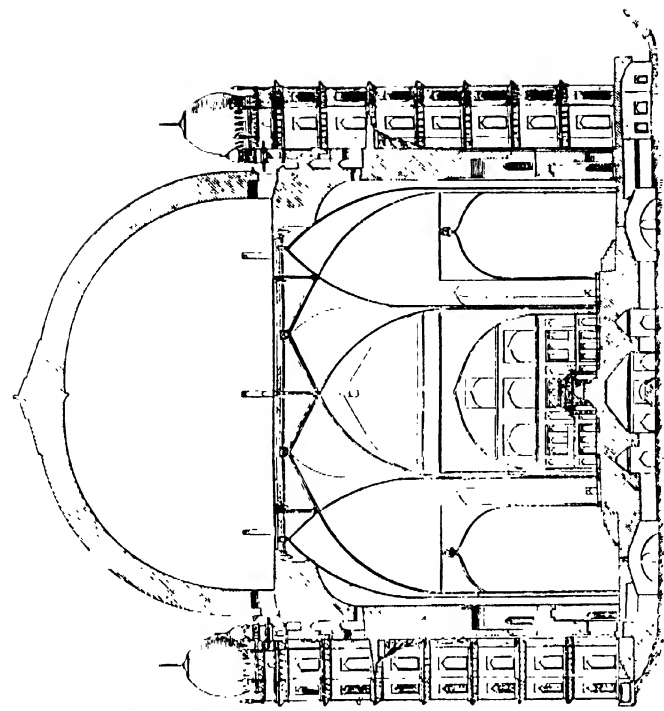


FIG. 14. — PLAN OF INTERIOR OF GOL GUMBAZ.
From *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1907, p. 100.

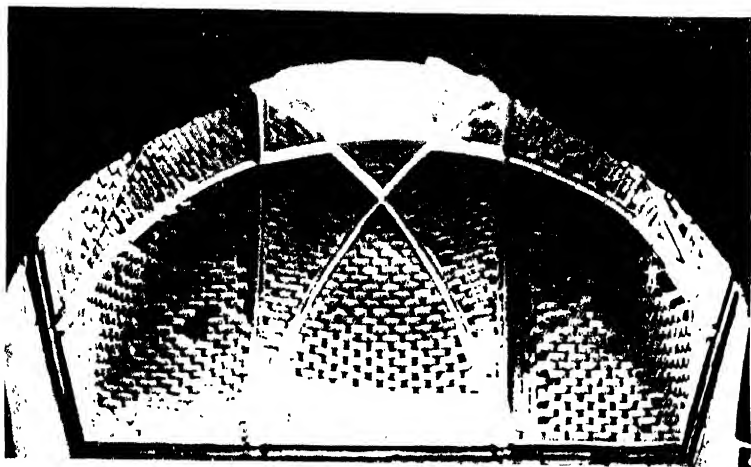


FIG. 12. TEBKAN, MAHMOUDIYAH TOMB, CAIR, EGYPT, LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

An early form of intersecting rib of vault, identical in principle with the structure of the Gal Combaraz.



FIG. 13. NATANZ, CITY GATE: BEGINNING OF FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

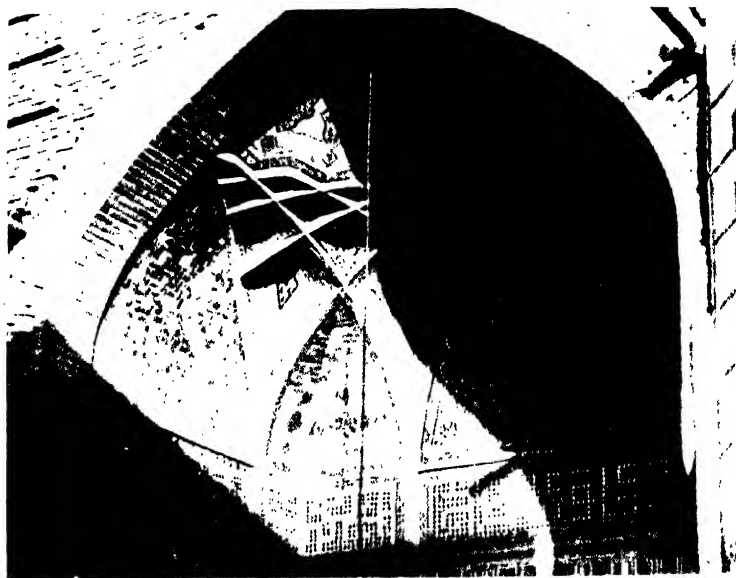


FIG. 14. ISFAHAN, MASJID ALI, CIRCA 1512, SHOWING INTERSECTING RIB CONSTRUCTION, HALF-DOME OF PORTAL.

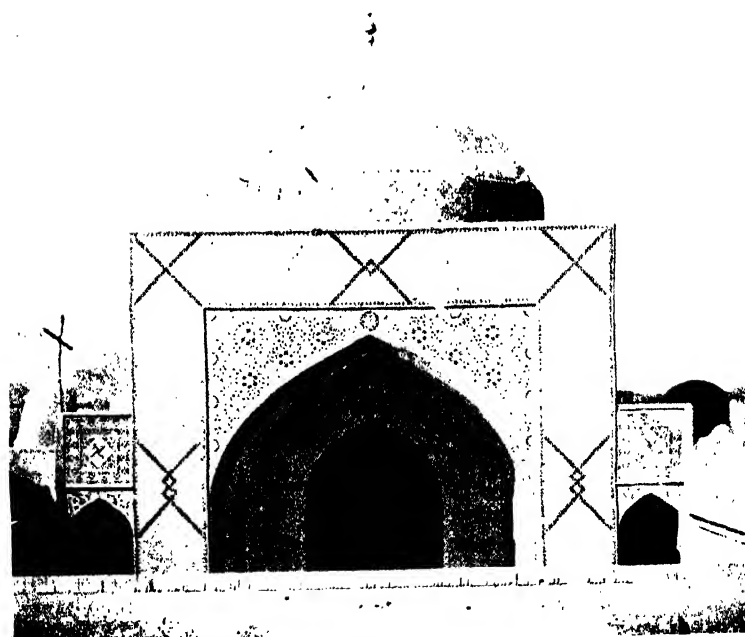


FIG. 16. SAZD, MASJID: MIR CHAQMÄK, FIFTEENTH CENTURY, SHOWING INDIAN INFLUENCE IN LOTUS PATTERN OF DOME AND IN DOME FINIAL.

THE DANCES OF THE JAVANESE THEATRE *

BY TH. B. VAN LELYVELD

IN the first place I should like to express my thanks for the honour done to me in having invited me to deliver this lecture to a Society so well known for the serious manner in which it promotes the study and appreciation of Indian Art, the character and nature of which claim our attention for numerous reasons.

I am fully aware that I do not speak your language in a way you would like to hear it spoken. Therefore, I would ask your indulgence especially in regard to my pronunciation.

In asking your attention, for some moments, to one of the most beautiful expressions of Javanese culture, namely the art of the dance, I need not point out to the members of this Society that, like all Indian art, the character of these dances differs totally from the art of dancing in the Occident. While in Europe this art is portrayed by numberless individual expressions, you are undoubtedly aware that in the Far East the art of dancing was a function of social need, and took its rise not from an individual but from a general æsthetic idea.

When reference is made to the art of the Javanese dance, we must bear in mind not the various profane popular dances, but rather a way of expression of the Javanese theatre, that is to say, of the very old theatre with the use of masks—called “wajang topèng”—and of the theatre of a younger date without masks, called the “wajang wong.”

These mask-theatres point to a religious idea in which ancestors are given devotion and honour. As in the case of all peoples of antiquity there has been a transition from religious ceremonies and ritual to dramatic representation. This was precisely the case also in Java.

The animistic rituals with the use of masks were the origin of the mask-theatre. Consequently there was also a transition of the rhythmical mimicry and of the dances of the primitive religious ceremonies to the dances of the later dramatic performances of the mask-theatre. These dances were of a Polynesian character.

When, between the third and tenth century, important colonies of Hindus from the south of the Indian continent invaded Java, these Hindus exercised a great cultural influence on the inhabitants of Java, who were accessible and

* A lecture delivered before the India Society on May 28, 1935.

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susceptible to that influence. The splendid Hindu-Javanese monuments of central Java are well known to you. Three years ago my friend, Colonel van Erp, revealed to members of the India Society the beauties of the Borobudur.

This Hindu influence was not restricted only to architecture and sculpture, but the Hindu theatrical performances with dances gave rise in Java to the development of a new theatre without the use of masks, the "wajang wong" just mentioned, whereby the dances, as a manner of expression, were indispensable.

It is true that these dances adopted many technical details from the Hindus, but the character, the nature, and the power of imagination of the Javanese people dominated more and more the style of the dances. One of the principal causes was that the dances were based on the technique and the ideas of the ancient and sacred theatre with silhouettes shown on a white curtain ("shadow play"). The people were and are still to this day very attached to this kind of theatre. The performances were originally also dedicated to the memory of ancestors.

It was the sign-language of the new theatre that played an important part in the drama, just as is the case on the Hindu stage.

However, this language of gesticulation was not the same everywhere in the south of India. The mimic art of the dramatic tales, called "Kathâcali," of the coast of Malabar, is quite different from the same art in the Telugu country, the region from which it is supposed that the colonizations to Java originally came.

Now it is noteworthy and of great importance to the origin of the dance in Java that many peculiar gestures of the hands and of other parts of the body, belonging to the old Telugu theatre, formerly described in Sanskrit scriptures, are found again in the Javanese dances.

The mimicry derived from the religious ritual attained a much greater importance in India, Egypt and elsewhere than in Europe. The nature and temperament of Eastern races gave a higher value to the meaning and significance of gestures, while the physical build of the body highly facilitated the beautiful execution of these gestures.

Nowhere was sign language studied so minutely as in Hindustan by the Hindus. This science benefited the theatre, it was accurately described, and codified with the utmost precision. The expressive plastic features of the dance reached through it a remarkable degree of perfection.

It is very interesting to note that the dance, which belonged to one of the six obligatory ritual actions of the "Paçupata" sect, was described in the following manner in their Çivaistic instructions :

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"The dance is the gesticulation of hands and feet with the motion of other parts of the body, by which, according to the rules of the Nāṭya Śāstra—that is the instruction for the dance—is revealed that which is experienced in the mind."

Up to the present time no clearer definition can be given. Like the Indian peoples the Javanese believe that their dance is a gift derived from the Heavenly Powers. To the present day the Javanese adhere to the legend that they owe their dances to the lovely Widadaris, the nymphs of the heaven of Indra; their seductive dances gave delight to the Dewas, the celestial beings who were in love with them.

According to another story we know that Bathâra Guru—a personification of Śiva as a celestial donor of wisdom—composed an orchestra called "gamelan," the well-known Javanese music. Then he built a temple in which the gods and goddesses danced the first dances, while their songs were accompanied by the sweet sounds of the "gamelan."

Because the magic dances belonged to the religious ceremonies of nearly all the primitive and animistic peoples, there is no doubt that the Javanese also have known such dances in their animistic culture and in their priestly rituals concerning ancestor worship.

Such magic dances still exist in the Indian archipelago, but in Java we cannot find any traces of them.

For a long time Europeans have held fast to the opinion, held by Javanese intellectuals, that the theatre called "wajang wong" came into existence in the eighteenth century. Prince Mankoenagara I. is said to be the creator of this type of theatre.

It is, however, inconceivable that a person who was surnamed Mas Sahit, or the perpetual revolter, even if gifted with artistic qualities, would be capable of creating a new type of theatre with such a perfect structure. It is also inconceivable to suppose that where, for so many centuries, the Hindus in Java had influenced architecture, sculpture, language and literature, the theatre with all its dances would be unaffected by this influence.

This opinion, however, was principally based on the fact that the dance-scenes on the stone-reliefs of the Borobudur and of the temples of Prambanan, show a completely Hindu character, with an absolute Hindu rhythm and Hindu dancing movements. This Hindu rhythm is more effusive, the attitudes are more lascivious, than those of the modest and decent art of Javanese dancing. No trace of a Javanese conception can be found on the dancing figures of these reliefs.

There was, however, one factor that was left out of consideration, namely the poses of the hands; a factor of immense value, because in the old

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Hindu theatre, and also elsewhere, the numberless poses of the single hand and of the combined hands, next to the movements of the other parts of the body, expressed standard phrases ; in this way a kind of language was uttered. This was nothing extraordinary, because from earliest times mankind, prior to having at its disposal a language of sound, made known its intentions and feelings by a language of gestures. The hand, by which the soul expressed itself, conveyed in this manner the human thought.

Besides, in early Christian Art, the gesture of the hand had also, in Europe, definite significance, as : The hand held before the mouth means silence ; wringing the hands means sorrow ; to clinch or double the fist means anger ; holding up the hands during prayer means supplication, and so on. In the East the number and varied significations of gestures were much greater, especially in religion and on the stage. We must bear in mind that originally all these gestures had a magic character. As a matter of fact in ancient times almost the whole world believed that the hands possessed an active magic power, because this part of the body is principally used for nearly all actions. The hands pointed to power. We know that the Hindus pronouncing the mantras, sealed these exorcising formulæ by gestures of the hands, called "hasta," meaning hand ; while in Buddhist iconography the gestures are called "mudras," signifying seal. It is with the greatest care that these "mudras " were described and executed.

The hands talked with intelligence by the attitudes, the movement, the fold and plait of the fingers. The language of the hand was so clear that the intensity of expression was attained especially by the gestures of the hands. In this way these gestures became of paramount importance in the language of the dance.

Now it is of the greatest interest in reference to the origin of the Javanese dances, that the stylish gestures of the hands in the present dances, as appears from Dr. Coomaraswamy's translation of the Sanskrit "Abhinaya Darpana," which contains the different hand and other poses of the theatre, prove to be originally from the Telugu country. The supposition that the dances of the "wajang wong" is of purely Javanese creation is nullified by this fact.

As a symbolic form of expression the sacred evocations of the hands were not only a part of the Brahmanic worship, but they were also accepted by the Buddha during his meditation under the bodhi-tree, and afterwards when he preached in the country. They have been noticed in the Hindu and Buddhist plastic art in bronze and stone, and also in old Indian, Chinese and Japanese paintings.

It is very interesting to note, that after a period of some thousand years

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the same Hindu actions of the hands in the art of Javanese dancing are kept unchanged. This is especially interesting because it was only by means of oral tradition that they were repeated from generation to generation. The original significance, however, is lost in Java. Happily, they have now broken with the oral tradition, which is so dangerous in these times of rapid change. In 1918, in the town of Jogja, a dancing-school was opened by a brother of the Sultan. An illustrated manual of instructions was composed in the Dutch and in the Javanese language in which the whole technique was fixed for all times.

However, without any real signification, the expressiveness of the poses of the hands play a great part in the present dance. The rare finesse and grace of the hands, the sensitiveness by which the finger and sign language is spoken, are so striking and so vivid, that we always realize that the attitudes of the hands are not mere embellishments nor simple ornamentations.

Besides the beautiful poses of the hands we find quite a number of remains of the old Hindu dances in the Javanese dances. As in the case of the splendid architecture and sculpture in Java the art of dancing was formerly a Hindu-Javanese art. But because in its development this art becomes a direct reflection of the soul and nature of the cultured Javanese, and because its aristocratic and graceful style has grown up to a purely Javanese style, definitely allied with Javanese music, and Javanese rhythm, we may now speak of it with accuracy as being a Javanese art.

When, as we have already said, in the Hindu period in Java, the theatre called "*wajang wong*" arose from the Hindu theatre with its expressive dances, the dances in the "*wajang wong*" also became an inherent part next to the music and the spoken word. A very ancient continuity was thus formed, a phenomenon also found in the classic European theatre, but this was lost later on.

Happily it seems that this old tradition is now wanted again, perhaps it may prove the remedy to save the sinking theatre of the present day. We recall to mind the ideals of Wagner, those of some French and Russian reformers, and those of the Dutch author-poet, Frederic van Eeden.

By its classic structure the "*wajang wong*" gives an excellent model of what a perfect theatre must be and can be. The homogeneous parts: the spoken word, the dance and the music, are equally important. They are equally indispensable, they flow together in the drama. Moreover, the elements dance and music give to the drama a very attractive factor of beauty.

The repertoire consists of so-called "*lakons*," tales which relate the epic legends from the Indian "*Mahâbharata*" and "*Ramayâna*," but they are

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arranged and remodelled on a Javanese system. Also the so-called "taran-gans" are put on the stage: they are tales invented by Javanese princes or by native sages, in which also figures of both Indian epic legends make their appearance. The whole repertoire symbolizes the struggle between the ideas Good and Evil, between Eternity and Instability. Therefore for many centuries the theatre was the greater educator of the Javanese people; without education this people learned to understand the lessons from literature, in which it followed the example of the deeds of the idealized heroes.

The number of the theatre-tales or "lakons" is very great; perhaps it was the merit of Mangkoenagara I. that, after a gradual development of the early dancing-plays, a complete "lakon" could be performed for the first time.

This "lakon" was called "Widjanarka." New forms of dances were necessary, perhaps new musical compositions also. Anyhow the performance of this "lakon" was a very praiseworthy achievement for the later development.

The "wajang wong" theatre was until fifteen years ago an art destined exclusively for performance in the Javanese courts; only sons of princes and of the nobility were allowed to participate in it, while only the prince was permitted to create new forms of dances.

There are differences in the manner of execution of these dances. Firstly, there are different styles at the courts of Solo and of Jogja. In Solo the art of dancing is more conservative, the style is of more distinction than the dances of Jogja. But here, on the other hand, the dances have a robust character, they are more expressionistic, therefore they are executed to the accompaniment of a more animated "gamelan" music than in Solo.

Two other forms of dancing are cultivated in both parts of the country, namely the strong and the delicate manner. The variations consist especially in lifting up the arms and the legs higher in the strong dance; further, in standing more straddle-legged, in bending deeper with the knees, and in jerking the movements more pronouncedly. Generally, in this story-dance, as we shall see during the demonstrations, the posture is more heroic, more self-conscious, more passionate, the expression is quicker and firmer than in the delicate dance, which is more tender, and exquisite. Much more concentration, attention and self-possession are required from the dancer in the delicate manner, when he is executing the very graceful gestures in a slow movement, than from the dancer in the strong manner. Especially is this the case with the dancing women, who exclusively dance in the delicate manner. Then the tenderness and beauty of the plastic attain a culminating point; it would

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seem that, with entire abandonment of the soul, in those moments a sacrifice is made to beauty.

Such perfection in movement can only be attained by a development coming down the centuries and on a soil that is fertile to it.

This delicate dance is intended for the characterization of distinction and tenderness. Besides women it is danced by the nobility, by people of high culture and young men prior to the growth of their moustaches. But the dreaded demons, the mighty giants and the fearless heroes express their mind by the strong and impressive dancer ; they are of another type of beauty.

In this short introduction to the Javanese dance we cannot deal with the close connection it has with the movements of the shadow play, neither will it be possible to give a general view of the different forms of dances, nor to treat the complicated elements of technique. We must, however, remember that the dance means a manner of expression ; for that reason it possesses a narrative character. It needs no demonstration to make it clear how much artistic taste is needed by the dancer who is at the same time an actor ; also how much sense for rhythm, for plastic, and for action he must possess to render a story not only clearly and captivatingly, but also in a contexture of harmonizing beauty. A psychological intuition is by no means the least desirable quality.

The Javanese dancer owes the capacity to realize all these requirements to his strong feeling for rhythm coupled with his peculiar feeling for sound, gesticulation and plastic. The natural artistic disposition of his people was naturally predestined to give birth to an art of dancing of uncommon beauty.

Separated from the dances of the theatre are the ceremonial dances of the courts, namely the world-famed dances of the girls called "Bedajas" and "Sarimpies." They form part of the so-called "Garebegs," Hindu sacrificial ceremonials in origin but Islamized later on. These dances are, however, also executed on certain commemoration days, as the birthday of the Queen, the birthdays of the Soenan of Solo and of the Sultan of Jogja. We can also enjoy their performance on the occasion of marriages of princes and so on. We may consider these dances as a separate form of the "wajang wong," with this difference only : that these "Bedajas" and "Sarimpies" are actresses who execute the whole performance without speaking. The story is interpreted by songs sung by a chorus of men and women accompanied by the princely "gamelan" orchestra.

These "Bedajas" and "Sarimpies" dances are very sacred, as also are the melodies of the "gamelan" to which they are danced. In every-day life it is not allowed even to sing or to whistle them. The origin of these dances descends from times unknown. It is noteworthy that, besides the daughters

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of the prince, only honourable maidens of the courts may dance these dances as long as they are virgins.

There are only four "Sarimpies"; the nine "Bedajas" represent the nymphs of the Goddess of the South Sea; they are dressed in the classic wedding-gown, primitively the Hindu dress of the Çakti.

The style and gracefulness are carried up to a singularly high standard; the dance is like a religious ritual, while the mystic atmosphere of the whole performance is of an indescribable beauty and attractiveness. It is, indeed, a wonder that in a hurried and over-civilized world like ours, this age-old Eastern tradition, more captivating than the most beautiful fairy tales, still continues to exist.

The accompanying music for the theatre dances is always the melodious "gamelan," which in the course of ages developed together with the symbolism of the movements. Hence a close connection exists between the "gamelan"—called the soul of the Javanese—and the dance. The instruments of percussion are extremely suitable to mark the cadence; the most important instrument to support the rhythm is a long and small drum played with both hands.

The Javanese art of dancing, the most beautiful in the East, is characterized by its strong style. The perfect plastic is, like all Asiatic art, of an impersonal character. It possesses not only the visual splendour of form and of gesticulation, but its richness consists, moreover, in the great values proper to the plastic of the East; I mean the inexplicable mystic quiet in the expressive articulation, recalled in Indian sculpture and painting. Very uncommon are the rhythmic development of the successive actions, the gradual, imperceptible building up of the always alternating movements, flowing into each other, and faultless at each moment. All this is only possible with a tenacious hold on a firm tradition and an intellectual development of centuries.

As an important part of the educational theatre, the art of the dance is one of the most precious elements of Javanese civilization. While formerly the sons and the kinsmen of the prince exclusively cultivated this art, it was a part of the education of the court circles. By encouraging and practising the art of the dance these people acquired an excellent distinction in their posture and movements; a general gracefulness in their actions, qualities which grew together with the courtly etiquette of the Javanese nobles and intellectuals.

Should the exigencies of a new social life drive out from the courts the civilizing influence of the art of the dance—at this time there is such a danger menacing—the result is bound to be that owing to a deficiency in the former æsthetic and rhythmic education of the body, the famous aristocratic grace of the Javanese nobility and patricians will become only a legend.

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Let us hope that they will be able to maintain still for a long time the valuable lessons of their exquisite art of dancing.

At the conclusion of the lecture Raden Mas Waloejo gave demonstrations of Javanese dances as performed at the Court of Solo. The first was intended to show the remains of the Hindu influence, the second was called "Tantrijk" or the dance of a pupil of a Javanese sage, and the third is known as the "Kelana" or the dance of the proud king.

DISCUSSION

MR. DE LA VALETTE: Sir Francis Younghusband has had to his great regret to leave early, and has asked me to apologize to you and carry on as best I can on his behalf.

I think we have enjoyed a most delectable feast, and there are just a few things one would like to hear said before we have some refreshments. As time is short I can only call upon very few of those here present, although I think there are many who could contribute something worth while listening to. I will first call upon Mr. Montagu-Nathan, Director of the United Arts Society, whose entire life is centred round bringing all the arts together and making them believe they belong together. If there is one branch where we can be successful in doing that, it would be in the dances of Solo and Jogja, because there all the arts and life are welded into one and not segregated in separate departments.

Mr. Montagu-Nathan.

MR. M. MONTAGU-NATHAN: The Chairman's implication that I speak to you because I am a Director of the United Arts Society is not sufficiently ample. I should not feel justified in speaking only on that account. My real justification for addressing you this evening is that I was once Secretary of that remarkable institution, the Camargo Ballet Society.

As Secretary of that Society I came in touch with all the greatest dancers in the world and every kind of dancer. I think it might be appropriate to mention that it gave me the opportunity of making the acquaintance of someone who I believe must be the best beloved dancer in the world, a lady who has graced this gathering with her presence tonight, Madame Adeline Genée. (Applause.)

When I say that I came in contact with every kind of dancer, I mean that I was able to observe not merely the choreographic aspect of dancing but the psychological aspect of the matter, that is, the study of the dancer's personality. That accounts for the sigh of relief which I breathed just now when I heard that in Java there are no professional dancers!

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Among the different kinds of dancers I came in touch with were the representatives of a group of Javanese dancers who proposed themselves as contributors to the Society's season. But they insisted on one thing, namely, that the programme to which they were going to contribute must contain nothing else. Of course this did not coincide altogether with the views of the Committee of the Society, which was a little chauvinistic, and the project had to be abandoned. I felt that if it was necessary to separate any particular kind of dancing from every other kind of dancing, and if the failure to separate it would bring about an absolutely devastating incongruity, there must be a great deal in the kind of dancing which required such segregation. I think I may sincerely say what we have seen tonight proves that the very mysticism of Javanese dancing necessitates that segregation.

For me, if it be claimed for a particular gesture that it is an interpretation of certain music, it is necessary to be on more or less familiar terms with the idiom of that music, and you must agree with me that the music tonight was virtually incomprehensible. Consequently the gesture which accompanied it explains as little to us as, shall we say, a Persian carpet, which we are unable to interpret, and about which we only know that its pattern is attractive and its colouring is beautiful. I personally do not believe that we should run away from the incomprehensible. I must confess that I am intrigued and stimulated by the incomprehensible in the arts, and that is why I think that at the very earliest opportunity we should endeavour to secure in London a demonstration of Javanese dancing on the fullest possible scale. (Applause.)

MR. DE LA VALETTE : Dr. Sitaram, Director of the Central Museum in Lahore, is specially qualified to express his views on what he has just seen, because he is going to give us a lecture at the India Society shortly on Hindu dances.

DR. SITARAM : The previous speaker ended by saying he hoped we should very soon have in London a demonstration of Javanese dancing. Everyone knows that 90 per cent. of Javanese dancing, its gestures and poses, has been derived from Hindu sources.

If you go to the Temples of Borobudur, Prambanam, Panataram, in Java, there are about seventy panels which represent dancing. In these panels the dress, the ornaments, the musical instruments, the jewels and wreaths are all Indian, the postures also are Indian, and Hindu dancers would render these dances to perfection.

The temples of Angkor-vat, Bayon and Iswarapara in Cambodia all tell the same story.

Passing on from the Javanese dancing, we come to the Burmese dancing, and find this also hails from Hindu sources, as is shown in the temples.

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Coming to Siam, the same story is repeated.

In the various temples of Cambodia and in the representations so splendidly preserved by the art galleries, the same story is frescoed on the temple walls, and I am sure you would agree with me that these dances are 100 per cent. Hindu.

Taking the mudras dancing, the gestures indicating victory and love come from the old Hindu dances. The gestures in the Cambodian dances are also all derived from Hindu sources. If you could see the dances of the royal palaces you would find this fact borne out, and in these Cambodian dances the musical instruments are Hindu.

When Java was conquered by the Moslems, the Hindus fled to Bali. In the islands there are funeral and marriage dances, and the dancers worship the images of gods like Siva and others. The postures and gestures are 100 per cent. Hindu. Only the other day I read a book which traced everything from Hindu sources. Not only is the Hindu influence shown, but some aspects of Javanese dancing show quite clearly the influence of the mother country.

So far as Indian dance music is concerned, only one book has yet been translated on this subject. The last version of *The Mirror of Gesture* has been translated, but there are about four dozen books in Sanskrit and Tamil. If the previous speaker could plead for Javanese dancing to be given in London, I equally plead for the various kinds of Indian dancing from the north, south, east and west. If Java is to come here, I think it is the privilege of the mother country, which has also a happy and beautiful art, to come here too. After we have witnessed Javanese dancing, I would request the India Society, who have done so much for the mother country, to have some typical representatives of the Hindu dances, so that we can all see the centre from which all this has been derived.

MR. DE LA VALETTE: Dr. Baker is, with Mr. Fox-Strangways, the greatest expert in this country on Indian music. Perhaps he will tell us something about Javanese music.

DR. BAKER: I just want to add a few things to what we have heard to-night. Of course you are all convinced now how strongly Javanese dancers have been under the influence of the dances of India. About a couple of years ago, when we were up in Nepal, I witnessed a dance which had so many striking similarities with Javanese dances that it was quite undeniable that they had sprung from the same source; not only the hand postures which have been mentioned tonight, but also the movements of the feet and the movements of the leg were all strongly reminiscent of the dancing in Java.

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About the art of dancing, there is very little doubt that it is strangely limited, although the Javanese dance has developed a very strong postural character, but it is a different question as far as the music is concerned.

Mr. Montagu-Nathan said the music we had was virtually incomprehensible, but I would point out that the first record especially did not show Javanese music in its most advantageous aspect. Whereas the dancers have kept to the tradition more or less brought over from India, with Javanese influences the music has developed along quite different lines. We in the West have our own polyphony, and we have become so accustomed to a certain combination of notes and a certain division of the octave, that it hardly ever strikes us that there are other combinations under which notes can be divided and other possible ways in which notes can be combined.

In Java there has been growing for centuries a system of music that is based upon a different division of the octave, either in five or seven parts, not coinciding exactly with our Western notes, and on that basis a polyphony evolved that has nothing to do with that which we know and which has developed later into harmony. It is an exquisite art and has attained a very high level of perfection. It is not only in Java, but a whole circle of civilization have kindred phenomena: orchestrated music not based on the principles of Western harmony. We find it as soon as we leave India, where the principle of orchestra is not known, at least not polyphonic orchestra. In Burma there is an orchestra which we find in another form in Siam, Cambodia, and finally in its highest form in Java. There is much Polynesian influence, and a good deal of Chinese influence, but, like the dancing, that has taken other influences from outside, it has developed the old style, the old character, and an old, very high beauty. When the wish of Mr. Montagu-Nathan comes to pass, and we get the opportunity—the very fortunate opportunity—of seeing a group of perfect Javanese dancers in London, then I hope that also a real, perfect gamelan will accompany it, so that you may all discover for yourselves better than from gramophone records what an exquisite art of music goes with this exquisite art of dancing. (Applause).

MR. DE LA VALETTE: I am sure you will wish me to express your pleasure and accord your thanks to Dr. Lelyveld for his most admirable lecture (applause), and also to our friend, Raden Mas Waloejo, who is at this moment either getting out of the few garments he had on, or getting into others. He has given us a most delightful impression of a Javanese gentleman at his best.

I want to emphasize one thing, if I might just speak for a few minutes. I want to raise a point with regard to Dr. Lelyveld's observation that there are no professional dancers in Java. Raden Mas Waloejo, whom you saw

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here, is a law student at the University of Leyden. He did not come to Europe to dance, neither did he come with any intention of learning dancing, so it may well be that those who know Javanese dancing in perfection will say he is not the supreme exponent of the art. But he is an astonishingly able and brilliant exponent in the manner which every Javanese gentleman is expected to master. That is the real thing for which I would like to ask your attention for a moment.

In Java this dancing is not a matter outside life. It is part of life. That is why the rhythm of Javanese dancing is somewhat difficult for us to follow, because it follows the rhythm of Javanese life. As an active member of the India Society I was most gratified to hear Dr. Sitaram stress the very great influence of Indian art, and I know that he is perfectly right in that. On the other hand, both Colonel Lelyveld and Dr. Bake emphasized the fact that in Java, whatever they may have borrowed from India has been entirely digested, absorbed and recreated as an art of their own. It is part and parcel of Javanese life. It is perhaps because I myself, although no expert in these things, come of a family which has for three hundred years lived in Java, and have grown up to understand Javanese life, that their dancing seems much more comprehensible to me than many other things. There is a culture and a restraint in the dances of the Javanese courts, which is inherent in Javanese life. It is the sort of thing which we have lost, because civilization, I am sorry to say, progresses far too often at the expense of culture. In Java they have had a sort of inbreeding of culture. Since about a hundred years the principalities in Central Java have found it impossible to turn their attention to the normal occupations of rulers of states, namely to that of conquering neighbouring states or defending themselves against them. The result was they turned into their own souls and produced a most exquisite culture that is obvious to everyone today who comes into touch with the people of that country. I do not wish to say there are no gradations in that culture. There obviously are differences between the different classes, but they are all linked by the same rhythm of life, the same appreciation for the things which are noble and which lie at the root of one's soul. An expression of these things is given in the combined art of the Javanese drama which Dr. Lelyveld described to you.

When listening to Dr. Lelyveld I thought about the cinema, which is the nearest approach we have to a means of getting down to the souls of millions of people. The unfortunate thing is that in doing so we have had to come down to what we assume to be their level. In Java hundreds of thousands come up without the slightest difficulty or hesitation to the highest levels. This is something similar to what you find if you start analyzing what

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lies at the root of the feeling that binds all the people who believe in one widely held religion, say Roman Catholicism. It is not to be assumed that what Cardinal Newman got out of the essence of that religion is the same as that which the Mexican peon draws out of it, but both go to the same source and get something which in its essence is the same to both of them. I believe there is in the people of Java a common measure of understanding of even the highest forms of the art which they have developed. This comes of that complete harmony between the rhythm of their art and the rhythm of their lives.

I think amongst the many tasks that lie before the India Society—a very big one because of the great expense entailed—is that of doing what Dr. Sitaram suggests, having here a real course of Oriental music and dancing, so that one could see first-rate specimens of these various dances with their real, complete orchestras, performed by the best dancers from all these countries, so that one could study to what extent the similarity which lies at the root of all these art movements has developed and contributed to the art of the world. So long as we cannot have that, we must be doubly grateful to men like Dr. Lelyveld, who has come here tonight to explain to us the very essence of these dances, and to Raden Mas Waloejo, who has been good enough to expose the art to us in a most charming and fascinating manner. (Applause.) We offer our best thanks to these two gentlemen. (Applause.)

THE EIGHT GREAT PLACES OF BUDDHIST PILGRIMAGE*

BY RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI, C.I.E.

(Late Director-General of Archaeology in India)

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am grateful for the inestimable privilege I have of addressing this distinguished audience. The noble work which is being done by the India Society is well known everywhere, and I wish the Society further success. In fact it is chiefly the India Society in England and the Kern Institute in Holland that specialize in making the work of the Archaeological Department of India known not only in the United Kingdom but also in other countries. I had no idea, when I left India, that during my short stay in London I should be called upon to give a lecture, but I was unable to resist your Hon. Secretary's kind invitation. Unfortunately some of the slides I most wanted this evening have broken in transit, and I have to content myself with those that have arrived in good condition.

The eight sacred places which form the subject of my talk this evening were those associated with some of the principal events of Gautama Buddha's life—that is, of his last historical existence, as distinguished from his previous 500 and more existences through which, according to Buddhist texts, the great being passed doing meritorious works and preparing himself step by step for the attainment of that supreme knowledge known as Nirvāṇa or Buddhahood. Visits to four of these holy places were enjoined upon his followers by the Buddha himself. It was at Kusināra, the capital of the Malla clan, to which the Master had travelled from Pāṭaliputra in the eightieth year of his life, weary with sickness due to a dish of poisonous mushrooms (*sūkara-maddavam*) eaten by him at the house of the smith Chunda of Pāvā, that he announced the fact of his impending decease. His chief disciple, Ānanda, did not consider this little wattle-and-daub town in the midst of a jungle a fit place for the final passing away of the Master; but the Blessed One pacified his doubts by telling him that, in times gone by, this place was the Royal City of King Mahā-Sudassana, who was Lord of the four quarters, conqueror and protector. Ānanda was grieved and asked whom, after the end

* Lecture delivered before the India Society on September 19, 1935. Sir Francis Young-husband presided, and the audience included His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda and His Excellency the Nepalese Minister in London.

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of the Exalted One, the brethren of the Community would wait upon after the rainy season recess and how they would adore and venerate the Blessed One's memory. The best way of honouring the Tathāgata is by continual fulfilment of the greater and the lesser duties and by rectitude of conduct, was the gracious reply. The brethren should, moreover, visit with feelings of reverence the four holy places—namely, the Lumbini-vana where the Master was born, Gayā where he attained to perfect wisdom, the Deer Park where the Kingdom of Righteousness was set on foot, and Kusināra where the Master entered Parinirvāṇa or passed away finally. For, continued the Blessed One, "They who shall die while they, with believing heart, are journeying on such pilgrimage shall be reborn after death, when the body shall dissolve, in the happy realms of heaven."

The other four places of pilgrimage, which with the above four make up the *Aṭṭhamahāṭhānāni*, do not appear to be cited in the early Buddhist texts as places worthy of special veneration. They were the scenes of four of the principal miracles which the Buddha, much as he deprecated such performances by his followers, was himself compelled to resort to. One of these displays was given at Śrāvastī to confound Pūraṇa-Kāśyapa, the obstinate leader of the Tīrthika or Nirgrantha sect, whom the Master had failed to convince of the superiority of his own doctrine by other means. The heretic accepted defeat, and in despair tied a large jar to his neck, threw himself into the river and was drowned. It was after this miracle that, in accordance with the custom of his predecessors, the Buddha ascended to the heaven of the thirty-three gods, preached there to his deceased mother the Abhidhamma and descended to the earth at Saṅkāśya by a triple ladder constructed by Indra's architect. The third miracle was enacted at Rājagṛha, where, at the instigation of his jealous cousin Devadatta, an infuriated elephant was let loose to kill the Buddha, and the fourth when the Master vanished into the Parileyyaka Forest from Kauśāmbī and was fed with honey by monkeys or wild elephants.

These and other acts of the Buddha must early have become favourite subjects with pious Buddhist artists, and it seems strange that, although no prohibition is traceable in the texts, no sculptural representations of these events earlier than the time of Aśoka have survived. Perhaps they were in wood or other impermanent material and have perished. The only representation of a subject connected with the career of the Buddha, so far noticed on an Aśokan monument, is that on the abacus of the capital at Sarnath, which shows the great Anotatta lake in which the Master bathed during his three months' sojourn in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven to which reference has been made above. The Bharhut and Sāñchī railings bear

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medallions showing Jātaka stories with the great being clearly depicted in human and animal form. The dread to portray the Bodhisattva as Siddhārtha, the Prince of the Śākya clan, continues, and a few scenes relating to this career are invariably delineated by symbols—*e.g.*, by the throne with or without the Bodhi tree to represent his enlightenment, the wheel to indicate his First Sermon and the *stūpa* to indicate his final extinction. The credit of finally determining the true significance of these and other symbols belongs, as you are aware, to M. Foucher, whose extensive researches in Buddhist art and iconography have so considerably advanced the study of the subject. The Buddha image did not come into use in Gandhāra or in the indigenous art until about the middle of the first century A.D. We are not concerned here with the vexatious controversy as to whether the artists of Mathurā and Central India borrowed the Buddha image from the Greco-Buddhist sculptors on the north-west frontier, or whether they realized it independently from any influence from that quarter. M. Foucher is the chief advocate of the former view, while Dr. Coomaraswamy has brought together reasons based upon the dates of the earliest sculptures of the two schools, the forms of the throne and other motives and treatment of the hair, etc., to show that the Indian Buddha figure merely continued the ancient local tradition, and that the phrase "Greek origin of the Buddha image" was a misnomer. Be it as it may, the creation of the Buddha image supplied a long-felt demand in Buddhist art, and while the Gandharan sculptors hardly left any episode in the historical life of the Teacher unrepresented in stone, those of Mathurā, Amarāvati, Sarnath, etc., reproduced these and numerous Jātaka stories. To this period belong the earliest systematic representations of the four great events, sites of which were to be reverently visited by devout men and women after the Master's death. The episodes on these stelæ are arranged in chronological sequence from bottom upwards. It is noteworthy that the Amarāvati reliefs continue to employ some of the earlier symbols side by side with the cult images of the Master, and that the postures or Mudrās vary from those in the Gandharan and Sarnath examples. Stelæ depicting all the eight episodes do not appear to have come into use until the sixth or seventh century A.D., and it is not impossible that the worship of the sites of the four lesser miracles did not begin until that time.

During the palmy days of Buddhism these sacred places were maintained with care and adorned with religious edifices of various kinds. They fell to ruin about the twelfth century A.D. and remained buried and forgotten until the Archæological Department, under the able guidance of Sir John Marshall, took up the task of their exploration and resuscitation. The sites were first identified by that talented pioneer of Indian archæology Sir Alexander

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Cunningham, and how successful he was in this task with the meagre facilities available in his time will be apparent from the fact that although some of his identifications were severely criticized and even rejected by Dr. V. A. Smith, their correctness has been conclusively established by architectural, sculptural and epigraphical records brought to light by systematic exploration. Followers of Buddhism all over the world may well be grateful to the Government of India, to Sir John Marshall, and other officers* of the Department whose researches have enabled them to resume their holy pilgrimages which had been interrupted for several centuries.

After these introductory remarks I propose to recapitulate with you some of the noteworthy features of these places of pilgrimage and the principal results achieved at each of them. Lumbinī, where the Blessed One was born, was according to the Buddhist texts, situated at a distance of some twelve miles from Kapilavastu, the capital of the clan of Śākya to which the Buddha belonged. This was the first place visited by Aśoka and his teacher Upagupta on their pilgrimage from Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna). "Here the lord was born," said the teacher, and pointed out the very tree under which the Master was born. Aśoka raised a shrine on this spot and distributed a hundred thousand ounces of gold. It is surprising that the texts make no mention of the inscribed Aśoka pillar which has retained the original edict of the founder and determined the identity of the remains near the modern village of Rummindei with the ancient Lumbini. The only other remains that are visible on the site are a shrine containing a life-sized figure of Māyādevī, the mother of the Buddha. The excavations in progress under the newly founded Department of Archaeology in Nepal may reveal other monuments mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims—*e.g.*, the *tope* which marked the spot where the two dragons washed the new-born baby, etc.

The enlightenment of the Buddha is described in great detail in the texts. He had practised austerity at Gayā for six long years and not achieved his goal. He had become emaciated by painful mortification and decided that the system he had followed would not avail. After partaking of milk gruel he made his final attempt and attained supreme wisdom on the fifteenth day of Vaisākha, being then thirty-five years of age. When Yuan Chwang visited this place in the seventh century A.D. the *pīpa* tree, under which the Buddha had attained spiritual wisdom, stood in the middle of an extensive enclosure which was crowded with religious edifices erected by pious votaries to

* Prominent among these explorers were: Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, C.I.E., now head of the Sanskrit Department at the Leiden University, who achieved valuable results at Kasia during the seasons 1904-5 and 1905-6 and at Saheth-Maheth during the season 1907-8; the speaker who participated in the exploration of five of these eight sites; Mr. Hargreaves and Dr. Hirananda Sastri, who found the interesting copper plate inscription and other relics in the main *stūpa* at Kasia.

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commemorate the Buddha's presence. It is interesting to note that the large temple of brick coated with lime and adorned with numerous carvings, which the pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, saw to the east of the Bodhi tree, has survived to this day and was restored to something like its original appearance by Sir Alexander Cunningham and his assistants. This tree passed through many vicissitudes, having been cut down more than once by one of the Queens of Aśoka who did not like her husband's allegiance to Buddhism, and later in the seventh century by Śaśāṅkarāja, of the Maukhari dynasty, who was another great enemy of this faith. According to the Ceylonese Chronicle, the Mahāvamsa, a branch of this tree was carried to that island under the supervision of Saṅghamittā, the daughter of Aśoka, and planted there. Saplings of this Ceylonese descendant of the Bodhi tree were recently brought back to India and replanted with great ceremony by the Mahābodhi Society at the Deer Park. Other relics that have survived on this site are a portion of the stone railing of the second century B.C., the well-carved *vajrāsana* set up by Aśoka, the stone promenade (*chaṁkama*) on which the Master walked for exercise for seven days out of the forty-nine he spent at Bodh Gayā enjoying the bliss of emancipation.

From Bodh Gayā the Buddha proceeded to the Deer Park near Benares, where his first five companions, who had kept him company during the six years of his penance, were at that time staying. Sir Alexander Cunningham recognized this ancient site in the remains four miles to the north of the city of Benares, and excavations carried out among these remains since 1904-5 have disclosed numerous inscriptions, sculptures, monasteries and shrines. The inscriptions refer to the site as the Monastery of the Turning of the Wheel of Righteousness, by which name the Deer Park was known to ancient Buddhist writers. The actual spot where the Buddha sat down to preach his first lecture is presumably marked by the large building occupying a very central position and referred to in the archaeological reports as the Main Shrine. A *stūpa* to the south of this temple which had been repaired or renovated six or seven times must have originally been constructed by Aśoka. In this *stūpa* was found a stone relic casket containing some tiny fragments of bone, and these relics may very conceivably have been a portion of the Buddha's remains. The stone pillar found standing close behind the Main Shrine bears an edict of Aśoka warning the resident monks and nuns against creating schisms in the Church. Another important structure, which stands to a height of 110 feet, is believed to mark the spot where the Buddha pronounced his prophecy regarding Maitreya, who would be the next Buddha five thousand years after his own time. Of the other monuments exposed on this site one built on a South Indian style of architecture was erected by the Buddhist Queen of Govinda-

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chandra of Kanauj in the first half of the twelfth century A.D. The six or seven residential monasteries follow the usual plan of such structures.

Some of the inscriptions unearthed among these remains supply valuable information about this site. A fragment of a stone umbrella found to the west of the Main Shrine is engraved with the original Pāli text enumerating the Four Noble Truths enunciated by the Master in the course of his First Sermon. Another inscription on the base of a Buddha statue which was found in A.D. 1794 by the workmen of Babu Jagat Singh reveals the fact that in the year A.D. 1026, when Mahīpāla was King of Bengal, two brothers, Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla, restored the Dharmarājikā *stūpa*, or the Aśoka *stūpa* referred to, and the Dharmachakra, meaning presumably the Shrine of the Turning of the Wheel. They also constructed a new shrine of stone dedicated to the Eight Great Places. A stone stela portraying the eight principal events in the life of the Buddha found on this site appears to show that this new shrine of Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla must have contained a relic of this nature. This wholesale restoration of buildings at the Deer Park was presumably necessitated by the invasion of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in A.D. 1017. The last destruction of this establishment was probably the work of Muḥammad Ghaurī at the end of the twelfth century A.D.

Both Fa-Hian and Hsien Tsang note the utter ruin and desolation of Kusināra, where the Buddha had passed away for ever under a grove of *sāla* trees. Among the sacred edifices that still remained was a *chaitya* or temple containing a large image of the dying Buddha, lying facing the west with the head turned to the north. This image was found broken in many pieces and was restored by Mr. Carlleyle. The *stūpa* of Parinirvāṇa built by Aśoka beside the temple referred to has not yet been brought to light. The one on the spot indicated dates from the Gupta period and revealed a deposit, including a copper plate inscription which definitely refers to the *stūpa* as the Parinirvāṇa *chaitya*. This provides unmistakable evidence of the identity of the ancient Kusināra with the remains at Kasia in the Gorakhpur district. The *stūpa* built by Aśoka on this spot must have been a small structure which probably lies buried beneath the later structure which has been explored. Nor has any trace been found, as yet, of the pillar which that monarch erected in front of the tope in question. The great *stūpa* which stood on the spot where the Buddha's body was cremated in a coffin of seven precious metals and where the charred relics were divided among eight chiefs is probably represented by the mound locally known as the Rāmabhār. This mound has so far been only partially examined. Several small portions of the Buddha's body relics have been found at Bhattiprolu in the south of India, in the *stūpa* of Kanishka near Peshawar, at Taxila and at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in

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the Guntur district, and presented to the Buddhists of Burma and Ceylon and to the Mahābodhi Society for enshrinement at the Deer Park, modern Sarnath.

Dr. V. A. Smith located Śrāvastī in the vicinity of the village of Khajura near Balapur in Nepal. Śrāvastī is sacred with the Buddhists, as it was here that the Master rose into the air, multiplied himself in numerous places and, thus suspended, preached his doctrine to the Tīrthika heretics. It was here, too, that the merchant Anāthapiṇḍada constructed at the forest of Prince Jeta a large monastery for the reception of Buddha. Systematic excavations carried out on this site have revealed numerous religious edifices and, besides others, two important inscriptions which conclusively establish the identity of the remains at Saheṭh-Maheṭh on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts with Śrāvastī. One of these inscriptions records the grant of six villages, whose names have survived unchanged, by King Govindachandra of Kanauj to the Buddhist community resident at the Jetavana monastery of Śrāvastī. The other inscription dates from the second century A.D., and states that the colossal Bodhisattva image, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, was carved by a sculptor of Mathurā and set up in the monastery under description. No stronger evidence could be wished for.

From Śrāvastī the Buddha ascended to the heaven of the thirty-three gods to preach his new doctrine to his dead mother and at the conclusion descended to the earth at Saṅkāśya. From the similarity of the names as well as from the existence of a large Aśoka capital crowned with a statue of an elephant, Sir Alexander Cunningham identified Saṅkāśya with the extensive remains at Sankisa in the Etā district. Trial excavations have been carried out on this site, and there seems no doubt that when further researches are possible, other stronger evidence of the correctness of this identification will be forthcoming.

Irrefragable evidence of the remains at Kosam in the district of Allahabad being the modern representative of the ancient city of Kauśāmbī has been supplied by epigraphical records. These records are :

1. An inscription of the time of Yaśaḥpāla of the Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj which was found at Kara at a distance of some thirty miles from Kosam, and shows that this town and another which has survived under a somewhat slightly changed name, both formed part of the kingdom of Kauśāmbī.

2. An epigraph dated in Vikrama Samvat 1245 in the reign of Jayachandradeva, which shows that the village in which this inscription has been found formed part of the same kingdom. This village is only a few miles distant from Kosam. The extensive remains at Kosam deserve careful

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exploration, and, when this is undertaken, results of considerable value may be expected to accrue.

The ancient remains at Rājagṛiha (modern Rājgir), where the Master subjugated the mad elephant, were examined with great care by Sir John Marshall and the sites of the principal landmarks identified. These were the Sattapaṇṇi hall, the Grīdhṛakūṭa hill, etc.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for the patience with which you have listened to my remarks.

THE INDIA SOCIETY

ART AND LETTERS

"THE ancient history and the art of India are of unique interest in the history of human endeavour." These words are taken from the reply of His Majesty King George V. to the address presented to him on the opening of the School of Oriental Studies on February 23, 1917. The India Society is anxious to give, within the limits of its opportunities and resources, practical application to this noteworthy utterance, and invites the adhesion of all who sympathize and agree with it.

OBJECTS

The INDIA SOCIETY was founded in the year 1910 by a small body of scholars, artists, and men of letters (both English and Indian) with the object of promoting in the West and in India itself a better appreciation and understanding of the historic culture of India, especially as represented in the Arts. During the years which followed the Society has won for its work the sympathy and active support of a distinguished body of members, including several of the ruling Princes of India, together with leaders in art, literature, and the public services in many quarters of the world.

It holds itself entirely aloof from the political controversies of the day, and seeks to unite its members, and all whom its influence can reach, in the study and admiration of those aspects of Indian culture whose beauty and nobility can be recognized and appreciated by all, and which are to be found in India and also in those countries which have been influenced by, or have influenced India, especially Java, Siam, Indochina, Afghanistan, Persia and the Middle East.

LECTURES AND CONFERENCES

Lectures at which papers are read by leading British, Indian, and Continental specialists, have become a regular and important feature of the Society's activities. In order that members resident abroad may be able to share in the benefit of these Lectures, papers and proceedings are published from time to time in *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*, together with additional articles from the Society's correspondents abroad, and book reviews. Visits to private collections of Oriental Art are also arranged. Exhibitions are organized from time to time. An Exhibition of Modern Indian Art was held in December, 1934.

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ART AND LETTERS

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FIRST ISSUE FOR 1936

THE DEATH OF KING GEORGE V.

At the first meeting of the India Society held after the death of the late King, the Chairman, Sir Francis Younghusband, spoke as follows :

This Society is concerned with Indian Art, but true art is universal in its appeal, and a work of art about which it would be appropriate for me to speak today is the address which was broadcast by His Late Majesty on Christmas Day. If a work of art is the expression of a profoundly felt emotion in such a way as to communicate that emotion to those who see or hear or read it, then that Christmas address by King George was something which has never been excelled by either the Indian poet Tagore or the English poet Kipling. It went straight to the heart, not only of his own people, but of all the world, for it spoke of peace and goodwill, of joy and gladness in the home ; and there are homes all over the world, and all the world is one great home of the human family.

Towards Queen Mary we have feelings both of sympathy in her affliction and of gratitude for her interest in our work. With no formality whatever, unannounced, and as an ordinary visitor, she came to our Exhibition of Modern Indian Art and most thoroughly inspected every picture. We would express to her our feelings of sorrow indeed, but far more of satisfaction that the King should have lived to see how his life-work was requited and how he had won the not quickly given love of a great people in the greatest moment of its history, and gained the esteem of the whole world.

SOME ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN MYSORE*

BY MRS. MARGUERITE MILWARD

MYSORE can only be described in superlatives. It is the proud possessor of the highest waterfalls, the biggest stone statue in the world, and some of the most remarkable temples. Before describing some of the stone monuments, it may not be amiss to refer to one of nature's contributions to the beauty of the setting of the State. The famous Jog Falls near Gersoppa (once an historical town) are on the border of Mysore and British India, and my first view of Mysore State was unforgettable.

I approached the Falls from North Kanara, the British side, passing through a tall evergreen forest full of tiger and panther, and most impressive and mysterious, with dark, steep hills and twisting roads. As we got nearer to the Falls a great roar and thunder met us, but even that did not prepare us for the wonder and beauty of the scene. When we arrived at the bungalow, which faces the marvellous gorge and three of the Falls, the first view of it gave us quite a shock. We got out of the car and leaned over the rail dazed and speechless. The river divides into four, and takes a stupendous leap over a gigantic cliff into a gorge nearly 1,000 feet below. In bulk of water it does not equal Niagara, but in height it is five times as great. The Mysore and British bungalows wink eyes at each other across a chasm 650 yards wide.

The Falls have been christened very aptly the Rajah, the Roarer, the Rocket and Dame Blanche. The highest of the four, the Rajah, has a sheer drop of 830 feet. The lovely jets and columns of water are fascinating; but the most impressive part of the picture is the great ravine, which looks as if an earthquake had come and split the earth in two and hurled the forest down and twisted the whole rock formation. There was a terrific roar in our ears all the time and everything was wringing wet, ourselves included. I lay on the top of a shaking rock to see the Rajah fall down, and looked over its edge into a bottomless pit of foam. We disturbed a group of butterflies in their sleep, blue lace and brown; many wonderful specimens are to be found here. Down a steep bit of the path an opening through the trees gave us two lovely but terrifying peeps. I felt dizzy and shaken, an ant in comparison to such mighty force. Yet in another way it was marvellously soothing, and we slept that night positively rocked by the roar.

* Lecture delivered before the India Society on January 30. Lieut.-Colonel C. T. C. Plowden, C.I.E., presided.

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The next morning was a dream of beauty ; great banks of mist kept coming and clearing like steam. We drove over to the ferry, a wide stretch of river 750 feet across at the top of the Falls. The boat looked most insecure, a platform of bamboos on four hollowed-out tree-trunks. On the Mysore side the walk through the woods was enchanting, and the view and angle of the Falls quite different. A fourth cascade came into view, the sun shone out gloriously, and bits of rainbow began to appear across them. In 1856 two indomitable officers of the Indian navy were deputed by Government to measure the Falls. They managed to get behind the Rajah's leap, and found a great cavern entirely hidden by the column of water. They give the depth of the gorge to be 960 feet and that of the pools about 130 feet. There is no record that any others have risked their lives to take these statistics. At midday the mists cleared, and the view was more brilliant. The Rajah meets the Roarer, and the roar is redoubled ; the Rocket hits a projecting piece of rock in its descent and shoots off in jets of spray. Dame Blanche descends in a more ladylike manner in a cascade of white foam. When the sun reached the depth of the dark green pools a very brilliant rainbow stretched itself across the bottom of the four Falls, and they all dropped into it. This was my last memory of the highest waterfall in the world.

In quite another part of Mysore State, and almost in the centre, we find the world's greatest stone statue on a hilltop called Vindhya Giri. Until the twelfth century there were some 12,000 Jains in Mysore, and the old Chalukyan kings favoured them. They constructed many Bastis and Bettas upon the rocky hills round Sravana Belgola, and this was the chief seat of the Jain sect in Southern India.

Vindhya Giri is 470 feet high and 3,250 feet above sea level ; there are 600 steps up to the top of the mount of vision, but in spite of this it is a great place of pilgrimage. The Betta, which is an open courtyard with images around, possesses a stone statue of Gomatesvara, one of the emancipated beings of the past, and said to be the son of the first Tirthankar. It towers over the temple walls, and is visible for miles. It was built by Chamunda Raya in 1028 or earlier, and is of a light-coloured granite, probably carved out of the living rock, which would present no difficulties to the ancient builders. Photographs do the image no justice, and it is still more difficult to measure, so much so that the measurements taken by various authorities vary from 58 feet to 71 feet. The general belief or legend is that it is 60 feet in height.

There are two Jain sects, one of which is clad always in white, and the other, to which this statue must belong, is clad in space ! All the Tirthankars are said to have attained bliss standing in this position. Tendrils and leaves of a creeping plant are carved with great skill twisted round the bare legs and

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arms of the body. The ears are very long, like those of all saints; the brows are arched and the hair curly.

Fergusson says : " Nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt . . . and even there no known statue surpasses it in height."

Still more superlatives are required to describe the temples. Mysore cradled three great races of Kings—the Kadambas, the Hoysalas and the Kings of Vijayanagar. The Hoysala-Ballala Kings reigned supreme over this part of the peninsula from A.D. 1000 to 1300, and left a magnificent legacy of art. They built no less than sixty temples in what Fergusson calls the Chalukyan style, and twelve in the Dravidian. Chalukyan art reached its zenith in Mysore State, where it should more properly be called Hoysala, for the highest degree of perfection was undoubtedly attained in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries under the Hoysala Kings. This style of architecture is intermediate between the northern and southern styles, and it is difficult to trace its early history. Some very fine examples are to be found in Hyderabad, but none of its beginnings. The best examples in Mysore State are the great temples of Belur, Halebid and Somanathapur.

The Chenna Kesava temple at Belur was constructed in A.D. 1177. For intricate variety of design it is unsurpassed. It measures 178 feet by 156 feet and has three entrances, each more beautiful than the other. There are twenty perforated screens, the art in which the Chalukyan builder excelled; they are on the right and left of the eastern doorway and are sculptured with Puranic scenes and geometrical designs. This temple, unlike Halebid and Somanathapur, is not abandoned, and worship is regularly conducted. There are some marvellous carvings inside, and from photographs I feel that the best examples of the figure sculpture of the period are to be found here. The pillars, we are told, are lovely and famous for their ingenuity of design, with carved figures on the capitals.

The Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid, dedicated to Siva, is a most joyous example of the style. (Fig. 1.) It was unfortunately never finished. The outer wall is perhaps the most remarkable for design. It is all broken up by right-angled points and set-back facets so as to give the richest possible effect of light and shade. The figures under canopies remind one of sixteenth-century Gothic windows. The frieze which appears in all these Hoysala temples has in this one eight bands of decoration, and is more varied in style. Elephants come first, then horses and men interspersed with conventional lions and scrolls. No less than 2,000 elephants walk round the outer wall at the bottom of the frieze! Like Belur, there is a most imposing doorway with tall janitors on each side and little shrines at the bottom of the steps. The lovely pillars of the pavilion, all turned by hand, shine so

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brilliantly that they reflect each other. This temple was built about 1141, but neither Rice nor Fergusson agrees as to the exact date. Fergusson says that the work was in progress for eighty-six years and was stopped by the Muhammadan invasions; the towers were never completed. Halebid, it is interesting to remember, was the capital of a great Empire in the reign of Balalla III., but was demolished in 1326 during fierce wars.

The most beautiful and by far the most complete of these temples is at Somanathapur (Fig. 2), a tiny village now, but at one time a most important centre of Brahman activities. It lies some thirty miles from Mysore city, and twenty miles from the historic town of Seringapatam. Near by is a Siva temple, known as the "Panchalinga," in ruins, with five cells in a line in which were enshrined a number of *lingas*. There is no sculpture or decoration of any sort, but a very interesting granite slab with an inscription dated 1268. Siva and Vishnu temples are often to be found in close proximity, but in this case all the lavish care and wealth have been bestowed on the Vishnu temple called the Kesava temple of Somanathapur. Kesava is one of the names of the god Vishnu. It was built in 1268 by Soma, a general or high officer and a member of the Royal Family in the reign of King Narasimha III., who ruled from 1254 to 1291. Soma was a very devout man we are told and did many pious deeds. He first built a village, called it after himself, and made it a rent-free settlement or *agrahāra* for Brahmans. The King then gave Soma a grant of 3,000 gold pieces for the worship of the images of Vishnu at the *agrahāra* which he had founded. The village became so important a centre of study and was so full of learned men that even the parrots there were capable of holding discussions in three languages! Soma then ordered this magnificent temple to be constructed. Inside the entrance porch into the courtyard there is a very fine granite slab with a carved panel at the top. Incised on it is a long inscription of ninety-one lines, seventeen in Sanskrit and the rest in Kannada, which tells us much of the inner history of the temple. There are also three smaller epigraphs at the back, of less importance. The Sanskrit portion tells us that Soma made a worthy distribution of the grant of gold pieces. The Kannada part, with many flourishes and much praise of the King Narasimha, says that when he was in residence at Dorasamudra ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom he made a grant of the revenues of certain places to provide for the services, festivals, repairs and the livelihood of servants of the Kesava temple caused to be erected by Somadannayaka in the great *agrahāra* established by him in his own name.

Other inscriptions have recently been discovered, one on the south verandah dated A.D. 1497. It tells that a petition was made to the King Immadi Narasinga about the restoration of the *agrahāra* of Somanathapur

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now gone to decay. Accordingly the King granted certain villages for the *lingas* and for the god Kesava, and gave gifts to various Brahmans for the upkeep of the temple. The other inscription on the ceiling of the west verandah, A.D. 1550, says that a later Vijayanagar King, having been informed that Somanathapura was the holy hermitage of Vasishtha, remitted the taxes which were being paid to the palace by the Brahmans of the *agrahāra*. It is sad and surprising to think that this active centre of study and worship went into decay after some 200 years.

The Kesava temple, according to many authorities, was supposed to have been designed by an artist named Jakanacharya, but as no such designation has been found on the building, it is now thought that the name is a corruption of a Dravidian word meaning a sculptor of the southern school. A most unusual and interesting feature of these Hoysala temples is that many of the sculptures are signed. No less than eight names appear at Somanathapur, and many carvings are signed both at Belur and Halebid. No mention, however, is made of an architect. One name, Mallitama, is to be found here under forty of the statues ; it would appear that he had the most to do with the ornamentation of the temple.

Entering the enclosure I was thrilled with the beauty of the temple as a complete and harmonious whole. It is marvellously conceived and executed, in perfect proportions and shape. Standing on a raised platform, and star-shaped in plan, in great contrast to the Dravidian simple square, it is flanked with three towers above the three interior shrines. The whole is dainty and complete, like the design of a casket. This unique little temple building is placed in the middle of a courtyard which measures 215 by 177 feet. It is surrounded by a sort of open verandah, with sixty-four cells, like the cloisters of a Jain temple. This seemed to me very unusual, and gives the temple a most dignified appearance, enclosing it as it were in a frame. These cells once enshrined deities, but now only two or three statues remain ; the inscription at the entrance tells us all the names. They are for the most part incarnations of Vishnu. The roof of the verandah over the outer cells provides a wide terrace for walking round, which gives wonderful views of the temple from above.

A flight of five steps leads on to the platform, a small shrine at either side ; five more steps lead into the temple by the west and only doorway. In this entrance or portico are windows of pierced stonework in small square holes and screens with big perforations. In spite of this there is very little light in the square pillared hall. Five pillars are ranged each side, beautifully turned, and with little figures carved on the brackets. One pair of pillars struck me very much ; they are rich beyond the others, all in dainty points ;

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one can hardly believe they are hand-turned. The temple is a three-chambered structure, and the main shrine faces east, the other two north and south ; the lintels of the cells are finely carved with incarnations of Vishnu.

In the north chamber there is an unusually fine sculpture of Janardana, his four hands holding the discus, conch, lotus flower and mace. In the south there is a beautiful figure of Krishna in a graceful attitude under a tree, his two arms raised high sideways playing the flute. Six cows, three on either side, most amusingly drawn, are listening intently ! These sculptures are of a much higher order than the figure carving on the outer walls of the temple. They are neither stiff nor cold, and there is a ripple of line and a living body underneath the conventional trappings. In the central shrine there was once a figure of the god Kesava ; it must have been of very fine workmanship, too, judging from the slab at the entrance porch. Here the three sculptures of the three shrines are represented in miniature, and one can guess the style of the lost central figure.

The most noticeable part of the interior are the carvings of the domed ceilings. There are six panels in the central hall and nine in the outer *mandapam*, truly marvels in intricate design. No two are alike, and they are cut out to a depth of three feet. There are fine designs of lotus buds, geometrical stars and interlaced ribbons. I took an electric torch to try and get a better view, but it was hopeless without a ladder. The guardian, however, brought a flare which lighted it up well, but will eventually blacken the beautiful ceilings.

I climbed up on to the top of the cloisters, and was rewarded with a most instructive view of the shape of the temple as a whole. Unfortunately the appearance of a snake damped my ardour, and I retreated rapidly. The three towers over the shrines are perfect, whole and intact ; in symmetry and proportion they are gems of architecture. (Fig. 3.) It is impossible to see how lovely their shape is except from above. The temple is almost in the form of a very ornate cross, the three shrines and their towers being built out to form the three arms, the entrance part making a rather short end. Like all the best Chalukyan temples, it is built on a wide raised platform, 3 feet high, with rich mouldings and points. There are eleven rounded points to each tower, and the platform repeats and exaggerates these points with great effect. An elephant was originally placed at each angle. Once seventy-four statues stood on the base, consisting of elephants and free images ; now, alas, only about twelve are left, the rest have been broken or removed.

The stellate towers are low in height ; they are less than 35 feet from their base, and the temple might look dwarfed if it were not enclosed round and of such perfect proportions. Three sides of the base of the temple are

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carved with horizontal friezes in six satisfying and beautiful designs. (Fig. 4.) A canonical rule is followed, it is believed, in this scheme of decoration. The first band, wider than the rest and very bold and symmetrical, is a procession of walking elephants. They are grandly executed, and are some of the best of the many sculptures I have seen of this decorative animal. The French sculptor Bourdelle said that a carved animal must be greater than a live one because it must contain all of nature! I feel that the Indian artist has achieved this, and that he analyzes marvellously what he sees and knows. Next to these come bands of horses with riders and accoutrements, a very lively procession. (Fig. 5.) I tried in vain to draw them, but I was burnt by the stone platform and the sun at midday and completely baffled by the intricate yet bold pattern. The riders are turning towards each other and having a great battle; a few camels join them with drums on their saddles. A scroll of conventional design of infinite variety divides the horses from an army of marching men. A band of stylized animals, which look like lions and are called *śārdūlas*, comes next. There is some controversy as to whether these were the emblems of the Hoysala Kings; a tiger or leo-griff is on the Hoysala crest. At the very top, crowning the whole, is a row of inimitable birds which may be ducks or swans, but are in every way delightful and most humorous. These friezes remind me of the Vijayanagar temples, the only others I have seen like them. There they are still more varied, and include dancing figures in ballet skirts—most intriguing! They are probably temple dancers, and depict one of the oldest known dances in India. I remember that in the Ceylon moonstones, at the threshold of Buddhist temples, there is also a canonical scheme of animals walking in a semicircle. The scheme is always the same—*i.e.*, five living animals, elephant, horse, lion, ox, bird. The ox is sometimes changed to a conventional animal.

The bands of decoration vary on the east front on either side of the portico, and there we find three instead of six, consisting of elephants, horses, and scroll. On the top of these is a railed parapet with carved panels depicting incidents from the epics and the Puranas. The end of each story is marked with a little closed door. There are also a few panels of love scenes. Above these are small single figures between turreted pilasters. These turrets or caps look like candle-extinguishers, and are very effective.

There are seven rounded facets on each tower (Fig. 6), the lines of which continue up and taper to the very top of the tower, where they meet a kind of overturned vase. Each one of the seven facets is carved with four large figures under a canopy of leafy decoration, an endless network of fruit, flowers, and foliage. In all there are 194 images on the outer wall, all of which represent gods of the Hindu pantheon. My recollection is that they are

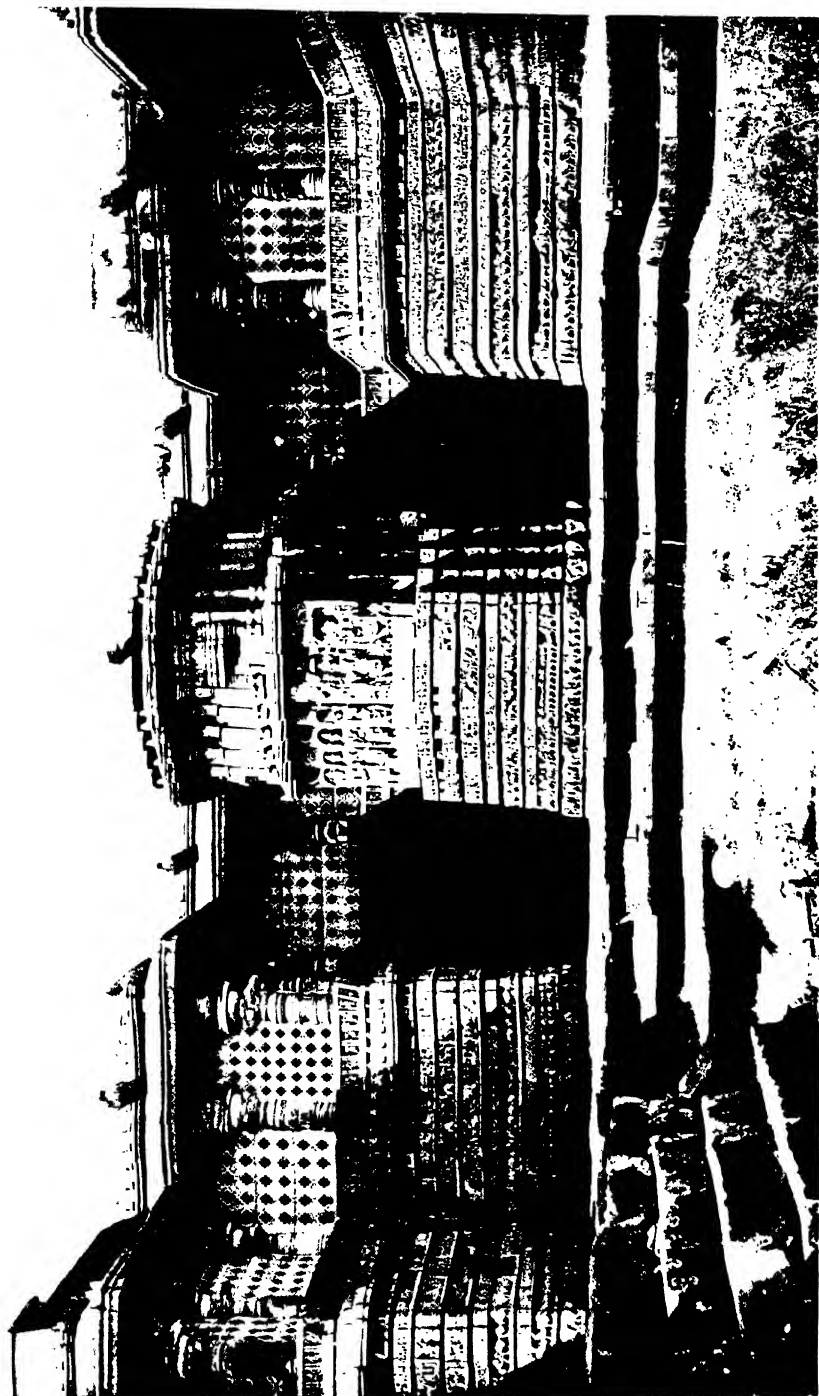


FIG. 1. PITSVALASARA TEMPLE AT HATTIP.



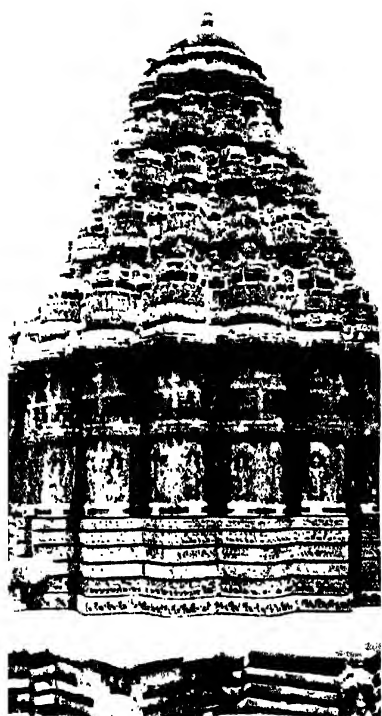


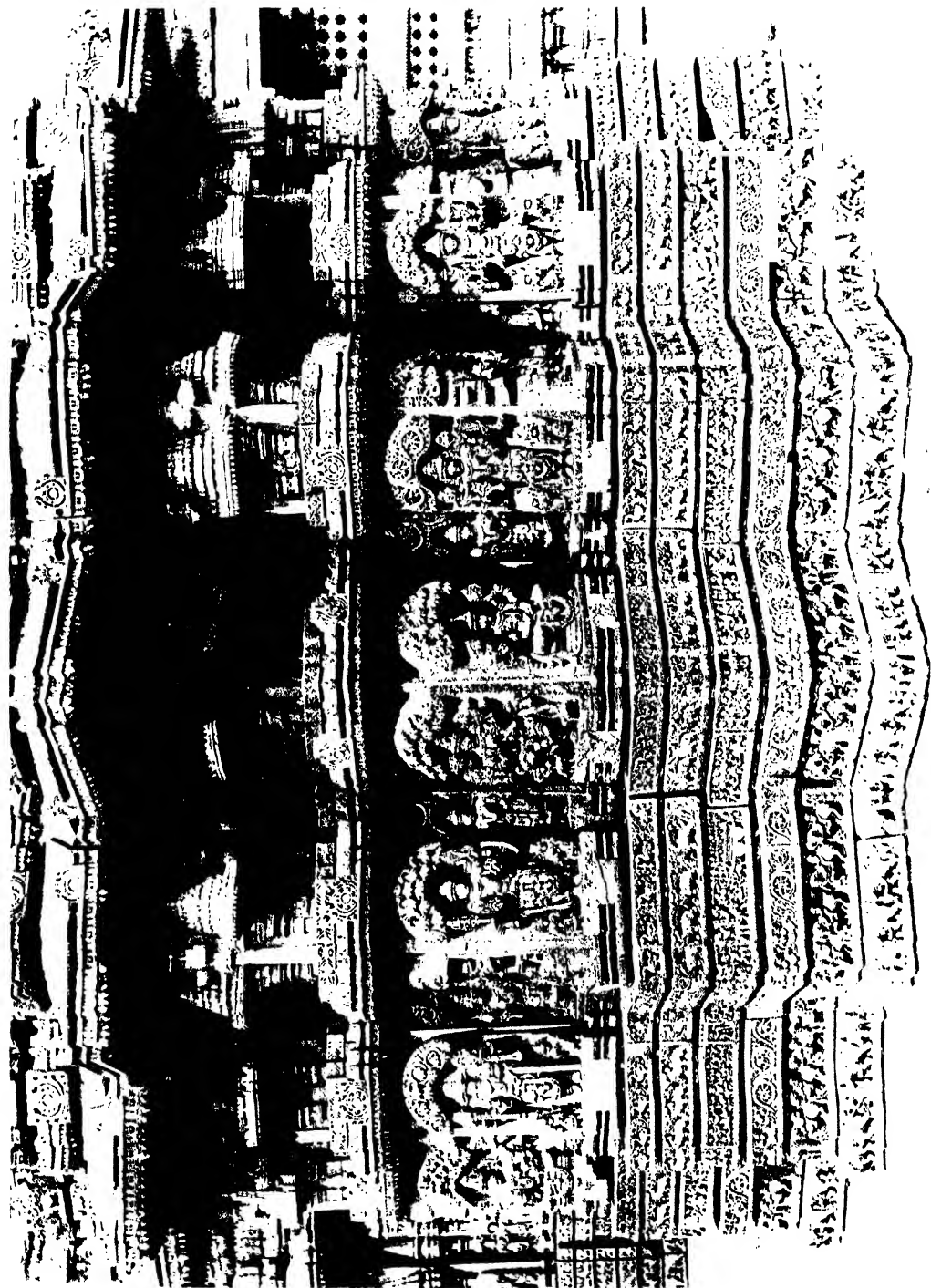
FIG. 3. SEKTALE TOWER ON THE TEMPLE AT SOMANATHAPUR.



FIG. 4. SIX FRIEZES AROUND THE BASE OF THE TEMPLE AT SOMANATHAPUR.



FIG. 5. DETAILS OF THE FRIEZE SHOWING ELEPHANTS AND HORSES ON THE TEMPLE AT SOMANATHAPUR.



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about 4 feet high. Above these statues are large conical turrets, which form a very important part of the scheme of decoration. They break the line and make tapering points just under the eaves of the projecting roof. This cornice or roof which follows the points of the tower has a dainty serrated edge casting deep shadows. Everything has been designed to make a play of light and shade. On the south wall are many very dignified figures, noticeably Brahma, an eight-armed Siva, Surya the sun god, and many of Sarasvati, goddess of wisdom. Some of the statues are as light as air and very amusing and beautiful in composition, especially Krishna with his flute and Lakshmi dancing. There are seventy-four gods set up in this temple. But on the whole the carving of these gods and goddesses is hard, tight and conventional, and cannot be compared with the animal sculpture which decorates the frieze. No flame of genius gives them expression - they are all lifeless. I have always felt that the Indian artist of this period was repressed and timid when he tried to depict a god whom he had never seen, and was only inspired and great when he chiselled animals or pairs of lovers. These were something he could understand.

Above the line of the roof each tower is broken into four layers of lace-like ornament. It is pyramidal in shape. Although there is much profuse, even extravagant, ornamentation, the sculpture is so united to the architecture, and so completely part of it that one has no feeling of over-decoration. The effect is marvellously harmonious, the figures are beautifully placed and fit in completely with the design. The six hard lines of frieze at the bottom give a solid foundation to the whole and make a relief to the lacy richness. I know of many temples which possess beautiful fragments and isolated masterpieces, but this one is unique, for it forms a perfect *ensemble*.

A legend tells us that when the temple was completed it looked so grand and beautiful that the gods, thinking that it was too good to be on the earth, wanted to transport it to Indra's heaven. Accordingly the structure began to rise from the earth! I am grateful that by some device the calamity was averted and the temple has remained with us.

The Archaeological Survey of Mysore, inspired by Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan, is much to be congratulated on the upkeep of the temples and the museums, and the interest which is being taken in these important specimens of art and architecture. Beautiful books and photographs are being prepared which will greatly add to our knowledge of this period of Chalukyan art. My thanks and gratitude are due to Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, late Director of Archaeological Research in Mysore, for his interesting monograph on the Kesava temple of Somanathapur, the first of a series, and to his successor, the present Director, Mr. M. H. Krishna, for much valuable help.

NOTES ON A COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL PORTRAITS FROM GOLCONDA

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THE art of the so-called Amsterdam School, and above all of its greatest exponent, Rembrandt, flashes forth from the realistic art of Old Holland like a glimpse of fairyland. The singular character of this art is not only the result of the spiritualized style of the great master, or of the romantic accessories and the magic chiaroscuro effects which he had learnt from the Italian painters of the counter-reformation and its revival of medieval mysticism.

There is more: a new breath of inspiration had come from the Orient. Even before Rembrandt's days Oriental influence had filtered through from the Mediterranean lands, where wars and diplomacy, piratical raids and peaceful trading voyages had made Moors and Turks into familiar figures both in court life and in pictorial art. Hence we find a tendency to "Orientalism" not only in the work of Rembrandt, but also in that of Jan Lievens, Pieter Lastman, Arent de Gelder, Salomon Koninck, van den Eeckhout, and many others.

Their Oriental tendencies, however, show a quite particular note, as these painters did not confine themselves to copying the conventional types created by the Mediterranean painters. They made a direct study of Eastern manners and objects of art which they met with in the harbours of Holland. It is well known that Rembrandt had a strong inclination to the colony of Jews¹ who had immigrated to Amsterdam from Spain and Portugal. But, on the whole, the direct influence of India, Turkey and Persia is far more obvious. A new phase in the connexions of Western Europe had begun.

The Indies were being opened up to the sea-borne trade of Dutch and British merchants who were establishing their first settlements in the East. The days had passed when the seamen of both nations were content to fare as far as the Iberian peninsula or Muscovy.

This direct contact with the East disclosed a new and glamorous wonderland which was to impress itself on the imagination even of sober Amsterdam, and so to impart fresh life and inspiration to its art. In 1595 the first Dutch ships sailed for the East; in 1604 trade on the Coromandel coast was started at Masulipatam, and the factories of Pulicat and Negapatam were founded in

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1609 and 1610 respectively; in 1616 the factory at Surat was opened and became a centre of trade enterprise on the western coast. Three years later the fourth Governor-General founded Batavia, which has ever since been the capital of the Dutch East Indies. In 1623 the Shāh of Persia officially recognized the Dutch East India Company, and in 1635-36 a mission sent to Agra obtained *firmāns* from the Great Mughal. No regular ambassador was, however, sent to the courts of these rulers until Johan Cunæus went to Isfahān in 1651 and Dirk van Adrichem to Agra in 1662.² Though the information about these first steps in diplomacy is still somewhat scanty, it may be confidently assumed that even by this time many *objets d'art*—paintings, weapons, wearing apparel, tapestry and jewellery—had found their way to Amsterdam.

When Rembrandt became insolvent in 1656 the list of his property³ included items of Indian dresses and pictures of costumes. Certain sketches of his, copied from Indian miniatures, probably date from this period and are well known.⁴ Moreover, many Dutch paintings of this period show that the artists had made some study of Indian *objets d'art*. We do not know how these collections were made or what happened to them afterwards. Rembrandt's collection of Indian paintings was perhaps the earliest and most comprehensive on the Continent, but its history remains a mystery from beginning to end. The only person who is known to have had access to the art of the Mughal court of the period is Sir Thomas Roe,⁵ who was ambassador of James I. to Jahāngīr, but he had come back from India long before the earliest date on which the Indian miniatures copied by Rembrandt could have been painted. There is one François Timmers² who might conceivably have acquired them at the period in question—*circa* 1630-40; it was he who procured the first *firmāns* for the Dutch merchants from the court at Agra in 1635-36, and he seems to have had relations with Prince Dārā Shukōh, who was a connoisseur and friendly towards foreigners. Timmers, however, was only a sub-factor, and it is somewhat doubtful whether he could become the owner of such valuable works of art. Even if he did, how did they come into Rembrandt's possession? It has been suggested that Rembrandt obtained them through Abraham Wilmerdonks, one of the seventeen members of the Court of Directors, whose portrait he painted in 1642.⁴

Be that as it may, what became of them after they passed out of Rembrandt's hands? It seems not improbable that they formed part of the collection of Nicholaas Witsen,⁶ for many years burgomaster of Amsterdam, and later ambassador to William III. when the latter had become King of England. Witsen was a scholar of repute, an explorer, and a historian; his

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Noord- en Oost-Tartarijen (Northern and Eastern Tartary), first published at Amsterdam in 1692, is even now a very useful work of reference. When first published, at a time when trustworthy data could only be obtained with the greatest difficulty, it was a wonderful achievement of research in Asiatic ethnography and history.⁷ In 1728, a few years after the death of Witsen, his collections were, however, put to the hammer and scattered in all directions. The only extant copy of the auction catalogue, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (23 D.D., 1728),⁸ enumerates no less than 370 Indian paintings.

Included in the list are two books of pictures, which might, so far as we can tell from the scanty descriptions given, have contained the miniatures once in Rembrandt's possession (Nos. 6 and 9). This theory finds support in the fact that at that time Indian paintings were very rare, and so large a collection as Witsen's may well have absorbed all that were in the market. We know for certain that Nicolaas Witsen had begun to build up his collection as early as 1664—*i.e.*, a few years after the auction of Rembrandt's worldly goods; and that his father Cornelis in his capacity as a burgomaster had been a party to the lawsuits connected with the artist's difficulties.³ The book *Noord- en Oost-Tartarijen* does indeed contain some reproductions of Indian miniatures (pp. 215, 426), but they are copied from another album (No. 10 of the catalogue)⁹ which some time ago I was fortunate enough to identify in Amsterdam.

There are fragments of a third album in the Louvre.¹⁰ The purchasers—*i.e.*, the Rijksprentenkabinet of Amsterdam and the Musée Napoléon (the Louvre), respectively, bought both from the same source—the Van Buren auction at The Hague (1808).¹¹

The importance of these albums lies less in the purely artistic value of the pictures than in their historical interest. Not only are they the only extant survivors of the earliest collections of Oriental paintings preserved in the Netherlands of the seventeenth century which influenced the art of the Amsterdam school,¹² but they are among the very few early instances where we can trace from which particular part of India and in what manner the pictures reached Europe.

These paintings come from Golconda. Some of them, as already related, were reproduced in Witsen's book published in 1693, and some are found among the illustrations to Havart's *Op- en Ondergang van Coromandel*¹⁰ which appeared in the same year. Also a letter, addressed by Professor Hendrik Francken to Witsen in 1692, is still extant, in which he translates the Persian and Portuguese biographies added to the portraits of Emperors, princes, and generals of the Mughal Empire, Sultāns and dignitaries of Golconda and Bijāpur, and finally of the Shāh of Persia.

The above dates make it probable that they were brought from Golconda

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by the Dutch ambassador Laurens Pit¹³ in the summer of 1686, the year preceding the fall of this last independent state of the Deccan, and it can hardly be a matter of accident that the portraits in both volumes so closely correspond to the smallest details in Havart's book¹⁰ that they might almost serve as illustrations of his account of this embassy. There is, moreover, internal evidence in the Amsterdam album that it was painted in this very summer—1686. At the time when the pictures were inserted in our album, Muhammad Ibrāhīm, who had formerly served as a general and a governor under the Sultān of Golconda, had already entered the Mughal service (1686); the chief wazīr, Mādannā, and his brother must have been stripped of their honours and murdered (March, 1686), as their portraits do not bear their titles of rank, while on the other hand Sultān Sikandar of Bijāpur, who had to yield to the Mughals in September of that year, was still on the throne with Sharzah Khān as his prime minister.

Though these portraits are not mentioned in the journal of the Embassy preserved in the Record Office at The Hague, it is probable that the Dutch merchants stationed at the Golconda factory got them for the ambassador. It is a known fact that they had exchanged paintings with the Sultān;¹⁴ and the descriptions in Portuguese, which betray a good knowledge of local affairs, may have been added by the merchants' interpreters, Portuguese Jews who, like Joan van Nyendel, had fled from the Inquisition at Goa.¹⁵

Laurens Pit's mission was unsuccessful. The kingdom of Golconda was in a state of complete collapse, and the Mughal Emperor was awaiting the moment when it should be ripe for annexation. Many of the nobles who had served under the Qutb Shāh had become disaffected and had joined the army of Prince Shāh 'Ālam (later the Emperor Bahādur Shāh I.); and after the cruel assassination of Mādannā the kingdom, torn asunder by warring factions, was left without anyone to give a consistent direction to its foreign policy, such as might have preserved for it some remnant of independence.

While the Dutch mission was at the Golconda court, Bijāpur, the capital of the neighbouring kingdom, was already besieged by a Mughal army. September saw the end of Bijāpur's independence, and only a few months were to elapse before Golconda in turn was invested and had to yield (1687). Its fall meant the end of the medieval Muhammadan civilization which had still been upheld in the south by the states which had sprung from the Bahmani Empire, when Akbar had already initiated a new era of Indo-Muhammadan history in the north.¹⁵

All the leading figures of these troublous times pass in review before us

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in the pages of the two albums—the one in Amsterdam, the other (of which, to be precise, only a few isolated sheets survive) in Paris.

As might be expected, the subjects of many of the portraits are Mughal princes and dignitaries—the Emperor Aurangzeb, overlord of the Golconda Sultāns, his forefathers, his sons, and even his generals commanding in the Deccan. We need not linger over these likenesses of well-known personages or over that of the Persian ruler, Sulaimān II.¹⁶

Some of the leading figures in the history of the neighbouring state of Bijāpur appear in the series; but here, too, we find exclusively persons who have been connected in some way with Golconda. Among them is Ibrāhīm II. (1580-1626) (fol. 39), an able ruler in whose reign Bijāpur reached its highest pitch of artistic and intellectual achievement, attended, however, by a religious and moral decay which led to the political and cultural decline that set in soon afterwards. His two successors, Muhammad (1627-55) (fol. 40) who had married a Golconda princess and was buried in the imposing Gol Gumbaz, and 'Alī II. (1656-72) (fol. 41), a paralytic debauchee, were unable to uphold their authority against their ministers and court officials. First, Mullā Muhammad Amin Lārī Mustafā Khān (fol. 43), the *de facto* ruler in Sultān Muhammad's time, was seized by his colleague Khawāss Khān (fol. 42), and imprisoned for a time at Belgaon; in the course of the civil war that followed he was killed before the stronghold of Chenchi in the Carnatic. Khawāss Khān continued to be the virtual ruler of the kingdom till the end of 'Alī's nominal reign, and even during the early part of young Sikandar's reign. In 1675, however, he was overthrown by Bahlol Khān (fol. 44), who in turn was poisoned two years later. In these circumstances the kingdom fell into a state of anarchy so complete that the war with the Mughals in 'Alī II.'s reign might well have ended in the conquest of Bijāpur, if the invading army had not been distracted by the strife arising among Shāhjahān's sons over the succession. In 1684 Sayyid Makhdūm Sharzah Khān (fol. 45), the last minister-regent of Sultān Sikandar, took over the reins of government, but in spite of his energy he and his king had to capitulate in September, 1686. Only one year later Golconda in turn was conquered, and its king went to share young Sikandar's captivity in the Mughal fortress of Daulatābād.

The series depicting the history of Golconda is much more representative. As already remarked, it shows a close affinity to the biographical notes in Havart's *Op- en Ondergang von Coromandel*. This series, too, starts with portraits of the successive kings. The labels describe them as "Shāh"—*i.e.*, emperor, a title which the Deccanī rulers gave to themselves, while the Mughal court only allowed them that of "Khān"; this is another reason why the pictures cannot have been the work of a Mughal artist.

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The first of the series is Burhān 'Alī Barah Mulk (fol. 19A) (Fig. 1), who had been made, in 1495, Governor of Telingāna by Mahmūd, the last ruler of the tottering Bahmanī Empire. When this empire fell apart, Qutb-ul-Mulk built up an independent kingdom, which he extended at the expense of Vijayanagar, the last great Hindu power, and of Bijāpur, another state sprung from the Bahmanī Empire. It is the portrait of an old, imposing gentleman, an experienced fighter and a skilful judge of men clad in the old-fashioned dress which had been in vogue in Turkestan and Persia under Tamerlane's successors; and which, to judge from some other early paintings, was also worn in India before the Mughal invasion.

The portraits of his successors show clearly how the line deteriorated and became effeminate. Here we have Ibrāhīm (1550-80) (fol. 19B) (Fig. 2), during whose reign Golconda reached the zenith of its power, Muhammad Qulī (1580-1611) (fol. 21), who erected many stately buildings, and Muhammad (1611-25) (fol. 21), who had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughals; finally the last two Qutb-Shāhīs, 'Abdullah (1625-72) (fol. 22^{10b}; Stchoukine, No. 80), and Abul-Hasan (1672-87) (fol. 23; Stchoukine, No. 81, Pl. 18^a), (Fig. 4). These two princes, like the last two 'Ādil-Shāhīs of Bijāpur, had been only puppets in the hands of warring court factions and powerful ministers.

'Abdullah, a patron of the arts and a truly regal figure, made Hyderabad the most luxurious and fashionable city in India; but his energy was sapped by dissolute harem life, and he was unable to maintain his authority against the military members of his court. His expression, unlike that of his debonair predecessors, betrays a remarkable blend of kingly pride and extravagance with irresolute suspicion and sensitiveness. Abul-Hasan, on the other hand, though distantly related to the ruling family, was a vulgar person. Originally a Darwesh, he had been raised to the throne only to bar the way to an abler rival. Fond of good living and of unstable character, he was treated by his ministers as a prisoner rather than as a ruler.

In the course of 'Abdullah's reign Mīrzā Ahmad (fol. 24. Stch. no. 83), (Fig. 3) a nobleman from Mecca, had seized the reins of government and married a daughter of the king. When, in 1672, the Sultān and his loyal and energetic commander-in-chief, the eunuch Nēknām Khān (fol. 25; Stch. no. 89) (Fig. 6), both died, the way to the throne seemed open to the prime minister. But his opponents rose against him; he was thrown into prison and poisoned, and the crown passed to Abul-Hasan. The leaders in this *coup d'état* were the general Sayyid Muzaffar (fol. 28; Stch. no. 84; Plate 19A),^{16b} Mūsā Khān (fol. 26) (Fig. 7), the cavalry commander, and the "saintly" *bon-vivant* Shāh Rājū (fol. 30; Stch. no. 82; Plate 19B) (Fig. 8), religious

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teacher of the new king. The new administration, however, soon became unpopular and was overthrown in the following year, 1673. The king, who had grown discontented with his rôle of *roi fainéant*, entered into a conspiracy with his new private secretary, the Brāhman Mādannā (fol. 37 ; Stch. no. 85, Plate 18B),^{16a} who had been Sayyid Muzaffar's financial deputy ; Muhammad Ibrāhīm (fol. 29 ; Stch. no. 87) too, the new cavalry commander, was drawn in. The prime minister and *de facto* ruler, his nephew, Shāh Mīrā (fol. 27 ; Stch. no. 90), and Mūsā Khān were arrested and thrown into prison, never to leave it alive. The king's status, however, remained as before ; he had only changed masters ; and the lean and crafty Brāhman, whose skilled diplomacy averted the fall of the kingdom for another decade, was not to be easily dislodged. For twelve years he was the absolute ruler of Golconda.

Finally his exactions and the favour that he showed to his Hindu co-religionists brought the Muhammadan officers to such a pitch of exasperation that they murdered him and dragged his mutilated body through the streets of the capital. The same fate befell his brother Ākannā (fol. 38 ; Stch. no. 86) (Fig. 5) who, in spite of his cruel and cowardly disposition, had supplanted Muhammad Ibrāhīm in the command of the army when the latter fell into disgrace in 1682 after a defeat by the Bijāpur forces. (He, too, like the survivors of the last *coup d'état*, entered the Mughal service).

The murder of Mādannā led to the downfall of Golconda. Bereft of a single directing hand, weakened by internal strife and undermined by Mughal intrigue, the kingdom was doomed to speedy dissolution. In the very next year the city was besieged and Sultān Abul-Hasan was betrayed into the hands of the Mughals.

Although we know the history of Golconda in its main outlines, our knowledge of its art and social conditions is very sketchy compared with our acquaintance with contemporary Mughal culture. Few writings of this epoch have come down to us, while contemporary European authorities fail to discriminate sufficiently between the different types of civilization then prevalent in India. Mughal pictorial art provides an additional source of information ; but Deccanī painting is still an almost unexplored field of research. No two writers are in agreement as to whether a particular miniature or fresco is or is not Deccanī, and to what school or period it is to be ascribed.¹⁷ And yet it would be worth while to know more about Deccanī civilization, which must have differed greatly from that of Mughal or Rājput India.¹⁸

In the north the cosmopolitan Mughal empire had built up, under its military-bureaucratic system of government, a form of culture blended of Eastern Turkish, Rājput and Persian elements. But the states of the south had continued the medieval form of Indo-Muhammadan administration.



FIG. 1. BURHAN AL-DIN MUHAMMAD.



FIG. 2. SULTAN QUTUB AL-DIN.



FIG. 3. MİRZĀ AHMAD.



FIG. 4. SULTAN SHAMS AL-DIN.



FIG. 5.—AKANA.



FIG. 6.—NIRAN KHAN.



FIG. 7.—MUSĀ KHĀN.



FIG. 8.—SHĀH RAUL.

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Their civilization must have been a mixture of Persian, Mameluke Egyptian, Osmānī, and South Indian elements, the last being more akin to ancient Indian tradition than Rājput culture.

According to current theories, the paintings here discussed belong to the branch of Mughal art introduced into Hyderabad by the Nizām-ul-Mulk about 1724;¹⁹ but as we have already seen, they date from an earlier time and are products of the Golconda school. Are there other specimens of the same style extant?

In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there is an album (O.D. no. 45, *réserve*)²⁰ of pictures which had been painted at Golconda for the Venetian traveller Nicolao Manucci only a few months later than those with which we are dealing. While the style and composition are similar, some important differences are apparent. As Manucci had ordered an album giving a general idea of the India of his times, most of the very elaborate paintings deal with Mughal history or Indian ethnography in general. Although Manucci tells us that the painter Mīr Muhammad, an artist in Shāh 'Ālam's service, copied them from originals in the Emperor's own library, the Manucci album, in fact, is but a collection of bad though showy pictures of the same style as those in the Amsterdam and Paris¹¹ albums, and as the isolated portraits of kings and nobles of Golconda—especially Sultān Abul-Hasan²¹—to be found in various collections in London, Bombay, Delhi, Boston, Berlin, etc. But besides Mīr Muhammad, other unemployed painters from Golconda seem to have entered the Mughal service during these evil times, for we know of a portrait of Shāh 'Ālam by a Golconda artist.²² It is therefore hardly surprising that these works should be wrongly ascribed to a Mughal origin, the more so as the style of painting usually classed as "Deccanī" by the Mughal collectors of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries²³ is quite different. The two styles have, however, much in common. Both are characterized by glaring colours, sometimes put side by side without any transitions, bright masses of gold, the absence of a sense for space, and a fondness for exuberant oversized vegetation; and both favour the same particular size and proportion of the paintings. For the rest there is a wide divergence between the two schools, a divergence between two epochs—the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Bijāpur and the last three quarters of the seventeenth at Golconda.

In each also the influence of different phases of Mughal art is to be felt. Take for instance the style of dress at Golconda. The founder of the Qutb Dynasty still wears the costume of the later Tīmūrid period, which was in vogue in Northern India before and during the early days of Mughal rule (Fig. 1). Then Sultān Ibrāhīm, Muhammad and Muhammad Qulī

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adopted the Mughal style of Akbar's reign, though with considerable modifications (Fig. 2). 'Abdullah prefers an extravagant imitation of the Persianized fashion of Jahāngīr's days,^{16a} which under his successor was more and more assimilated to contemporary Mughal dress.

The phases of artistic development in the Deccan seem to correspond to these changes of fashion. In the British Museum there is a manuscript bearing the title "Nujūm-ul-'Ulūm," written in A.D. 1570 (Chester Beatty, Mughal MS. No. 2), which had been kept for a time in the library of the liberal Sultān Ibrāhīm II. of Bijāpur (1579-1626). This contains miniatures of an early style in which Hindu influence predominates blended with the classic Tīmūrid art.²⁴

In technique and expression these pictures are akin to the Rāgmālās of early Rājasthān, but they are distinguished from the latter in point of size, in a greater wealth of types, *horror vacui*, the lavish use of over-sized floral decoration spread over the background, and the excessive rendering of golden bracelets and similar ornaments both for men and beasts. We may find the counterpart to these Bijāpur pictures in the painted chintzes (*pintados*) of the Coromandel coast with their strange mixture of Persian, "Rājput," and South Indian (Vijayanagar) elements.²⁵ From the beginning of the seventeenth century this "Hindu" style fell out of favour at the courts, and was soon reduced to the position of a provincial school of art.^{26, 27} It crops up, however, occasionally in both kingdoms throughout the century, shaping itself more and more in course of time on the pattern of the new styles developing in the capitals. Among the latest specimens of this style are a portrait of the young Sultān Abul-Hasan ("Tānā Shāh") and some female portraits of a markedly erotic character, which may depict courtesans of the final phase of luxurious Golconda.²⁸

After the conquest of Khāndesh and Ahmadnagar by Akbar, the neighbouring kingdom of Bijāpur came under the influence of the new art which had sprung up under the auspices of that great prince. As early as the latter part of Ibrāhīm II.'s reign the artists of Bijāpur adopted the technique and outward form of the Akbarī school; they did not, however, grasp the conception underlying it. This style is, like the earlier one, characterized by a missing sense of space, bright gold and glowing colour, and oversized ornamental flowers spread over the whole picture; it is this style which the Mughal collectors of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries called "Deccanī Qalam." But with the rapid decay of the kingdom which set in after Ibrāhīm's death the "classical" phase of this Bijāpurī art came to an end.²⁹

Apparently feuds between the different coteries made any continuity of

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art tradition impossible. Works of art of the most divergent types are to be found side by side. The styles are so varied that there might be no clue to the place and date of origin if it were not that all the representations of costume, furniture, buildings, etc., point to Bijāpur during Sultān Muhammad's reign. The paintings no doubt betray to a certain extent a common mentality: The outline is less agitated and less emphasized, colours are more restrained, and sentiment more delicate, but in every other respect the most diverse influences have been at work. Some paintings must be associated with the art of Shāh Jahān's court,³⁰ others with that of Persia under the later Safavid kings,³¹ others with the Portuguese of Goa, such as the remarkable "Italian" frescoes in the Ashār Mahall.³² Under the last two Sultāns the art of Bijāpur seems to have finally died out; all that survives are some doubtful portraits in a sort of debased Mughal style.

It was at this period, however, that the conception of a "Deccani" style became associated with the art of Golconda—the art of the books of pictures in Amsterdam, in the Louvre,¹⁰ and in the British Museum,³³ as well as that of the Codex Manucci.²⁰ All the datable products of this school belong to the times of Sultān Abul-Hasan. There is, however, every reason to believe that this school originated under his predecessor 'Abdullah, during whose reign Golconda art was strongly influenced by that of the Emperor Jahāngir's and, to a less extent, that of Shāh Jahān's court. In this way many characteristics of early Mughal life in Jahāngir's times have passed over into the decaying civilization of the reigns of Farrukhsiyar (1712-18) and Muhammad Shāh (1718-48) by way of Golconda. Bijāpur, too, similarly handed down certain features of early Mughal civilization to eighteenth-century Rājputānā.

This Golconda school is marked by a certain poverty of subjects in its pictures, most of which are portraits, but the style is livelier than that of contemporary Mughal art. Outlines are bold and strongly marked, the colours bright, much use is made of gold, often rather crudely, and there is a tendency to exaggerate the facial features. Later works show even a certain lifeless dryness. Only the pictures of the Manucci Codex have more elaborate themes, with accessories in the manner of Rājput art. Is it possible that here, too, the Deccanī school acted as a connecting link between certain characteristics of sixteenth and eighteenth century Rājput art? This album is the last product of Golconda art and testifies to its rapid decline. Outlines are harsh and over-emphasized to the point of caricature, and the tints are showy but crude.

I must admit that I do not know of any paintings of real artistic worth which can be ascribed to the Nizām period, although of course there may be many in existence but not yet brought to notice. Those that I have seen—

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mostly in the hands of art dealers—were works of no artistic merit, belonging to the period when the Bārha Sayyids governed the Deccan—*i.e.*, the second decade of the eighteenth century.³⁴

There seems, therefore, to be every reason to believe that the school of painting hitherto classed as an offshoot of Mughal art in the Nizām's dominions was really the last and perhaps one of the best schools of the distinctive Deccanī work, and flourished during the reigns of the last two rulers of Golconda.

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¹ Werner Weissbach, *Rembrandt*, Leipzig, 1926

² J. H. Heeres, *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlands-Indicum*, I., 1907; II., 1931. Terpstra, *Vestiging van de Nederlanders aan de Kust van Koromandel*, 1911.

³ Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt*. Urkunden über f. den Haag, 1906.

⁴ F. Sarre in *Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1904, 1909. Valentiner, *Rembrandt: Handzeichnungen*, II, 1934.

⁵ W. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, London, 1926.

⁶ J. F. Gebhard, *Het Leven van Mr. Nicolaas Cornelisz Witsen*, Utrecht, 1881-82.

⁷ In his book is also the first illustration of one of those "Siberian Bronzes" in which connoisseurs of Far Eastern Art are now so much interested.

⁸ I have to thank Mr. J. Q. van Regteren-Altena, Amsterdam, for kindly giving me this reference.

⁹ It was Professor J. Ph. Vogel of the Leyden University who first directed my attention to this album.

¹⁰ I. Stchoukine, *Les Miniatures Indiennes au Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1929. Mr. Stchoukine has been the first to suggest that there might be some connection between the Golconda miniatures in the Louvre and the account of Havart.

¹¹ Cf. the auction catalogue Scheurleer in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Leyden.

¹² Cf. also E. Schierlitz, *Die bildlichen Darstellungen der indischen Göttertrinität in der älteren ethnographischen Literatur*, 1927. Many illustrations in seventeenth-century books on the East, like those of Thomas Roe, Tavernier, Havart, Baldaeus, Valentijn, are undoubtedly copies of Indian paintings slightly adapted to European taste.

¹³ For a detailed description of this embassy cf. Havart.

¹⁴ Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, ed. W. Irvine, London, 1907.

¹⁵ For the history of the Deccan cf. Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1925; A. A. Bilgrami, *Landmarks of the Deccan*, Hyderabad, 1927; Cousens, *Guide to Bijapur*, Poona, 1905; the same, *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains*, Bombay, 1916; Moreland, *Relations of Golconda in the early Seventeenth Century*, London, 1931.

¹⁶ The portraits of Timūr and Sulaimān II. are reproduced in Witsen's *Noord- en Oost-Tartarijen*, pp. 215, 426. Through the carelessness of the Jewish-Portuguese interpreters the picture of Sulaimān II. has been wrongly explained as that of his better-known ancestor 'Abbās the Great. Witsen has tried to reconcile the two descriptions by assuming that it represents 'Abbās II., who received the embassy of Cunaeus.

^{16a} Reproduced in *Maandblad voor Beeldenden Kunsten*, XI., pp. 310 ff., Amsterdam, 1934.

¹⁷ I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne à l'Époque des Grand-Moghols*, 1929, p. 64.

¹⁸ H. Goetz, *Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmoghulzeit*, 1930.

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¹⁹ P. Brown, *Indian Painting*, Calcutta-London s.a.; O. C. Gangoly, in *Rūpam*, No. 4, p. 16 ff., 1920.

²⁰ Cf. Nicolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Introduction.

²¹ Bilgrami, *Landmarks*; Gladstone Solomon, *Essays on Moghul Art*, London-Bombay, 1932. Cp. also J. Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturmalerei*, Klagenfurt, 1933, pp. 21 sq., and Plates 13-15. Professor Glück has made the interesting observation that some of the miniatures in the National Library of Vienna and in Schönbrunn Palace, apparently acquired in 1762, betray a striking resemblance with the sketches executed by Rembrandt. As several of these pictures are accompanied by Dutch inscriptions, it seems very probable that they too were originally a part of the Witsen Collection sold in 1728.

²² Coomaraswamy, Boston Catalogue, Vol. VI., Plate 58.

²³ Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Plate 47, etc.

²⁴ L. Binyon in *Rūpam*, No. 29, pp. 4 ff., 1924.

²⁵ Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies*, London, 1921; O. C. Gangoly in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1919; St. Culin in *Good Furniture Magazine*, New York, XI., pp. 133 ff.; J. Breck, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, New York, I., Pt. I.; *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XX., No. 6, 1925.

²⁶ Coomaraswamy, Boston Catalogue, VI., Plate 50.

²⁷ Coomaraswamy in *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, I., pp. 9 ff., Fig. 4.

²⁸ *Eastern Art*, II., Fig. 16, Philadelphia, 1930; Gangoly in *Rūpam*, No. 4, 1920, pp. 16 ff. The fact that these women wear a purely Indian costume is sufficient to exclude any identification with ladies of a Muhammadan court. Moreover, respectable women would never have been represented in a pose like that of the painting in Berlin.

²⁹ Mehta, *Studies*, Plate 47; Kuhnel, *Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient*, 1922, Plate 104. For a later reminiscence cf. *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, I., pp. 9 ff., Fig. 5.

³⁰ E. Blochet, *Les Enluminures des Mss. Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1926, Plate 109.

³¹ Coomaraswamy, Boston Catalogue, Vol. VI., Plate 39.

³² Cousens, *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains*, pp. 89 ff., Plates 75, 76.

³³ Rieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS., British Museum: Add. 5254, Add. 7964, Add. 22-282; Bilgrami, *Landmarks*; J. N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his Times*, 1929.

³⁴ J. Fr. Lewis, *Paintings and Drawings of Persia and India*, Philadelphia, 1924, Nos. 375, 406; catalogues Mensing, Amsterdam, and Maggs Bros., London.

THE LIVING TRADITIONS OF THE FOLK ARTS IN BENGAL*

By G. S. DUTT, I.C.S.

(Founder and President of the Bratachari Movement in Bengal)

I FEEL it a very great honour to be able to speak this afternoon before a gathering of this character and under the auspices of a Society which has done great things for Indian art.

The time at my disposal is so short in comparison with the magnitude of the subject of this evening that I can only deal with it in a very sketchy manner. Before I show you the lantern slides illustrating the examples of the various sections of the living traditions of the art of Bengal which have been handed down to us in an unbroken current from the remotest antiquity, I should like to explain the point of view from which I look at this rural art of Bengal, a point of view which I venture to think is the right one to adopt in dealing with the art not only of Bengal but also of every province of India.

India has been rightly described as constituting in herself a microcosm of the universe. She has a distinct personality and a spirit of her own which pervades every part of the continent and every section of her people, irrespective of race, religion or caste.

This common underlying Indian Spirit, therefore, pervades the art of every province of India in every age from the remotest antiquity down to the present day, and not only the *spirit*, but even the general idiom of the *form* of the art is also marked by a certain basic uniformity throughout India in every province as exhibiting the spirit which underlies it. This is what Western people no doubt mean when they speak about "Indian Art"—viz. this underlying identity of spirit as well as a certain basic identity of formal idiom.

What I wish to emphasize here, however, is that in spite of this synthetic unity, every province of India has, from the remotest times, developed and possessed an art tradition of her own as giving expression to the spirit of the particular race which inhabits that province, or part of the province, as the case may be. It is the synthesis of these separate and diverse art traditions subsisting in different parts of India and each possessing a distinct individuality that constitutes the common mosaic of "Indian Art" as understood and referred to in the West. In ancient times and even in mediæval times the

* Lecture delivered before the India Society on October 11, 1935. Mr. Laurence Binyon, C.H., presided.

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Indian artists themselves in each province instinctively followed their race genius and gave expression to their special race idiom in their art without consciously thinking of producing a common "Indian art"; although from what I have already said, it follows that they were unconsciously conforming to certain basic principles of uniformity underlying the general Indian Spirit. Unfortunately, in recent times there has been a complete break between education in the cities, including education in art, and the traditions that are to be found in the villages of India which constitute the real India. At first the tendency in the towns was for those who wanted to take up the practice of Indian art to copy Western models. When the mistake of doing this was discovered, however, there was an eagerness to get into touch with really indigenous Indian traditions. It was in response to this desire that the late E. B. Havell and others took their Indian pupils to the caves of Ajanta and to the practically extinct traditions of the arts of the Moghul and Rajput courts as well as to the old traditions of the Folk Arts of Rajputana.

The point that I wish to emphasize here is that this was done in ignorance of the fact that living traditions of distinctive arts of each province existed in almost an unbroken current from a remote antiquity in each province in its rural areas. Apart from whether this was true of every province or not, I now propose to demonstrate to you that this was the fact with regard, at any rate, to Bengal. Here, apart from the old traditions of the classic periods of Indian art, of which examples are to be found in the ancient monuments in various parts of India as well as in ancient texts, there were, in every branch of art, living traditions as distinguished from extinct traditions of a past generation, actually practised by practically every section of the village people—those, that is to say, who had not come into touch with the new education of the towns and cities and had not broken off their connection with these living traditions.

Thanks to Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and others, the living traditions and the art of Bengal in the sphere of Literature were adopted by the schools and universities. In the sphere of Song and the Lyric Art generally, it was our great poet, Rabindranath Tagore, who discovered the value of the Folk songs, namely, the Kirtan, the Baul and the Bhatial songs of rural Bengal, and enriched their simple rhythm with his wonderful genius into new creations which have become the admiration of the world. But here comes the difference—namely, in the case of other arts—viz., Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Dance and the Minor Arts. In almost all these branches our educated classes mostly sought inspiration from outside or from ancient Indian classical traditions mentioned above without recognizing the value of the continuous living traditions in the villages, which in fact were of really greater importance

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and interest from the point of view of the renaissance of Indian art in the various provinces than even the glory of the ancient classic art of India.

In order to convince you that this is not a mere theory of my own I shall refer you to a very important letter written by the late T. W. Rolleston, then Honorary Secretary of the India Society, on November 20, 1910, to the Under Secretary of State for India, in which the following significant paragraphs occur :*

"2. To all artists, architects and art workers in Europe the fact that Indian art has an unbroken tradition of design and craftsmanship handed down from remote antiquity is a matter of even deeper interest than the magnificence of its ancient monuments ; but whereas through the efforts of Government a great deal has been done of late years to assist archæological research, the importance of investigating the principles and practice of the living art and craft of India has not received anything like adequate attention. . . .

"4. It is unfortunately the case that owing to the spread of European fashions among the English-educated classes in India, and to departmental procedure in placing a very high premium upon the work of designers and craftsmen who merely imitate the commercial art of modern Europe, the number of these master builders is steadily diminishing and the quality of their work is deteriorating, so that India is gradually losing an invaluable part of her traditional art and craftsmanship. The India Society has not at present the means of undertaking on its own account a complete survey of living Indian architecture, but desires to draw the attention of the Government of India to the great importance of the subject, and would suggest that much valuable material could easily be collected at a trifling expense through the Archæological Department if the surveyors of the department were instructed, while on tour, to photograph interesting types of modern Indian buildings in the districts in which they are engaged, and to take notes of the names and addresses and local rates of remuneration of the principal craftsmen concerned in the designing and decoration of them. It is obvious that the historical continuity of Indian architectural traditions is a matter of the deepest interest to the student of archæology, and the information thus gained would also provide invaluable material for any official or non-official schemes for promoting technical and art education in India."

It will be noticed that while in Mr. Rolleston's letter a specific suggestion for a survey was made with regard to *Architecture* alone, his remarks in paragraph 2 of his letter, and in the beginning and end of paragraph 4, apply to *all* branches of Indian art. What he said in that letter on behalf of the India Society thus fully supports the view that I have already expressed, except that it has to be recognized that in making a survey of Indian art it is most important to differentiate between distinct art traditions of the different provinces which are the special race products of the genius of each province,

* *Vide* Appendix 2A of "Report on Modern Indian Architecture" (1913), published by the Government Press, United Provinces, Allahabad, Rs. 9.

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and that is the view that I wish to emphasize and illustrate in my present lecture.

I shall show you, with the aid of lantern slides, that, almost unknown to our city artists and art lovers, most valuable continuous living art traditions bearing the distinctive stamp of the spirit of the Bengali race did exist and do exist to the present day in a more or less vigorous form in the sphere of cottage architecture, wood sculpture, painting, dance and several minor arts, and that the study and conservation of these traditions are of the utmost importance for the purpose of a real art renaissance in Bengal in these spheres.

Although in the title of my lecture these traditions have been described as the traditions of "Folk Arts" in Bengal they really constitute the distinctive *national art* of the Bengali people. It is *national* in more senses than one. In the first place it is rooted in the culture of Bengal and has a continuous history of almost unadulterated development dating back to remote antiquity and is not based on mere imitation of any other tradition of any other part of India or of any other period. Secondly, its practice is not confined to a small number of art amateurs but is widespread among large masses of people of both sexes in rural Bengal. Thirdly, it is intimately related to their social life and expresses their moral and spiritual ideals. And lastly, in its motifs and style it has the distinct and national stamp of the formal idiom and spirit of the Bengali race.

First, now, with regard to Dance. It was in connection with the national traditional dances of the Bengali people that I first became interested in the whole subject, and it happened in this way :

My childhood was spent in my native village of Birasri in the District of Sylhet in a very remote corner of the old province of Bengal. The old national life of the Bengali people had still survived in almost its complete form there, and one of the most important activities of this life was the simple community dances which were practised by men of all classes and ranks in the village, and also, separately, by the women of all classes, irrespective of caste or rank. I belonged to the Kayastha caste, which was next to that of the Brahmans, and my father was one of the landlords of the village. Yet he took part in these simple religious and semi-religious dances with all classes of his tenants, and my mother also took part in the women's dances practised by all classes of women on the occasion of social and religious festivals. These dances were not practised for display or for the edification of others, but in response to an inner spiritual urge, and were marked by entirely spontaneous and unsophisticated movements. They had not the slightest touch of sensuous associations (Fig. 14). Much of the spiritual and moral inspiration of my life I

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owe to the simple aspirations which these dances and their accompanying songs embodied. When I came to the towns for my further education I found that these village dances and songs were regarded by the New Education and by the new educated classes with contempt, as belonging to a barbarous and out-of-date civilization ; so that whenever a person became " educated " he ceased to have any further connection with these simple and unsophisticated rural arts. Thus a generation had grown up who either had no knowledge of these vigorous and beautiful national art traditions of Bengal, which were still practised in a living form in the rural areas by the unlettered people, or who failed to perceive any artistic beauty or value in them.

It was during my third visit to England that I had the privilege, in January, 1929, of witnessing the All-England Folk Dance Festival at the Royal Albert Hall, London, and I was impressed by the value which was being attached to the almost extinct Folk dances and Folk songs of England by educated people and by the strenuous efforts which were being made to revive their practice, following the lead of the late Cecil Sharp. It was on that occasion at the Royal Albert Hall that my memory went back with a fond longing to the village dances of my childhood, which had a good deal of similarity in respect of vigour and spontaneity with the Folk dances of England, and were unlike the so-called " classic " dances, and I there formed a resolution in my mind to devote myself to the conservation of the village dances of my province on my return to India. Thus began at the end of 1929 the movement for the revival of the Folk Dances of Bengal, which is well known all over the Indian continent and even outside. It had a very humble beginning in the district of Mymensingh in November, 1929, but it was continued in the district of Birbhum between 1930 and 1933, and from there it has spread to the entire province and developed into what is now known as the great Bratachari Movement, which comprises a great deal more than mere dance and song.

However, to come back to the old dances of Bengal. I shall now show you slides illustrating some of these. Among these indigenous Bengali dances are the *Bāul* and *Kirtan* dances practised by the Hindus, which have a deep spiritual significance both in form and content ; the *Brata* dances practised by Hindu women of all ages, and of even the highest Brahmin castes, on the occasion of religious ceremonies and weddings ; the *Jhumur* dance still practised as a social dance among the lower castes ; the *Rāibeshe*, the *Dhālī* and the *Kāthī* dances which were survivals of old War Dances practised by the descendants of the old martial castes of rural Bengal ; and the *Jāri* dance practised by the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, which is remarkable alike for its virile rhythm and variegated beauty of patterns as

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well as for the sweetness and pathos of the melodies which form its accompaniment. All these dances are now being introduced in the schools of the province, and even outside the schools, with the help of the Government as well as the people themselves, and the authorities of the Calcutta University have, I am glad to say, also been giving us considerable encouragement and assistance in the matter.

Whilst engaged in making research into these dances I came across striking examples of other branches of the traditional art of the Bengali people which were being actually practised in the villages and which were marked by a singular sincerity and vigour of design, as well as loveliness of form—viz., cottage architecture, wood sculpture, decorative floor and mural designs, decorative and figure sculpture in pottery, scroll paintings, and coloured embroidery.

After having made a large collection of interesting specimens of these arts I organized, in January, 1932, The Rural Heritage Preservation Society of Bengal, and in March of that year I held a Folk Art Exhibition in Calcutta—the first of its kind in India—under the auspices of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, at which examples were shown of the above arts, and an attempt was made to explain their high æsthetic qualities as well as their national value as materials for the art education of the Bengali people.

The art of decorative floor and wall designs in tempera and of coloured embroidery exists in a highly perfected form among women all over rural Bengal, and the designs are remarkable for their infinite variety, originality and freshness. Dr. Abanindranath Tagore drew public attention to the existence of the art of decorative floor designs in an important monograph published by him several years ago, but the art of the decorative wall designs in tempera, as practised by the women of Western Bengal, was first discovered by me in the year 1931. It is marked by great hereditary skill in the use of colour designs as well as vigour of line and beauty of form. The skill of the village women in drawing decorative floor designs in the floors and plinths of their houses, as well as in the floors of their courtyards, is marked by extraordinary hereditary genius. I once went to a village which had only half an hour's notice of my visit, but by the time I reached the village the walls and plinths of every house and the floor of every courtyard had become covered with most beautiful patterns and designs painted by the mothers and daughters who had inherited the faculty of rhythmic drawing from the earlier generations of village women. Unfortunately this genius is lost when they come to the modern schools, owing to the want of continuity between these traditions and the methods practised in the schools.

In pottery, great skill of form and colour design are displayed by the

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village potters all over Bengal, as well as by their women. The motifs in all these cases are often taken from nature, and illustrate the close touch which the life of these village people had with nature (Fig. 13). The motifs are also taken from simple religious subjects connected with the story of Krishna and other mythological subjects which form part of the religious life of the people.

The most remarkable expressions of the rural art of Bengal are, however, those which fall under the heads of Cottage Architecture and Wood Sculpture on the one hand, and Scroll Paintings on the other.

First, then, with regard to Cottage Architecture. The beauty of the curved roofs of the cottage architecture of Bengal is well known. It furnished inspiration for certain important architectural features of Moghul architecture and also largely inspired the more modern domestic architecture of Rajputana, where this curved roof shape is very commonly met indeed. In the villages of Western Bengal the cottage architecture itself was carried to a very high degree of perfection in combination with mural paintings on the walls. This cottage architecture is, of course, only found in the thatched cottages, but although mere thatched cottages, these are of a very substantial character. The walls are of mud blocks piled one upon the other and plastered over and then painted with mural designs, whilst the architrave and the pillars, as well as the door frames, are very substantial wooden structures, beautifully carved into all kinds of artistic designs, the motifs being distinctly Bengali in character, without any trace of imitation from outside.

The chief features of interest in connection with this cottage architecture are as follows : (1) The beautiful ceilings made of painted bamboo framework intertwined with beautifully painted slender strips of cane. The illustrations, I fear, give a very inadequate idea of the beauty of the original painted ceilings. Utility and beauty are combined in a most wonderful manner in the strength of the bamboo frame and of the cane ropework on the one hand and the variety and originality of the decorative designs of the painted strips of cane on the other (Fig. 7); (2) the carved wooden posts with their capitals bearing designs in carving in a great variety of patterns (Figs. 1 and 6); (3) the exquisite wood sculpture of the cornice brackets and friezes on the architraves and in the wooden door frames (Figs. 2, 3 and 5).

The motifs in the wood sculpture are taken either from human life, animal life or plant life, and are mostly of a secular character. The cornice brackets project from under the curved beam upon the verandah of the house and their outer ends support the eaves board. Each cornice bracket has two deep grooves into which the curved beam and the eaves board fit. Beautifully proportioned figures of males and females in various poses (Fig. 3), the entire range of animal life known to the village artisan of Bengal through legend or

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real life, and a great variety of motifs from the vegetable kingdom are to be found in profusion in these sculptures. The forms appear at first sight to be naturalistic, but on a closer examination it is found that they are really not so, and that their representative character is with great subtlety subordinated to the rhythmic harmony and decorative demands of plastic design. The attempt is not so much to secure verisimilitude as a creation of æsthetically moving forms and combinations of forms in line, surface and mass. The human and the animal figures seem to betray their very soul under the subtly sympathetic touches of the artists' tools. The favourite motif for the cornice brackets is the head and trunk of the elephant in various attitudes, and the trunk is often surmounted by another motif, as, for example, a figure of an attacking tiger or lion, or a woman or a nymph in a graceful pose (Fig. 2). Sometimes the number of motifs in a single piece are multiplied to three, four or even more, as, for example, an elephant's head and trunk, a bird, a snake and a creeper in a scroll form and flowers. The varying rhythms of the multiplicity of these motifs in a single piece are cleverly contrasted, combined and harmonized so as to be merged into one another without any hiatus and to form a pleasing plastic unity, while the fitness of the entire piece for the part it has to play in the scheme of architecture, and the maintenance of the strength requisite for the purpose are always kept in view. The latter are never sacrificed to any temptation for mere decorative elaboration, and there is a complete absence of conventionalism of any kind, and of any tendency to overcrowding or over-ornamentation or towards grotesqueness of form, such as, for instance, is found in examples of the sculpture of Southern India. An invariable quality is the economy of the material used and an avoidance of any extravagance either in design or material.

Mythological subjects are only used in door frames of temples, and examples will be shown here of a dynamic portrayal of the goddess Durga, with Lakshmi, Sarasvati, Kartik and Ganesh (Fig. 4). This piece furnishes an excellent example of the vigour and animation which marks the rural art of Bengal. Particularly vigorous are the poses of the goddess Durga, the lion which she rides, and the demon which she is about to slay, as well as of the god Kartik, who is portrayed as riding on a peacock. In the secular specimens, the nude female figure has been carved with very great feeling for delicacy as well as of objective beauty of form and an exquisite balance in the pose of the vaulting figures.

This art of village architecture and wood sculpture is not yet extinct, and, given adequate encouragement, the village carpenters of rural Bengal will be able to turn out work of equal excellence to those in the examples shown here.

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Lastly, I come to deal with the art of rural painting. This falls into two classes—namely, painting done by village women generally and by potters and their womenfolk in connection with the ordinary daily routine of life and the materials used in the ritual. In this connection extraordinary skill is shown by village women of all castes, including Brahman women, in painting beautiful designs of decorative as well as animal patterns on the ceremonial *kulās* or winnowing trays which are used in connection with the marriage ritual.

Then, again, there is the primitive art of painting practised by the professional primitive painters who are known as the Jādupatuas, who paint pictures for the people of the Sonthal caste. A detailed description of the interesting paintings of these Jādupatuas, and also of the painters of the scroll paintings known as *Gazir Pat*, will be found in an article written by me in the *Modern Review* for November, 1932. But the most important branch of the rural painting is that of the village *Patuas* or traditional painters of Western Bengal. This art goes back to very ancient times and is mentioned in ancient Sanskrit dramas such as the *Mudrā Rākshasa* of the seventh or eighth century. I have given a detailed description of this important art tradition in the articles which I wrote on the subject of "The Indigenous Painters of Bengal" in the first issue of the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* published in 1933, and also in an article on the "Art of Bengal" in the *Modern Review* of May, 1932, and I shall therefore only briefly mention here the characteristics of this tradition. These folk painters or *Patuas* were originally Hindus, but many of them have since embraced Muhammadanism. They are talented sculptors as well as painters. They also perform the part of bards or minstrels, and they compose verses explaining the narrative of the subject of their scroll paintings which they chant while exhibiting these paintings to the village people (Fig. 10).

The tradition of this painting represents the oldest Indian tradition, dating back to the pre-Buddhistic age, which has remained uninfluenced in rural Bengal by the later Buddhistic, classic and court influences, and has retained its primitive vigour and simplicity. Its essential features are an extreme boldness of line and colour and an inherent genius for design, the subject-matter of the picture being fused into the structure of the pictorial work and thus achieving a remarkable combination of the best qualities of abstract and naturalistic art. In point of excellence of line and colour form these paintings are comparable with the famous paintings of the Ajanta caves and those of the Rajput schools, but whereas the latter excel in refinement, these rural paintings of Bengal excel in the quality of vigour and boldness of conception and style as well as in the strength and boldness of line and colour design and in their general dynamic quality.

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Unfortunately, the illustrations that I shall show today can only give a very inadequate idea of the beauty of these paintings, for the latter lies mainly in the colour design, which is entirely lost in the monochrome reproductions. Something of the quality of the linear designs, however, will be obtained from the illustrations given here of the incident from the Ramayana of the bird *Jatayu* trying to swallow the demon king Ravana with his chariot (Fig. 8), and that of King Dasaratha carrying the dead body of the ascetic's son accidentally killed by him whilst out hunting (Fig. 11).

It will be noted that in the style of drawing trees and foliage there is a similarity with the oldest Indian schools as represented in the primitive Rajput art, and in primitive Ceylonese art. The effortless skill with which the village artist has indicated the rigidity of the dead body of the ascetic's son in the Dasaratha picture, the dignity of his kingly figure and of his robes and the proud bearing of the king's horse, no less than the harmony of the entire design are very typical of the extraordinarily sincere and dynamic character of the rural art of Bengal.

These folk painters are very poor, and they carry on their precious tradition of painting in their mud huts with the crudest of materials (Fig. 9). The living descendants of the old rural master painters have, owing to the lack of encouragement from the rich and educated classes of modern Bengal, lost much of the skill of their ancestors, but they retain a great deal of the skill of hand and eye, and of the genius for boldness of line and colour design as well as of the traditional simplicity of spirit and spontaneity of feeling. Particularly noticeable is the plastic treatment of trees by these living rural painters, which connects them with the most ancient traditions of India, and also their effortless skill in the harmony of the line work in their pictures, as will be evidenced by the picture of Krishna with the Gopis drawn by a living painter (Fig. 12).

Commenting on the coloured productions of one of these paintings by an old rural painter which accompanied my article in the first number of the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Dr. Coomaraswamy remarked in an American art journal that this scroll painting was the most important and interesting of all the Indian scroll paintings hitherto discovered, and *The Times* in its Literary Supplement remarked on the surprising boldness of line, drawing and colour design of these paintings.

There is one feature with regard to these rural paintings of Bengal that deserves special mention—namely, the treatment of the imagery of the god Krishna. In the later Rajput paintings one finds Krishna represented more or less as a Rajput prince. This was inevitable, as the later Rajput painting was a court art, and the painters derived their inspiration mainly from court life. In Bengal, however, the villagers had no touch with court influence, so

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that they represented Krishna in two forms—namely, either as a shepherd boy, with all the simplicity of form and spirit associated with the latter, or as the embodiment of the Infinite and supreme Spirit—a mystic figure in blue silhouette with an irresistible suggestion of the attributes of the divine.

Finally I should like to stress the fact that the rural art of Bengal illustrates the essential character of art in ancient and mediæval India which has been pointed out by Dr. Coomaraswamy—viz., that it was produced not merely to give expression to the artist's own feelings or emotions, but in response to a definite demand in the social and religious life of the people on the one hand, while on the other hand it was a spontaneous expression of the life of the people themselves and was an inseparable part of that life. There was thus no duality between life and art, and this feature of the art of Bengal still survives in the living traditions of the people's art in the villages of the province to which reference has been made in this lecture.

Before I conclude the lecture I should like to quote here a very interesting letter written to me by the late E. B. Havell on the subject of this rural art in June, 1932, on receiving copies of my lectures and illustrations bearing on the subject. His letter is quoted below :

“Your kind letter of the 25th ultimo with the pamphlets and catalogues gave me much pleasure. You have my full sympathy in the work you are doing for the revival of indigenous art in Bengal. I think that your views and methods are thoroughly sound. The living traditions of folk art are of priceless value as a foundation for art teaching. You have gone to the root of the matter. It is, I know, slow and uphill work, but it is worth doing. I have no sympathy for the international eclecticism, mixed with political motives, which permits the fountain head of art to dry up in the name of progress. The disinterested work you are doing has its own reward, though it may not be appreciated by the art *pundits* who have an axe to grind. India will be wealthier, healthier and happier for the revival of her village art.

“I fear that there is very little chance of my seeing India again, but some day perhaps when you revisit Europe I may have the great pleasure of meeting you and comparing notes—if I live so long.

“In the meantime let me assure you that I hope to be able to follow your work and to hear of its continued success.”

I should like to record here an expression of my gratefulness to the late Mr. Havell for the encouragement he thus gave me in the work of research which I was carrying on in the rural art of Bengal, and I should also like to thank the India Society for giving me this opportunity of placing my views regarding this art before its members.

I am also very grateful to Mr. Laurence Binyon, who has kindly presided at my lecture, for the encouraging words which he has spoken regarding my



FIG. 1.—THAIKOLLEGE WITH SCULPTURED FOSSES AND CORNICE BRACKETS. MUHAI PAINTINGS ON THE WALLS (WEST BENGAL).

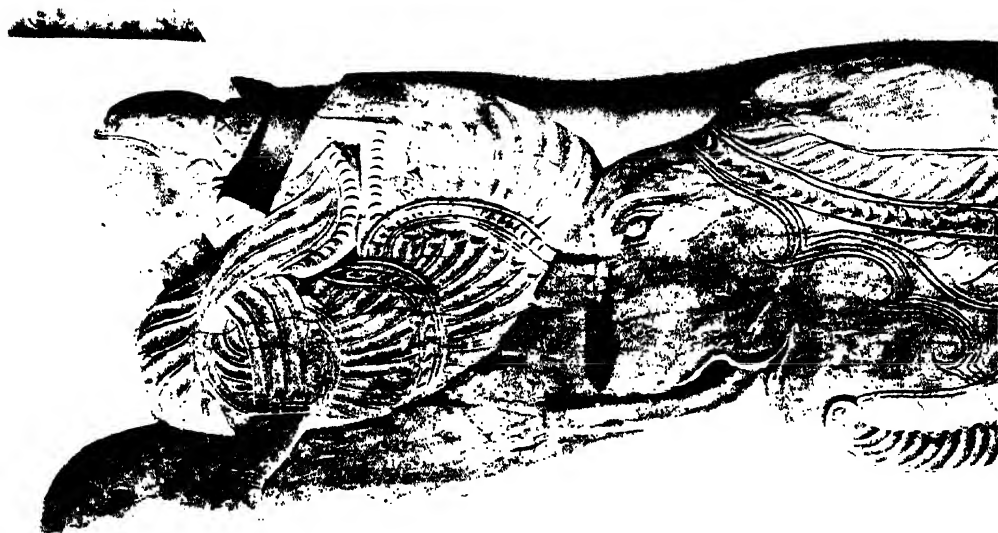


FIG. 2.—WOODEN CORNICE BRACKET FROM A DETACHED COLLEGE. NOW POISED ON AN ELEPHANT'S HEAD (WEST BENGAL).

PLATE I.

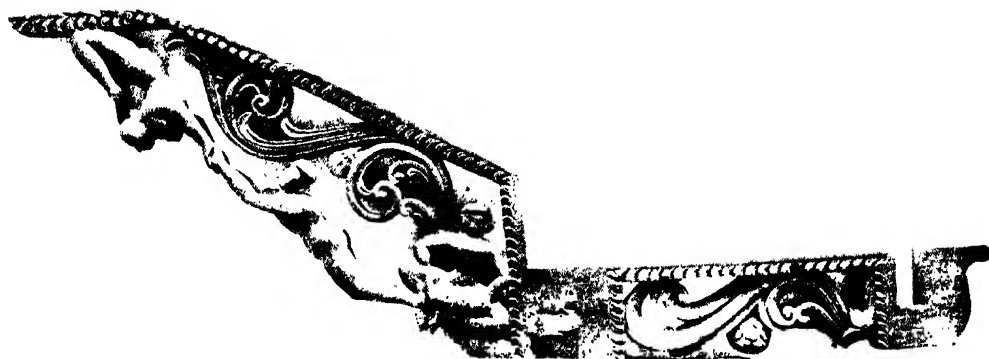


FIG. 3. WOODEN BRACKET: TWO FEMALE ACROBATS WITH A MAN BEATING THE DRUM (WEST BENGAL).

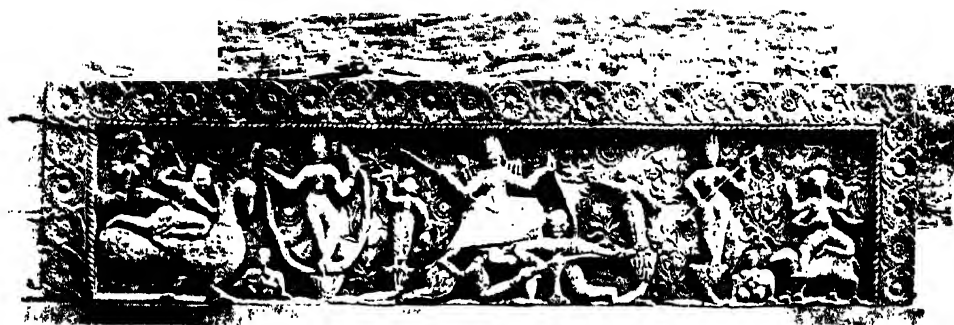


FIG. 4. GODDESS DURGA WITH PARSHINI, SARASVATI, KARTIK AND GANE
SCULPTURE OVER DOOR IN A VILLAGE TEMPLE (WEST BENGAL).

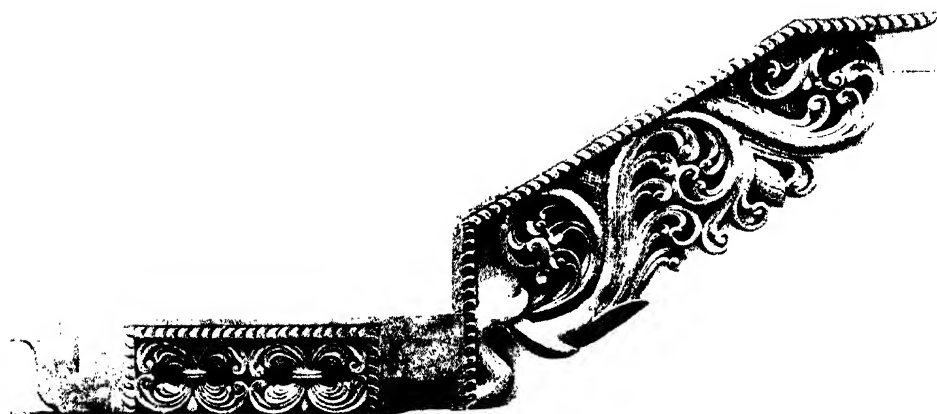


FIG. 5. WOODEN BRACKET FROM THATCHED COTTAGE IN WEST BENGAL.

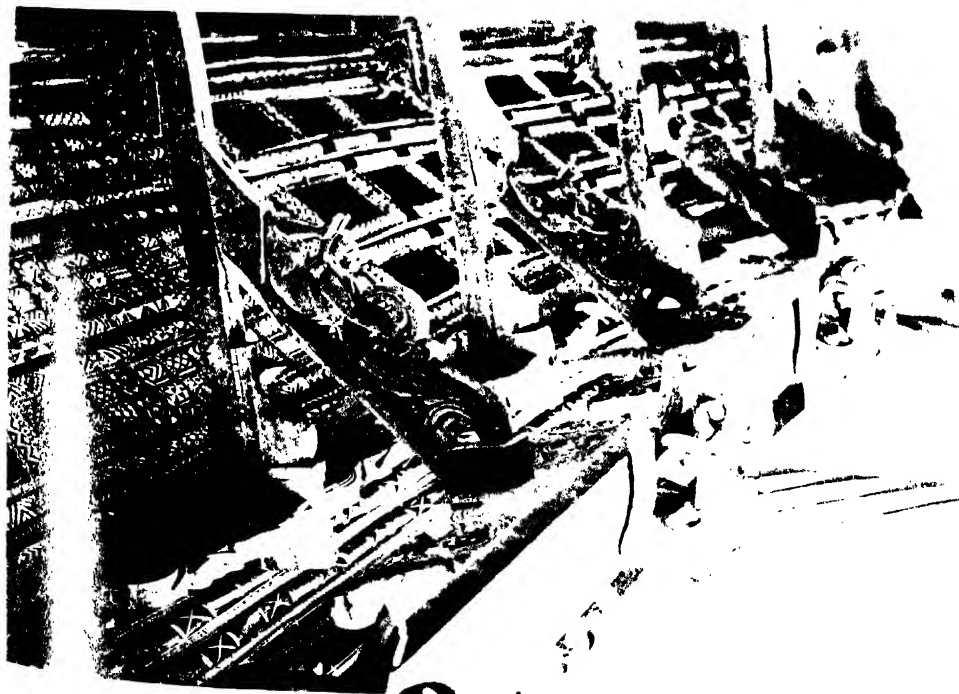
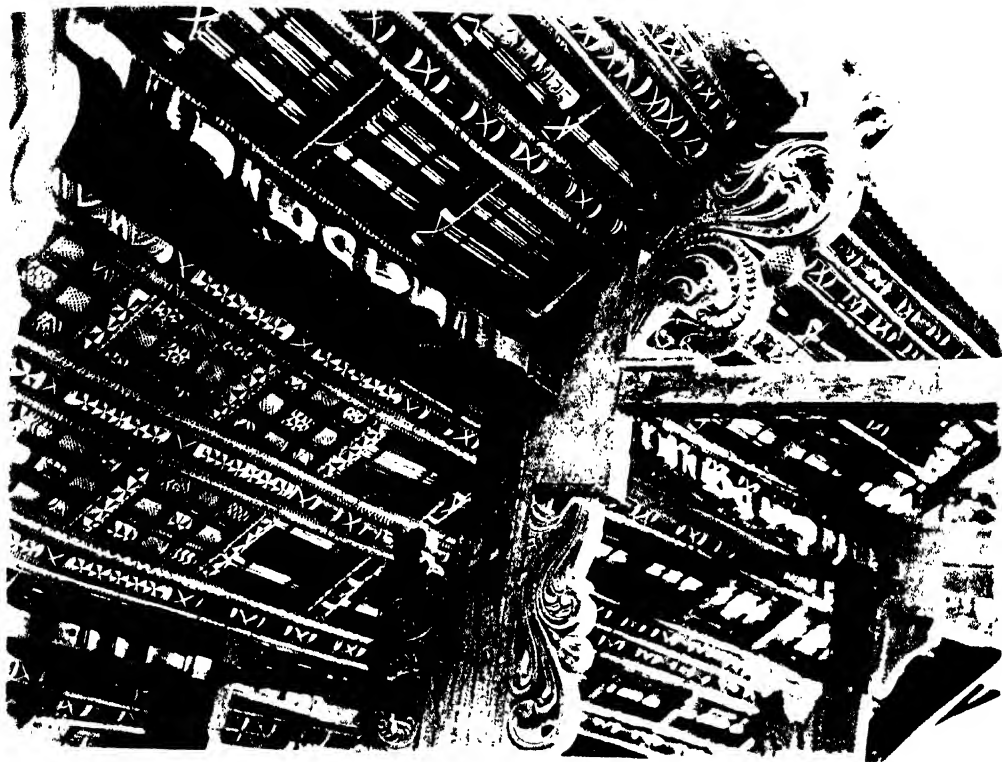




FIG. 8.—INCIDENT FROM THE RAMAYANA: THE BIRD JALAYU
TRYING TO SWALLOW RAVANA WITH HIS CHARIOT.

Picture from an old scroll painting.



FIG. 9. A VILLAGE PATUA AT WORK.



FIG. 10. VILLAGE PATUA CHANTING THE STORY OF HIS SCROLL PAINTING.



FIG. 11. KING DASARATHA DISMOUNTED AND CARRYING THE DEAD BODY OF THE ASCETIC'S SON ACCIDENTALLY KILLED BY HIM.

PLATE VI



FIG. 12. KRISHNA WITH THE GOPIS,
BY A LIVING PATUA (FOLK-PAINTER),
WESTERN BENGAL.

FIG. 13. PAINTED POTTERY
USED IN WEDDING RITUAL
(WEST BENGAL).



FIG. 14. RITUAL DANCE BY
WOMEN FROM EAST BENGAL

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work in this connection, as well as in connection with the Bratachari Movement. To me it is naturally very gratifying to find that the view which I entertain with regard to each province in India having its own regional vernacular art tradition and the importance of conserving these regional vernacular art traditions, and which I have been emphasizing for the last four years, has received support from such an eminent poet and art critic as Mr. Binyon, and I feel sure that his remarks will go a long way in stimulating interest in India as well as in the West in this important feature of the art of India.

When the genius of the people of each province in India is brought into contact with the living roots of the traditions of its racial art idiom, represented by the rural art of each province, India will be enabled to achieve in the near future in the sphere of art an efflorescence of beauty and power even surpassing that of her past glories, because she will then not only draw inspiration in a natural and sincere manner from all that is best in her own past, but will be able to assimilate in a natural manner, without mere copying, all that is best in the other great cultural influences with which she is being brought into such vital contact.

[A complete illustrated monograph covering the traditions of the vernacular art of Bengal and enlarging and explaining more fully the theme of the lecturer's address will be published shortly by him.]

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

THE CHAIRMAN : I am sure you will all most cordially welcome our guest and speaker this afternoon. He has done great things for his country, the native province of Bengal, a work that is the best kind of work, creative.

It seems to me that all over the world—of course we feel it more in the West—with all our technical advance we have lost sight somehow of life as a whole. We have lost somehow the art of living.

As far as I understand the various movements Mr. Dutt has started, the Bratachari Movement and others, they have for their aim to recover this sense of the wholeness of life and the lost harmony of man with nature. He has not attempted to impose from above or outside. He has tried to revive arts that are still alive and rooted in the soil, but have been neglected and forgotten or largely forgotten.

And in Bengal he has found, what people had not taken the trouble to find out, or not suspected, folk dances, traditional dances and songs, and also a very interesting folk art.

One of the things that no doubt Mr. Dutt will talk about this afternoon is the fact that we in Europe have been talking about Indian art as if it were all one, just as they might talk of European art without realizing all the different growths rooted in different soils. I quite agree

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with him that we shall not get far unless we study first the arts of the region, and then go on to see what they have in common with the other arts.

When I was in the British Museum collecting Indian paintings, I found it very difficult to ascertain from Indians where particular paintings came from. I fancy the tendency was to call everything either Mogul or Rajput, but I believe we have some things there that really come from Bengal.

I will not detain you further, but I will now call on Mr. Dutt to discourse.

(Mr. Dutt then read his paper.)

Mr. FRENCH: I have much pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Dutt for his most interesting lecture, and I think in saying that we all appreciated it thoroughly I am only voicing the sentiments of every lady and gentleman present.

I venture to think that one reason why he was so successful was that he faithfully followed the maxim that if you wish to approach the Indian art successfully, you must do it by taking a certain section. The section he took—Bengal—is as large as a country in Europe.

Indian art is like Indian history. If you take the thing all at once you get confusion; but take it by province or locality and you get the same clear picture Mr. Dutt has given us.

Another thing he has told us is that one glory of Indian art is its great unbroken tradition, and the folk art of Bengal illustrates this point to perfection.

I venture to suggest that traces of the pre-Aryan art of India are to be found in the textiles of tribes in Bengal, the Sonthals in the west and the Hajungs in the east. The art of the great mediæval Pal Empire of Bengal survives in the work of the potters in Bankura District, not merely in design but in details of decoration. I have seen a water-pot ornamented with the head of a goddess which might have come from a piece of tenth-century Pal sculpture.

As Mr. Dutt has told us, the Paths of Birbhum District belong to the original ancient Indian tradition which is pre-Ajanta. The Paths of Murshidabad District show some Mogul influence, and this is not surprising when we remember that Murshidabad was the last centre of the Mogul power. I brought some of these Path paintings back from India, and they are now on exhibition in the India Museum, South Kensington.

But I must really check myself or I might go on for as long as the lecturer.

In conclusion, the folk art of Bengal springs up naturally, for it is as natural to the country of Bengal as the trees and the flowers are.

The CHAIRMAN: We have had a most interesting lecture. It has been a revelation to most of us, if not to all of us, and I know you would all like to express your thanks in the usual way as cordially as possible.

THE ROCK PAINTINGS OF THE MAHADEO HILLS

BY MAJOR D. H. GORDON, D.S.O.*

AT the very centre of India, bounded on the north by the valley of the Narbada and on its remaining sides by areas of Deccan trap, rises the sandstone range of the Mahadeo Hills. This is terrain *par excellence* for promoting the habit of dwelling in rock shelters, for on all sides weathering has shaped the soft sandstone cliffs, scooping them out to form an overhanging roof as a protection from the rain.

These shelters would have but little interest for us if it were not for the paintings with which their inhabitants decorated the walls. These paintings have been known for a number of years, but they received no prominence until in 1932 Dr. G. R. Hunter of the Morris College, Nagpur, gave a lecture about them before the Congress of Pre- and Proto-historic Sciences. Towards the end of the same year my wife and I came to Pachmarhi, and almost immediately heard these paintings spoken of as things that were very difficult to find and about which very little was known. We accordingly set to work to investigate, and in making a start were fortunate enough to have the help of Dr. Hunter, then in Pachmarhi, who indicated the best areas for search. Apart from Dr. Hunter, we are in the highest degree indebted to Mr. George, District Forest Officer, Hoshangabad, whom we were fortunate in infecting with our enthusiasm for "caving."

Our investigations, commencing in the area immediately round Pachmarhi, made us take the paintings that we recorded in the first fifteen shelters inspected as material for the framework necessary for classification and record. We found that the paintings, allowing for a certain amount of marginal overlap, appeared to fall both artistically and culturally into five groupings. We accordingly divided the paintings into five series, and of these we subdivided the first four into early and late.

The first series is characterized by its stylized technique. There is no doubt that these are the oldest of these paintings now extant, and probably the oldest that were executed in these shelters; the superimposed sequence where observable proves this. There is a tendency to regard it as axiomatic that conventionalized forms are derived from more naturalistic ones; in this case there are no earlier paintings of a more naturalistic style.

* Lecture delivered before the India Society on December 2, 1935. Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., presided.

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The early first series includes a few animals, some female figures occasionally accompanied by children, and some diagrammatic figures probably stylized representations the origin of which it is quite impossible to guess; they are carried out in dark red and cream. A transition period shows square-shaped figures in pinkish red; figures also with square bodies but more elongated limbs are displayed grouped in company with the linear figures which comprise the true late first series (Fig. 2, *a* and *b*).

A curious feature in the late first is the convention for indicating the articulation of the limbs (Fig. 1, *c* and Fig. 2, *a*). This strange anatomical convention does not appear in any other series. The true early first series in red and cream are extremely scarce, but the linear late first, painted in dark, brick and pinkish reds, also in brown and yellow brown, are quite common.

With the change to the second series we have an abrupt alteration of style, only two figures showing a possible link. The outstanding characteristics of the second series are bad drawing and a tendency to produce exaggerations of anatomy, such as animals with huge ears and humans with elongated necks. Naturalism is attempted but the results are very indifferent; most of the figures classed as early second have blobs for heads, no attempt being made at features, and the limbs are wavy bands of paint with no attempt at anatomical correctness (Fig. 3).

As the series advances from early to late the painting improves, and there are attempts at narrative grouping; one depicting two men and a woman in peril from an immense tiger is especially dramatic. There are a number of figures of men with animal heads, and it is suggested that these are probably animal masks worn by hunters at certain rites and ceremonies. Such animal heads persist into the early third series, but not later (Fig. 4).

In Fig. 3, *d*, a man will be seen climbing up a rope-ladder—this is the earliest appearance in these caves of the rope-ladder, and as the man, being armed with a spear, is not engaged in the commonly depicted pursuit of honey taking (Fig. 5), this is one of the pieces of evidence in favour of the suggestion that the shelters contained a raised sleeping platform.

Though there is not a comparable radical change in style as we observed between the first and second series, the latter merging almost imperceptibly into the third, with the development of this third series there soon becomes apparent a very radical change in culture. Those who executed the first two series were hunters possessing, if their drawings are any criterion, only a very simple equipment. Iron types of arrowheads are present in the late first series, but there are no indications of anything but a low level of civilization.

With the development of the third series a great change comes over the paintings; one notices a rapid progress of artistic ability, an all-round im-

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provement only marred by occasional ineptitude. The majority of the paintings in the shelters are of the third and early fourth series ; the figures, as will be seen from the illustrations, show an increase of vitality and vigour, and with the best examples of the late third and early fourth series one reaches the highest point of this cave art.

Dramatic groupings of great life and movement are quite common. We are no longer dealing with simple hunters, but with warrior tribes possessing a considerable and varied military equipment. A dozen or more shelters provide grouped battle scenes of great vigour. In a small cave in the Jambudwip nullah there is an excellent cattle-raiding scene, in which a herd is being driven off under cover of a rearguard. Fig. 6 gives us a very good illustration of an armed pastoralist, equipped with axe and short sword, driving along an ox.

In addition to the more common battle scenes, there are groupings of a domestic nature, a notable one being that of a harper entertaining his friends (Fig. 11). There are other groups showing women pounding grain or roots, and also seated engaged in what appears to be spinning with a distaff. These are of the nature of "conversation pieces."

There are also dancing figures full of vitality, and displaying a clever rhythm of line calculated to produce a lively sense of movement (Fig. 12, *a*). One finds many excellent examples of arrested movement ; and the clever use of balanced curves, combined with the forward and upward flick given to the skirt, imparts great life to a well-poised figure of a woman carrying a large jar on her head (Fig. 12, *c*). Nothing could show much more of dash and determination than the man advancing with long sword and shield in Fig. 7. The figure may be a strange one, but it is full of purposeful movement.

Humour may have been unconscious in these early artists, but it is certainly displayed in the four examples shown in Fig. 13. The man with the jar certainly looks as though he had drunk not wisely but too well ; the man attacked by what appears to be a goose is shown in comic alarm ; and the dancers and the goat confronting the peacock are all full of humour.

The improvement in this series is one of technique, the drawing is much better and trouble is taken with the anatomy. As regards colouring, whereas the early third series figures are mostly in dark red and pink with an occasional one in white, the late third are nearly all in white, with a very few in pink. There appears also to be a transitional style between late third and early fourth, in which red outline only is employed (Fig. 14, *b*). These lead to the true early fourth series, which is really only the white figures of the late third with a red outline technique.

In an art of this description, with all one's material jumbled up, it is very

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hard to say what is early or primitive and what is merely bad drawing. In view of this quite a number of crude ill-drawn figures have not been recorded, as it is felt that they only serve to confuse the issue. They are in any case, without exception, late rather than early, and do not conform to the main style of their contemporary art, any more than do children's chalked figures on a wall to that of the present day. There is, however, a quite definite falling off to be observed in the drawing of the paintings of the late fourth series. This series, which retains the white with red outline convention, is vigorous but ill-drawn; it is over-elaborate, and with an increase of ornamentation we get a decrease in care, or ability, to produce a natural correct anatomy.

In two shelters close to the Son Bhadra gorge there are white with red outline paintings which may continue the art into early mediæval times. These particular paintings, one of which shows a chieftain and two ladies under a canopy, are quite possibly to be connected with a small fort, the remains of which are immediately above the shelters. Two rotary hand-querns also, one broken in half and the other in process of manufacture, are probably to be attributed to the people of the fort rather than those who inhabited the shelter in front of which they were found. These particular shelters have, of course, in them paintings of all the earlier series back to the late first, and microliths may be obtained from the gravels fronting them in the same way as in nearly all other shelters.

Almost invariably all these paintings are on any part of the rock smooth enough to take them; some are as high as 18 feet from the floor of the shelter, some are only a few inches and hidden away at that; in a cave at Jhalai, however, there are three paintings of very late fourth series greenish grey in colour with a red outline that are executed on what appears to be a small prepared plaster surface a few inches square; Fig. 15, *b*, though not actually on such a surface, is a neighbouring painting of the same style and probably by the same artist.

The fifth series is of very little importance, it occurs only in the main Dorothy Deep shelter and in one of the Monte Rosa shelters near Pachmarhi. It consists of a few badly drawn figures of elephant and sambhur, painted in an unpleasant greenish yellow ochre. As they may have for some a spurious air of antiquity, they must be recorded as being the latest of all the paintings examined.*

It will not be amiss to say a word about the animals we find depicted in the shelters. The earliest to appear is the sambhur; both stags and does are

* The complete record of these investigations, including a description of the shelters and a large number of drawings and photographs, may be seen at the India Museum, South Kensington.

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found in the early first series. The animals follow similar lines of artistic progress to the humans ; in the late first we get linear animals of which there are many examples in the Tamia shelter. Animals of the second series are for the most part somewhat better drawn than the humans, though many are stiff, square and box-like in appearance. In pink and obviously of the early third series are two interesting animals, one is a sambhur stag with high-humped forequarters of a most "Palæolithic" appearance, the other a beast with the strangest projections all over its head, which with a little enthusiasm and imagination might be regarded as a survival of the Miocene period and a good companion for Mr. Amar Nath Datta's glyptodont from Singhanpur ; all such fancied resemblances are, however, quite valueless and should, one hopes, mislead nobody.

In connection with other paintings in the Mirzapur District the rhinoceros has been mentioned ; the greatest care should be taken in recording somewhat unusual instances of this nature, for in one of the Son Bhadra shelters I was certain I had discovered a painting of a rhinoceros ; the legs, however, were unconvincing, and on more prolonged inspection it was evident that it was a wild boar, one tusk being shown pointing upwards in the exact position for the horn of a rhinoceros and the other, which was very indistinct, pointing downwards below the snout. Fig. 16 shows four animals of the best style of the third and fourth series, the tiger and the hound being particularly fine. This latter is interesting as being one of the only three paintings of dogs found in any shelter. A curious feature is the absence of the snake ; not one instance has been definitely recorded in a religious or any other context.

Religious or iconographic paintings are in fact very rare, and there is little to show what the beliefs of these cave-dwellers were. No Hindu iconography is to be observed anywhere. There are monkeys, but they are monkeys and not Hanuman. There is a figure in one shelter playing on a *vīṇā*, but it does not represent Sarasvati (being a male figure) any more than one of the paintings at Jhalai, in apparently a top-hat, is the King of the Cannibal Islands, though in appearance it is strongly reminiscent of the portraits of that potentate as depicted in comic papers.

There is, however, a most important group in one of the Monte Rosa shelters which shows a Gilgamesh figure, a culture hero in his rôle of "Protector of the Herds," subduing a lion and a wild bull while the herd passes peacefully below (Fig. 17). Here I am afraid is a direct incentive to the use of that overworked term "Indo-Sumerian" ; if we say that it indicates Middle-Eastern influence and for the time being leave it at that, we shall, I feel, have said all that the circumstances warrant.

There is sufficient evidence to show that a horned and tailed "Sorcerer"

The Rock Paintings of the Mahadeo Hills

figured in the religious beliefs of the cave-dwellers. There is an interesting example in the large Jambu Dwip shelter (Fig. 18, *b*), where a horned and tailed figure is displayed in a leafy frame. At Bori there is a large horned figure of relatively late date,* at any rate later than the fourth series figures upon which it is superimposed. A figure similarly holding across its shoulders a staff from which hangs a series of rings appears also in the shelter half way down the Kajri Ghat.

In the large Dorothy Deep shelter there is a painting of a man with a rat's head leading an animal that might be a rat or a pig. They are evidently mythological figures of some kind. In the same shelter there are two representations of what appears to be the Bhut-Asana or magical sky chariot (Fig. 20); the long wavy lines may represent cloud or rain, but are not, we think, anything to do with the actual motive power of the magical vehicle, a painting of a similar chariot unoccupied shows no such lines. The leafy wands in the hands of the occupant, who may be a hero or a god, should be compared with those in the hand of the rat-faced figure.

Now we must face the question of dating. What can we show as evidence, in the best sense of the word, to supply a clue as to an approximate dating for any of these paintings?

Firstly, there is a piece of sculpture from the Purana Mahadeva temple at Harasnath Rajputana. This small group is on loan at the India Museum, South Kensington, and is also shown by its owner, Miss Stella Kramrisch, in her book on Indian sculpture. A glance at this group will, we are certain, convince anyone that the warriors depicted are identical in clothing, hair-dressing and equipment with those of the late third and early fourth series paintings of the Mahadeo Hills. The bun hair-dressing, the loin-cloth ending in a tail between the legs, bow, straight sword, leaf-shaped dagger, and round shield with cross decoration can all be paralleled. The date of this sculpture is about middle tenth century A.D.

A horseman of Jhalai, shown in Fig. 15, *b*, wears curious cross bands of striped cloth; identical bands are worn by a warrior who appears in a fresco in the right aisle of Cave I at Ajanta, and who wears also a collar of alternate black and white which can be paralleled in another figure at Jhalai. The shield of rather striking appearance carried by the warrior in Fig. 8, *a*, and which represents a hide covering with the fur on, can also be paralleled at Ajanta. The date of the Ajanta frescoes is about early sixth century A.D.

At Ellora in Cave IX of the Buddhist group there are a number of primitive paintings. Those in dark red on the doorposts of the shrine, showing two dancing figures and a horseman carrying a spear, are very

* Published with seven other photographs, *Illustrated London News*, September 21, 1935.

The Rock Paintings of the Mahadeo Hills

reminiscent of the paintings of the Mahadeo shelters ; they cannot be earlier than the eighth century A.D. This indicates a probable dating from the fifth to tenth centuries A.D. for the bulk of the paintings.

Many are the parallels that can doubtless be drawn between these battle scenes and those of the Mahabarata, and the fact that Pachmarhi is associated with the wanderings of the five Pandu brothers might lend some support to the idea that the later paintings were executed by warrior tribes driven into the jungle in the days of the wars of the Mahabarata. This is very attractive, but there is no actual evidence to uphold this hypothesis, and it cannot be seriously considered unless applied to happenings of a much later date.

Similarly there is no true resemblance between any of the Indian rock paintings and those of Europe. In Mr. Mitra's book "*Prehistoric India*," paintings from Cogul, Altamira, and Egyptian pre-dynastic pottery are labelled Singhanpur, and a suggestion is made that they resemble their originals ; though I am certain the author had no intent to mislead, it shows the care with which material should be accepted. There would be less difficulty in supplying parallels from the Mahadeo shelters by dint of careful selection of a few figures calculated to support the idea of such a resemblance, but even so the weight of the whole of the evidence as opposed to such a small part is definitely against it.

A lowest limit of roughly the tenth century may, we feel, be provisionally accepted, and we do not consider that, at the outside, the development of this art from the early first series could have occupied a period of more than 1,500 years.

In conclusion we would like to emphasize that there is any amount more work remaining to be done in this field. Research into the subject of Indian cave paintings is only just commencing ; there are many shelters that yet remain awaiting discovery, and almost every newly-discovered shelter contributes some new feature to our knowledge. At the same time it is earnestly to be hoped that the competitive snobbery of age will not influence anyone to vitiate good work by forcing conclusions for which there is no evidence. The quality of these paintings, however, is so remarkable, and their contribution to our knowledge of ancient India so patent, that any misplaced advertisement of this nature is most unlikely.

[NOTE.—With reference to localities mentioned, there are in the vicinity of Pachmarhi seven caves with paintings in the Jambu Dwip nullah, numbered from west to east, four on Monte Rosa, four at Dorothy Deep, and four at Marodeo. The direct distance in miles from Pachmarhi to places mentioned is roughly as follows: Bori, 18 ; Tamia, 20 ; Son Bhadra, 25 ; Jhalai, 40 ; Adamgarh, 45. All other places are within a four-mile radius.]

PLATE I.

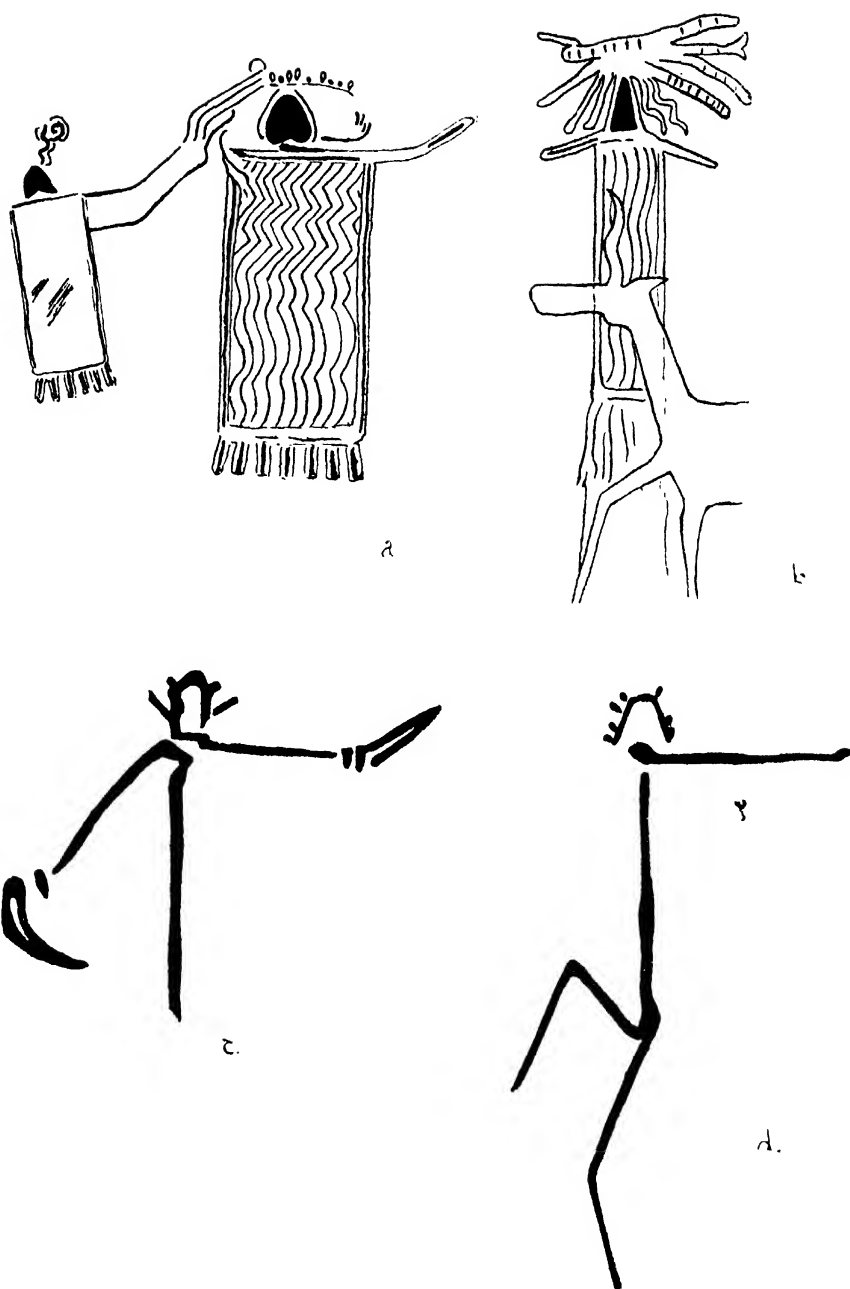
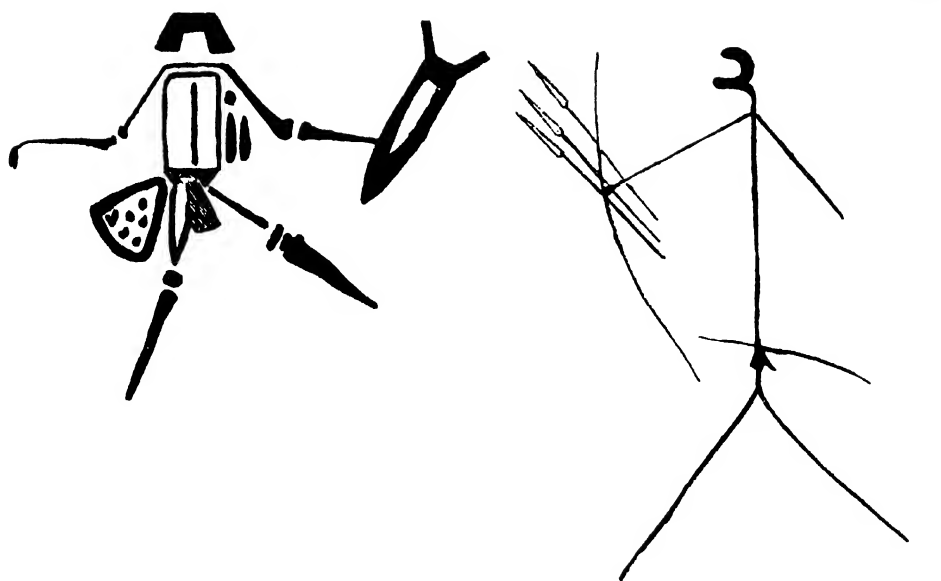
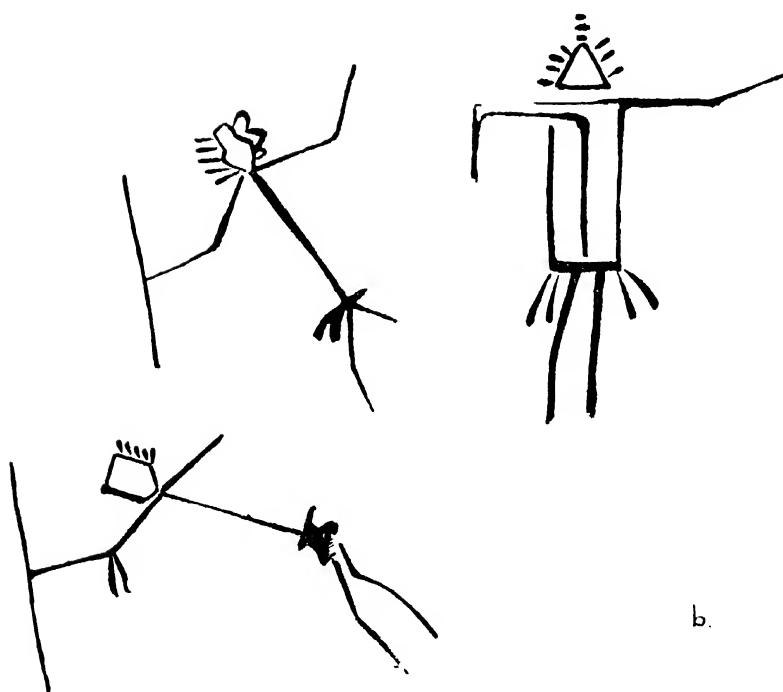


FIG. I

Early First Series: *a.* Dorothy Deep; *b.* Jambu Dwip, No. 4. Late First Series: *c.* Upper Dorothy Deep; *d.* Bori



a



b.

FIG. 2

First Series Groups : a. Monte Rosa, No. 4 ; b. Jambu Dwip, No. 4.

PLATE III.

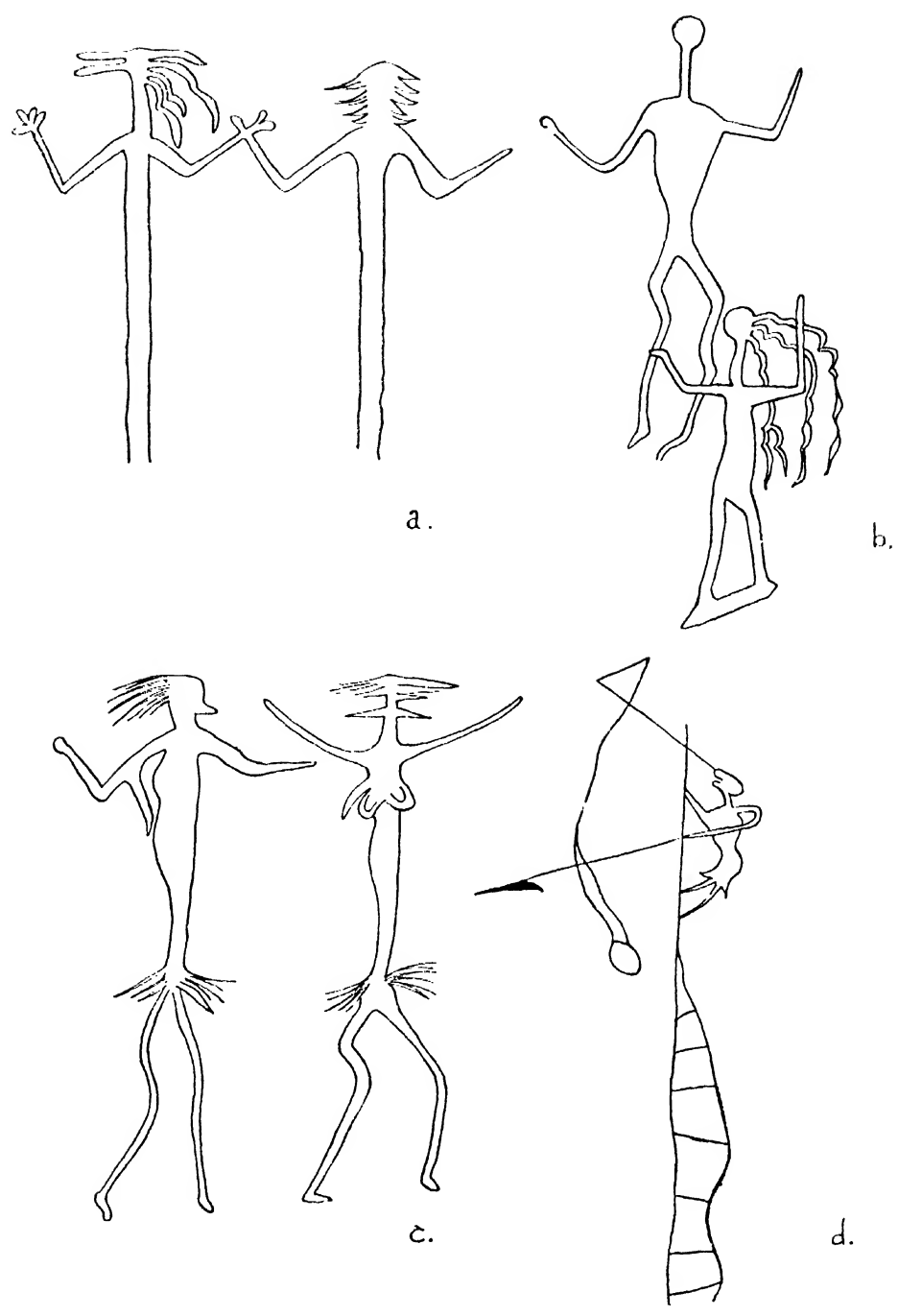


FIG. 3

Early Second Series: *a.* Monte Rosa, No. 4 ; *b.*, *c.*, and *d.* Jambu Dwip, No. 4.

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FIG. 4
Late Second Series : Procession of masked hunters, Jambu Dwip, No. 4.

The Rock Paintings of the Mahadzo Hills.

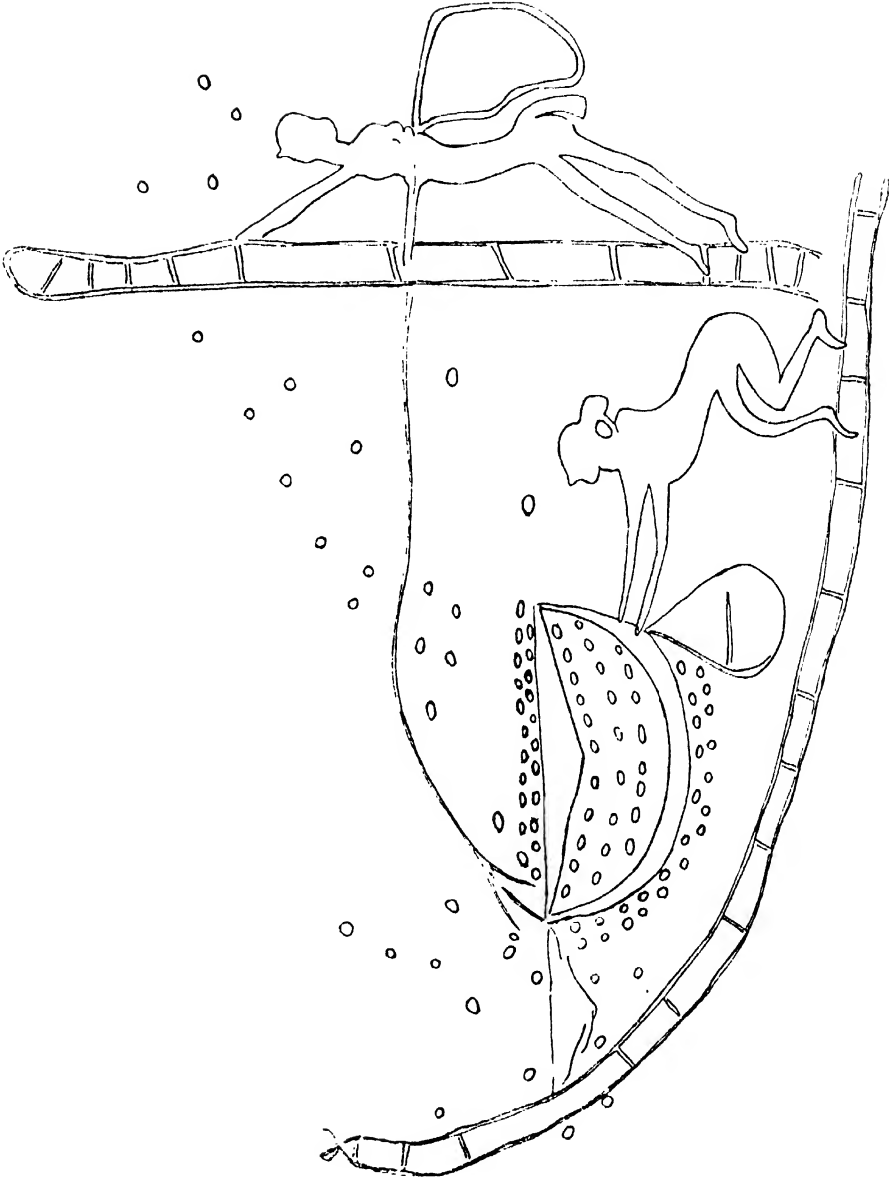


FIG. 5
Honey Taking, Jambu Dwip, No. 7

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The Rock Paintings of the Mandak Hills.

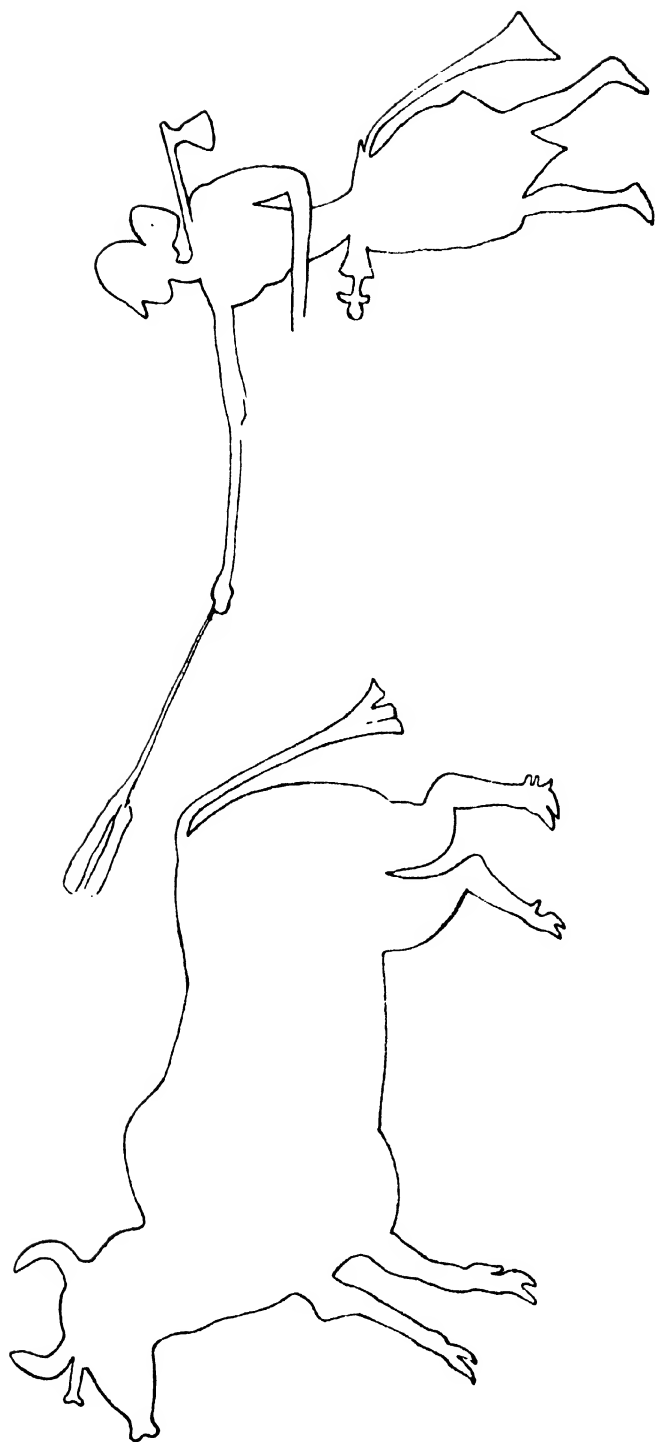


FIG. 6

Armed Pastoralist driving an Ox, Mahadeo Cave.

The Rock Paintings of the Maladaw Hills.

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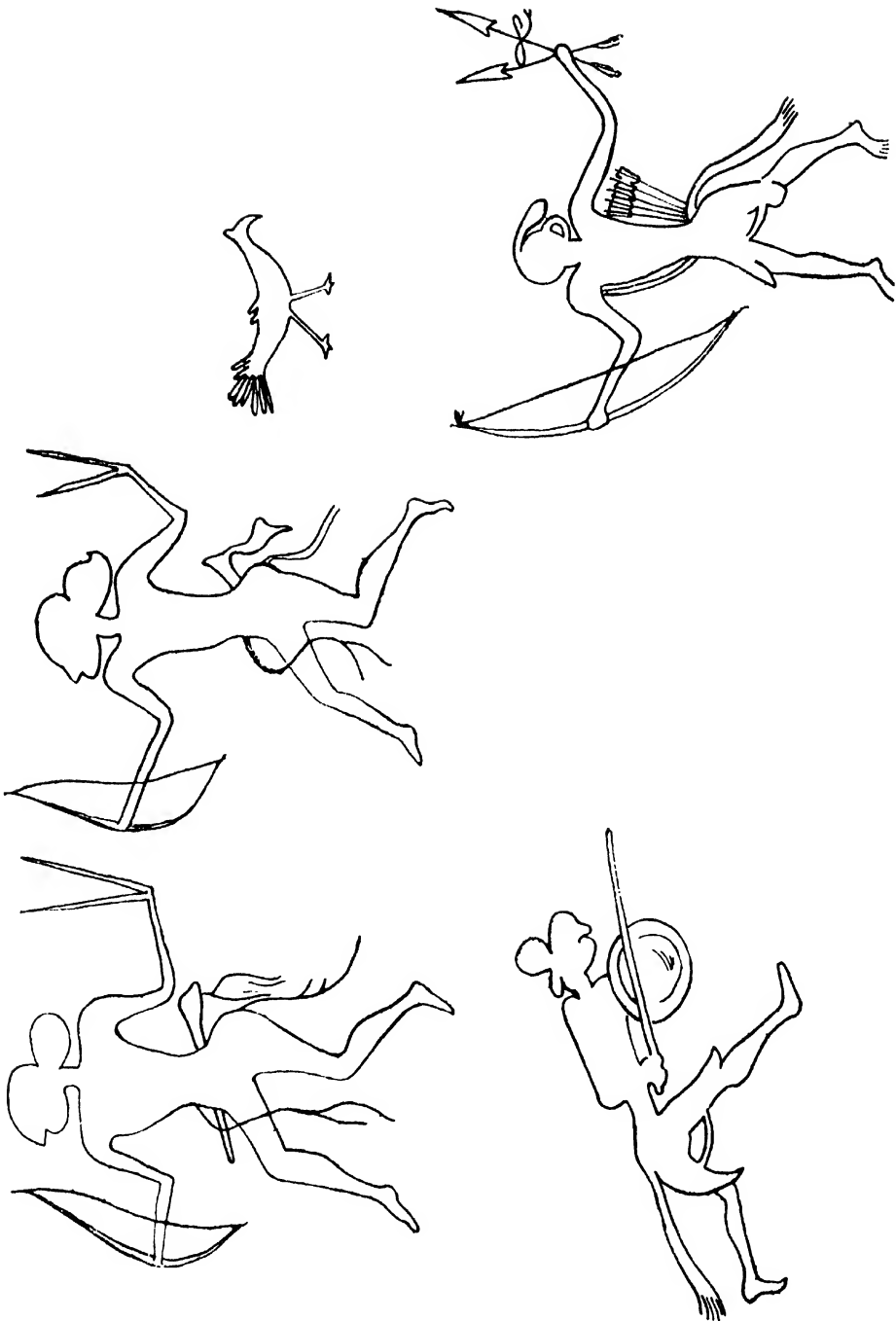


FIG. 7
Late Third Series, Janku Dwip, No. 4

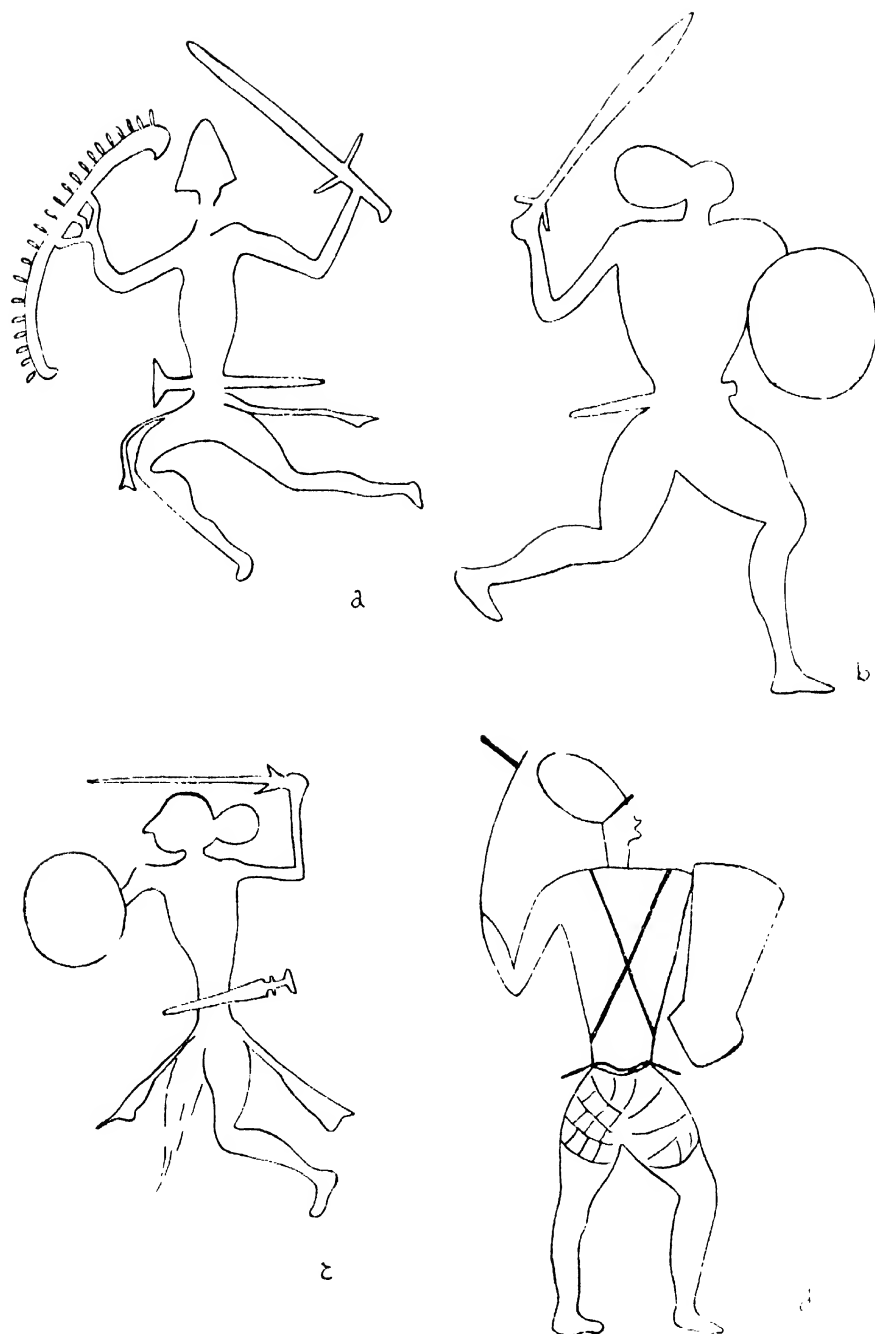


FIG. 8

Warriors with Sword and Shield : *a*. Early Third Series, Adamgarh ; *b*. Trans. Early to Late Third, Jhalai ;
c. Late Third, Jambu Dwip, No. 3 ; *d*. Late Fourth, Jhalai.

PLATE IX.

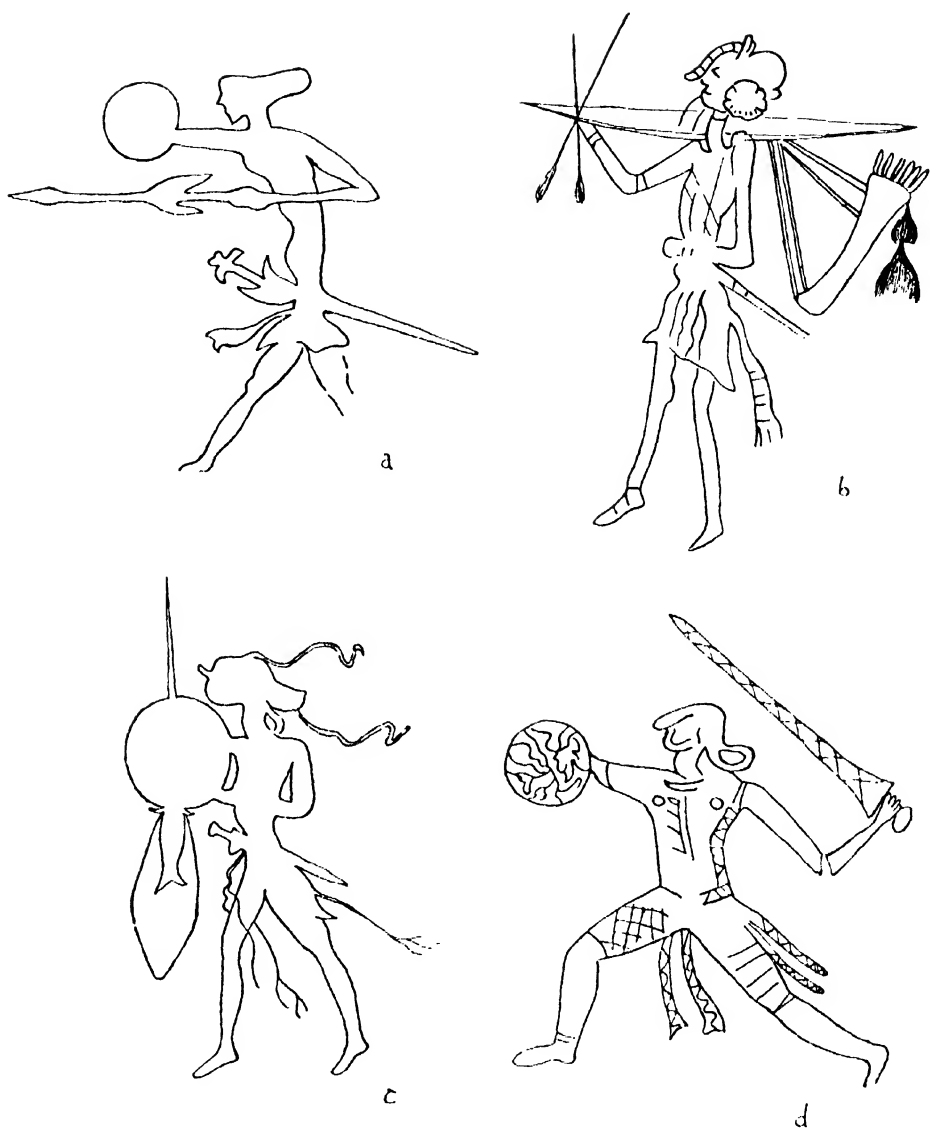
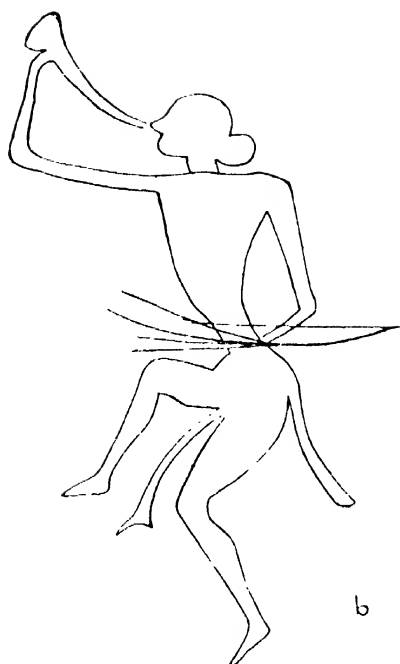


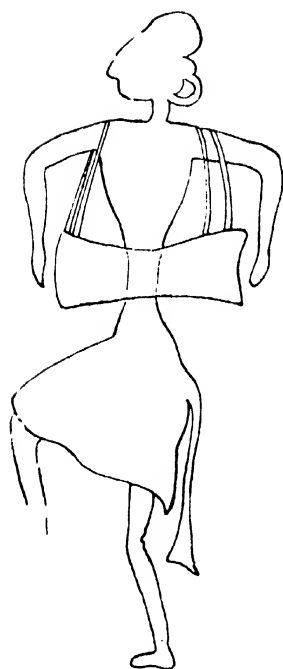
FIG. 9
Warriors: *a.* Late Third Series, Bori; *b.* Early Fourth, Marodeo, No. 1; *c.* Late Third, Kajri Ghat;
d. Late Fourth, Bori.



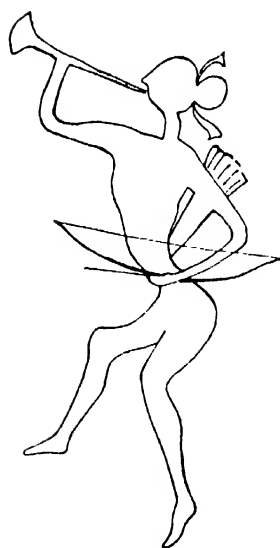
a.



b



c



d.

FIG. 10

Musical Instruments : *a.* Double Pipe, Jambu Dwip, No. 4. *b.* Horn, and *d.* Trumpet, Jambu Dwip, No. 5 :
c. Drum, Marodeo, No. 3.

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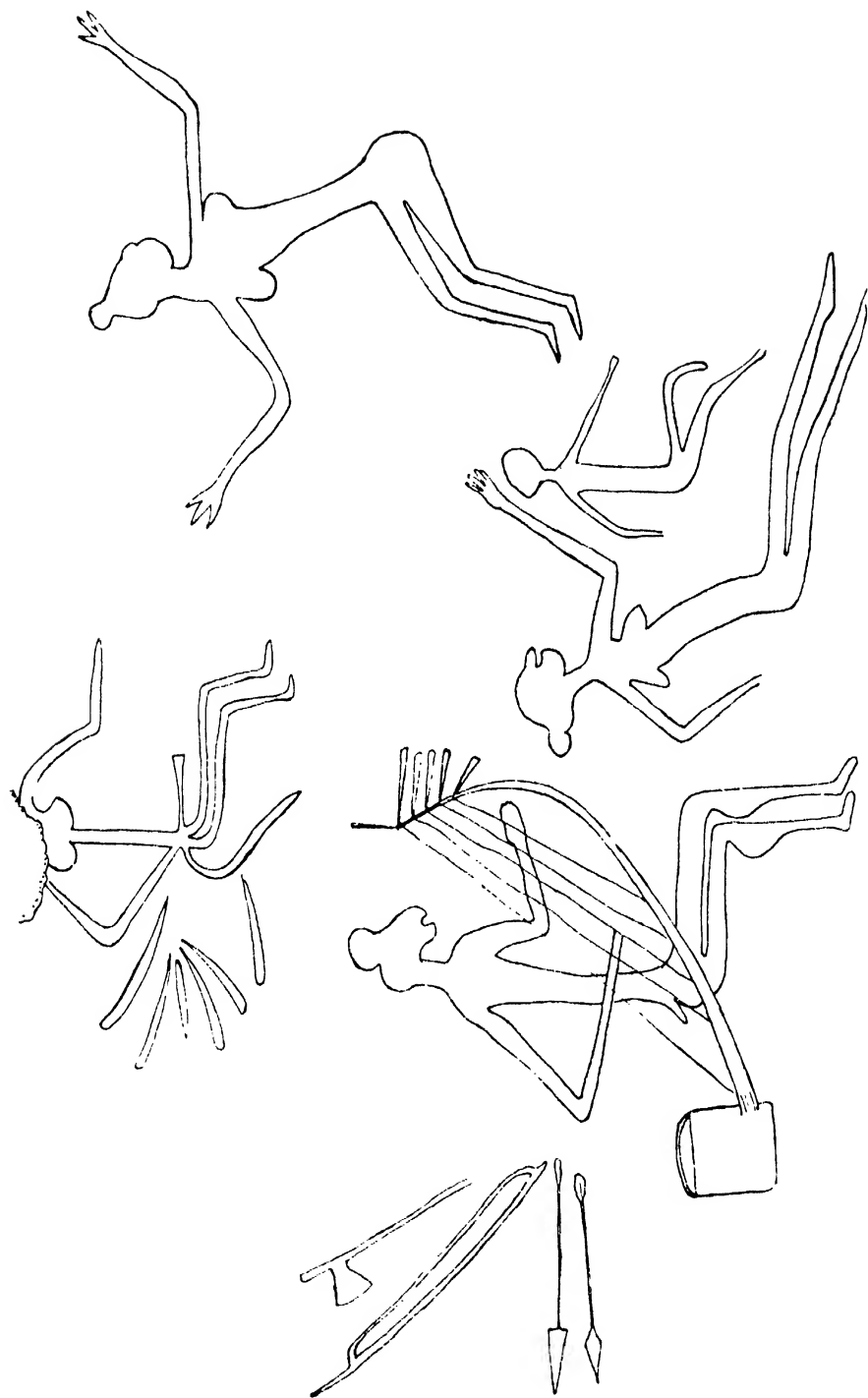
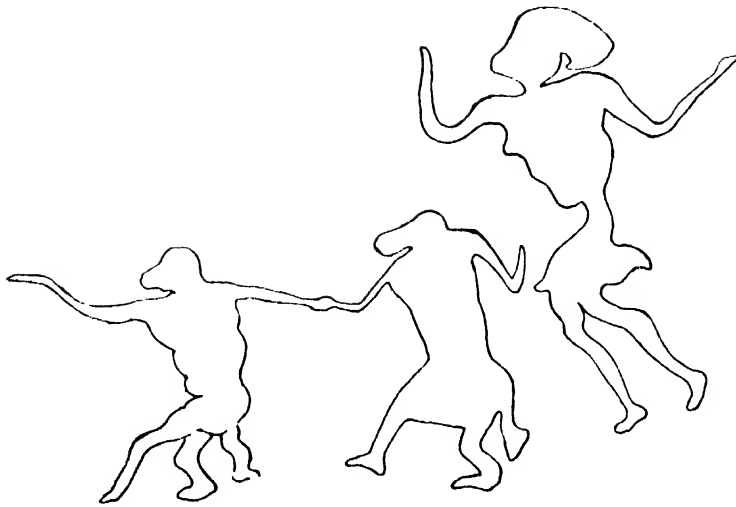


FIG. 11
The Harper and his Family, Nimbu Foo

The Kerk Paintings of the Mahabharata Hills.

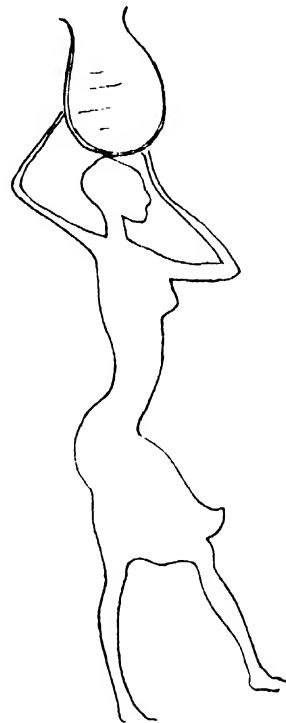
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a.



b.



c.

FIG. 12

a. Woman and (?) performing monkeys ; b. and c. Women. All late Third Series from Mahadeo Cave.

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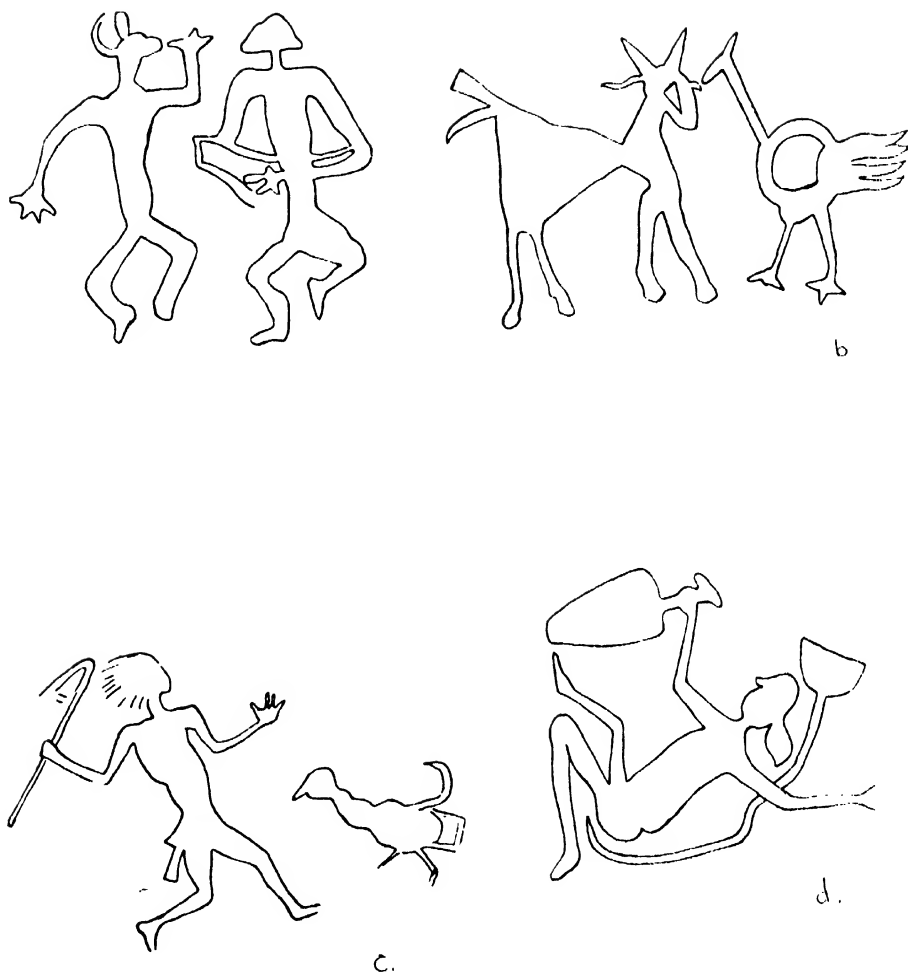


FIG. 13

- a. Dancers—Jambu Dwip, No. 3; b. Goat and peacock—Monte Rosa, No. 1; c. Man alarmed by goose—Jambu Dwip, No. 4; d. Kangi ghat cave.

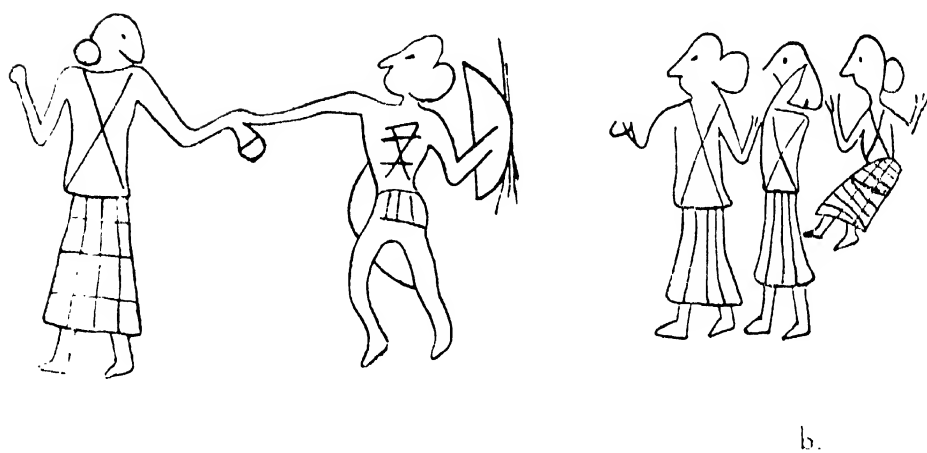
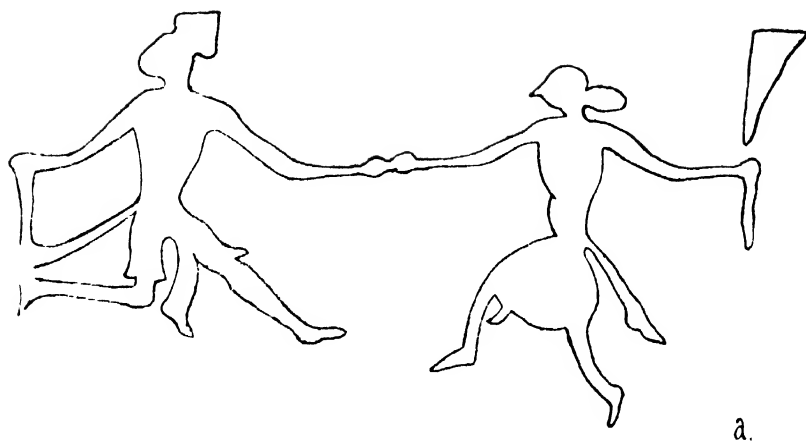
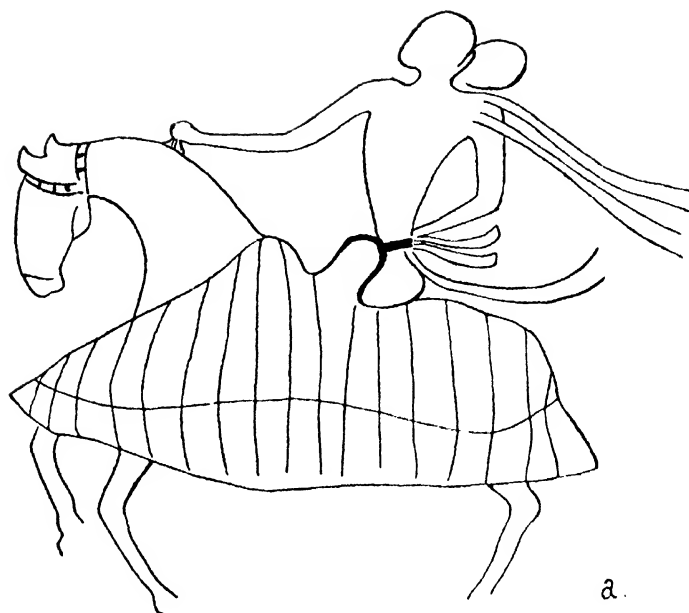


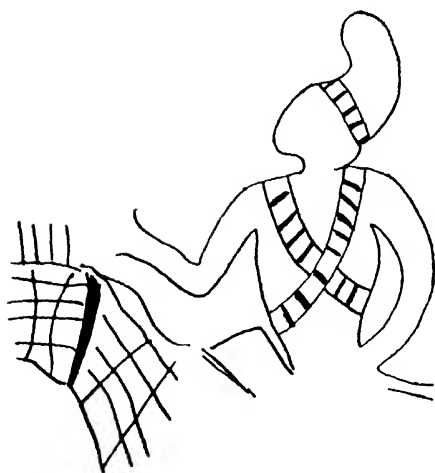
FIG. 14

a. Dancers; b. The abduction and the horrified ladies—Jambu Dwip, Nos. 3 and 4.

PLATE XV.



a.



Jhalai



b.

Ajanta Cave I.

FIG. 15

a. Caparisoned charger ; b. Comparison, Jhalai with Ajanta.

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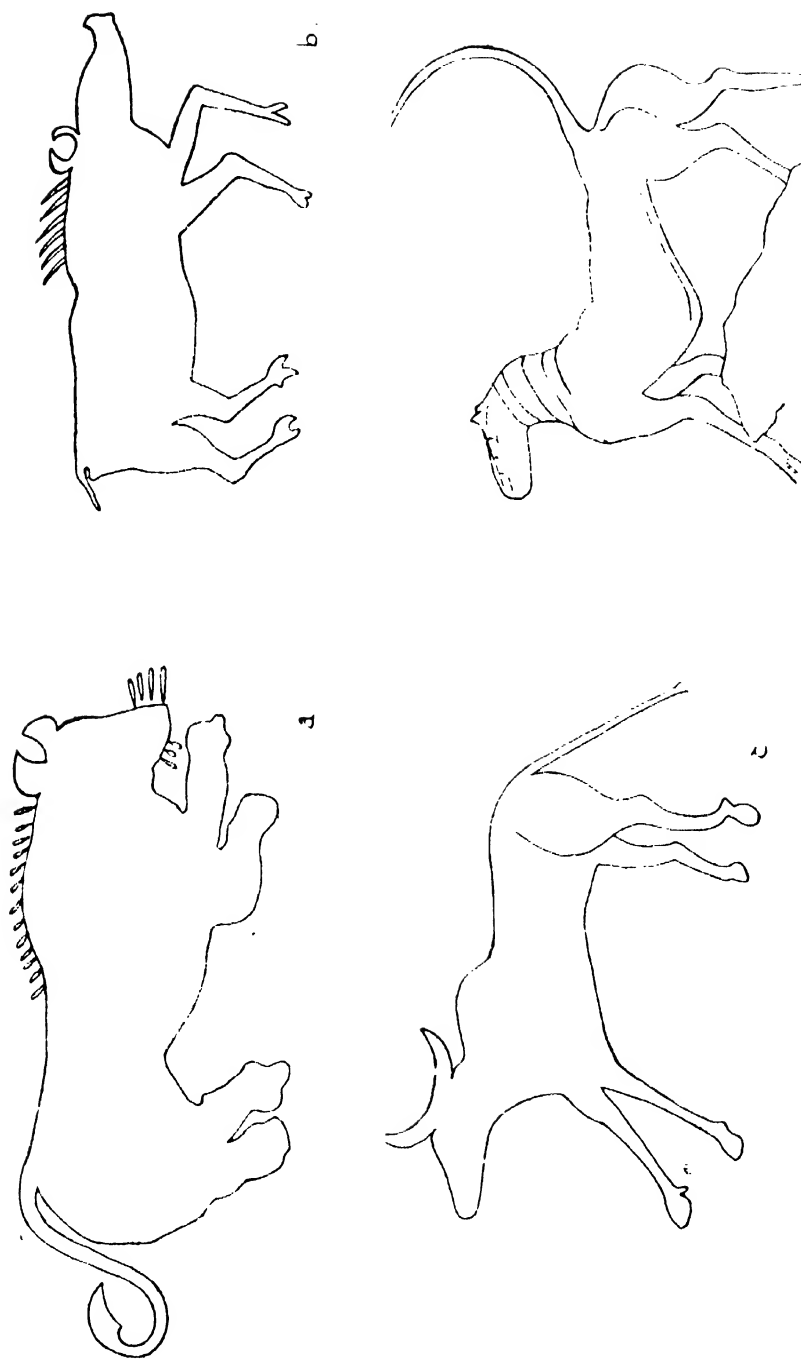


FIG. 16

a. Tiger—Bori; b. Wild pig—Mahadeo Cave; c. Ox—Bazaar Cave, Pachmarhi; d. Hound—Son Bhadra.
The Rock Paintings of the Mahadeo Hills.

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FIG. 17

"Gilgamesh" figure subduing a lion and a wild bull.—Monte Rosa, No. 4.

The Peck Paintings of the Maraden Hills.

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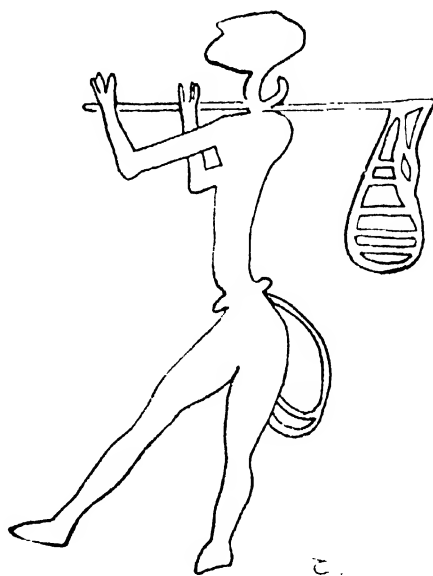
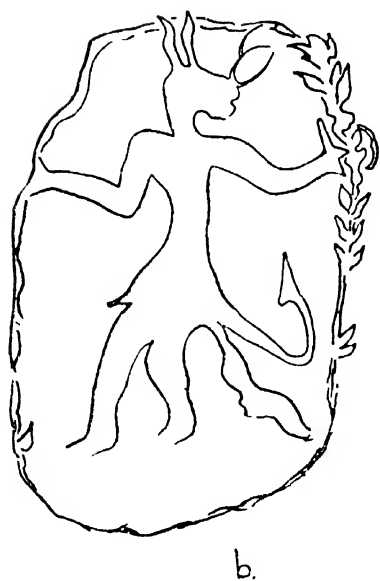
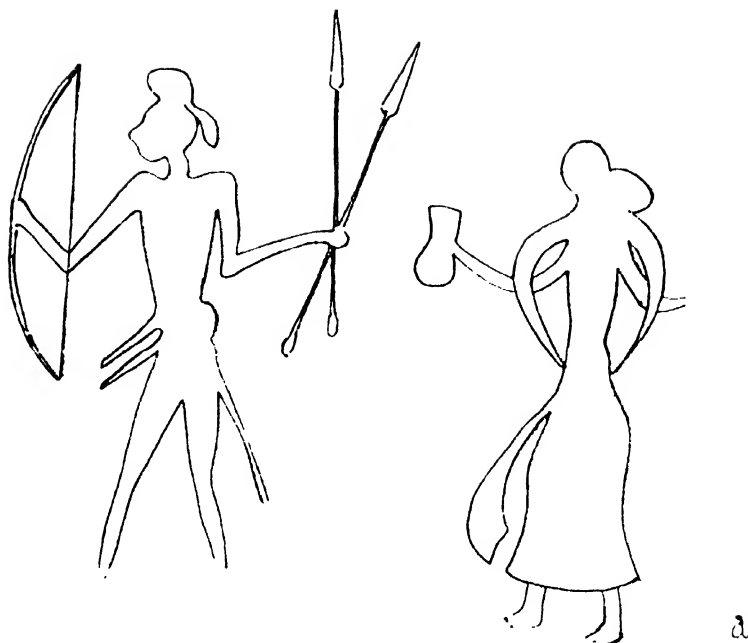


FIG. 18

a. Warrior accompanied by his wife—Dorothy Deep; *b.* Horned and tailed figure - Jambu Dwip, No. 4;
c. Man carrying bag on a staff—Bori.

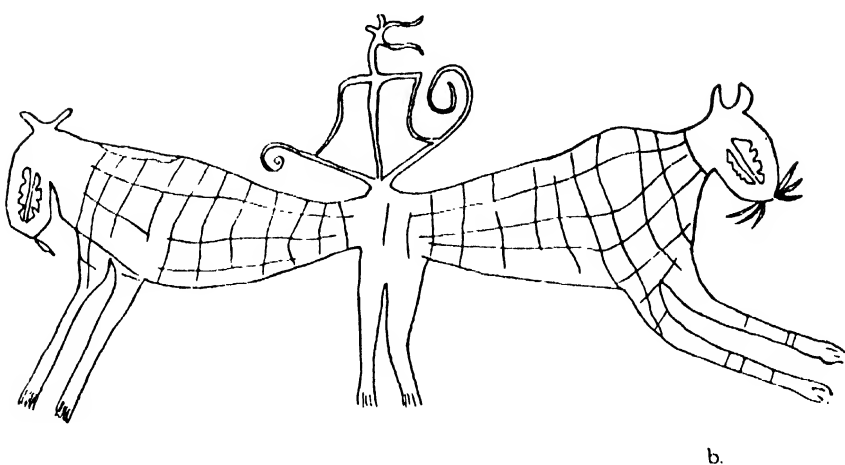
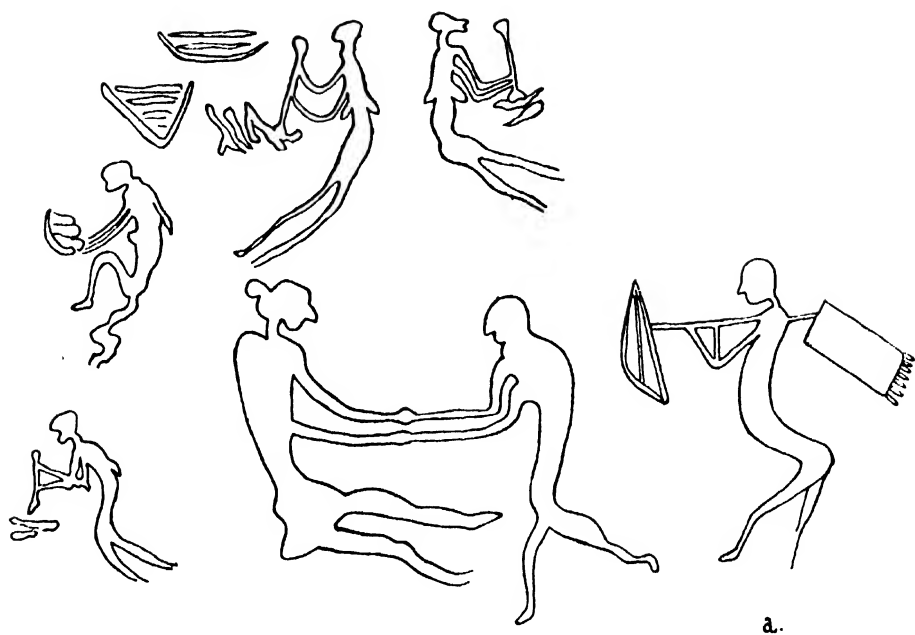


FIG. 19

a. Domestic scene—Mahadeo Cave; b. "Demon" figure and tigers—Jambu Dwip, No. 7.

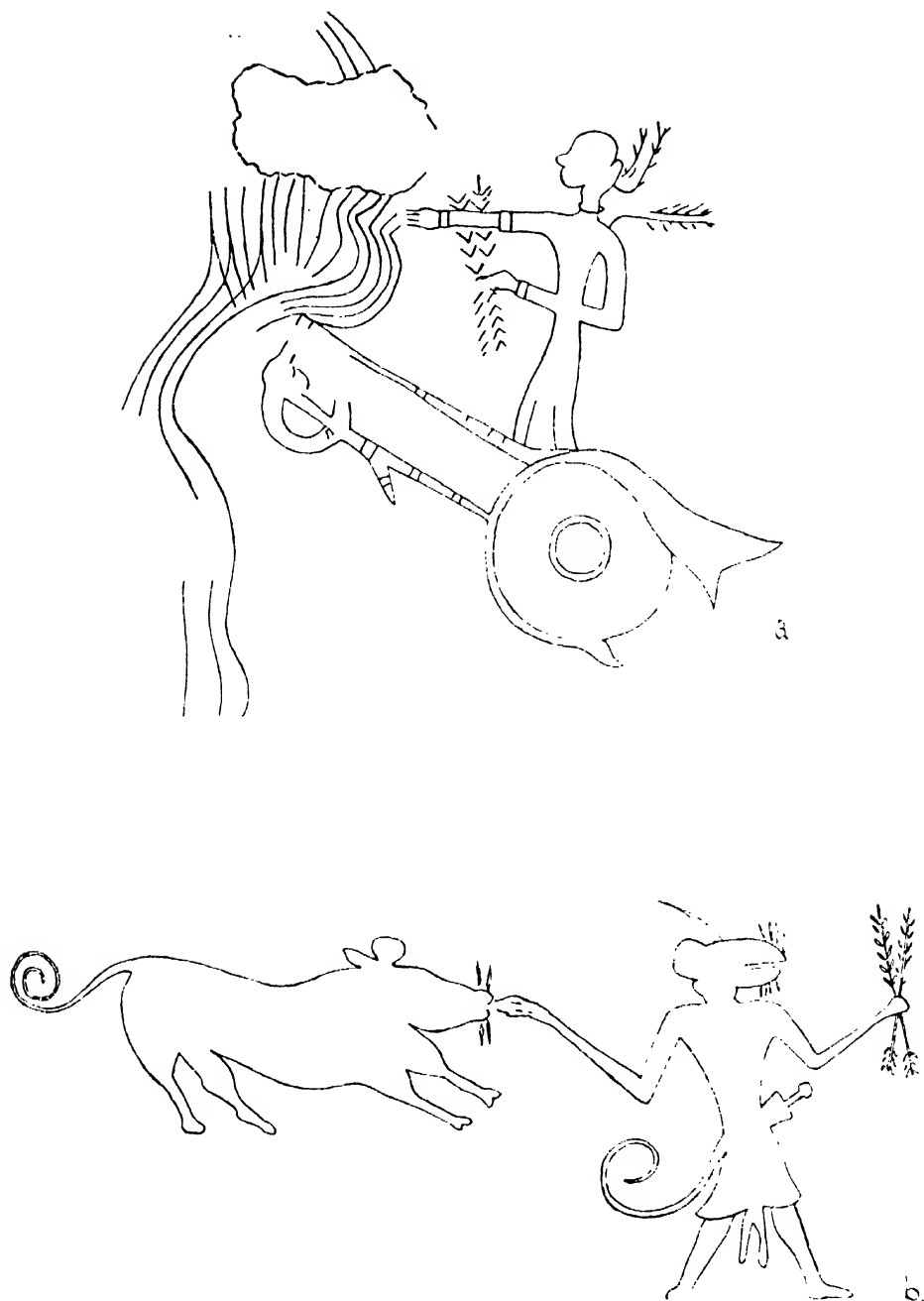


FIG. 20

a. Magical Sky-chariot ; *b.* Rat-faced cult figure—Dorothy Deep.

FURTHER EXCAVATIONS AT P'ONG TŪK (SIAM)

BY DR. H. G. QUARITCH WALES

(Field Director of the Greater-Indian Research Committee)

THE second archæological expedition organized by the Greater-Indian Research Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Francis Younghusband, was carried out during the winter of 1935-36. This second expedition was made possible by the generous support of Mrs. C. N. Wrentmore, a member of the India Society, while, as on the previous occasion, the Siamese Government kindly afforded every facility and assistance, and the Blue Funnel line were good enough to grant travel concessions. The direction of the work in the field was throughout shared with me by my wife.

The main object of this expedition was the exploration of the ancient Indian city of Śri Deva (Śri T'èp), situated in the Nām Sāk valley, Central Siam, and never previously visited by a European archæologist. The results there obtained will be published at a later date. The present article is intended to be a short report on certain researches that we carried out during a period of enforced waiting after our arrival in Siam, and before we were able to start for our main objective. This delay was necessitated by the fact that the unusually late rains had left much of the country still under water, and I accordingly decided to spend some time at an interesting site easily accessible from Bangkok before embarking on our expedition proper.

The place to which I refer is P'ong Tūk, a small village situated in the province of Ratbūri on the Meklong River, not far from the north-west corner of the Gulf of Siam, and it is quite easily reached in a day from Bangkok at any season of the year. This hitherto obscure village achieved some fame when in 1927 some local peasants discovered in their banana gardens a Roman lamp, a bronze Buddhist image of Amarāvati style, and several other Buddhist images of pronounced Gupta affinities. The excavations which were then carried out by the Royal Institute under the direction of Professor Cœdès brought to light the foundations of buildings bearing a strong resemblance to some of those known at Anuradhapura in Ceylon. In an able paper (*Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. XXI., p. 195 ff.), describing the results of the excavations, M. Cœdès was able to put the sixth century A.D. as approximately the period at which this settlement flourished, and to show that it was a city of the Buddhist kingdom located at that time between Cambodia and Burma and provisionally referred to by him under the name of Dvāravātī.

Further Excavations at P'ong Tük (Siam)

P'ong Tük had always interested me particularly because, unlike the other cities of the Dvāravatī kingdom, such as Ratbūri, Lōp'būri and P'rā Pāthōm, it has not been submerged beneath the accretions of later civilizations, nor is it a modern centre of population. For these reasons I had thought it an ideal place for the further study of this early Hīnayāna Buddhist culture, and when I heard that there were several mounds that had not been excavated in 1927 I determined to investigate them. We therefore went down to P'ong Tük and pitched our tent for two weeks on a shady spot near the ancient sites on the right bank of the Meklong.

The positions of the sites excavated in 1927 are shown on a map that accompanies M. Cœdès' paper, and it may suffice here to state that the two sites which we first examined were situated about 500 yards south-east of the San Chao (spirit house), about 70 yards from the road leading to Nai Mā's house, the two sites being distant from each other about 65 yards. An unfortunate result of the suspension of the Royal Institute's excavations in 1927, before all the sites had been investigated, was that the interest of the local people in digging had been aroused—but from the treasure seeker's point of view—and, unknown to the authorities, about two years ago the first site to which our attention was directed had been completely ransacked. This is a serious loss to the Bangkok National Museum, for the site appears to have been by far the richest in sculptures at P'ong Tük. It may indeed be accounted fortunate that, although most of the finds had long ago been dispersed, our visit to P'ong Tük took place before all memory of their nature had been lost. Gradually, as we gained the confidence of the people, we collected the information that they could supply. It appeared that no less than fifteen small bronze images of less than 1 foot in height had been found at this site, and some twenty heads and other portions of large stone images. All that was produced for our inspection, however, was the lotus base of what had evidently been a fine large limestone image, a limestone head badly restored in Chinese style, and a small bronze image of the Buddha which the owner would not allow to be photographed. All these objects belonged definitely to the Dvāravatī period of *circa* sixth century A.D. In addition, one old man, who had a reputation for being a very successful treasure seeker (I believe he was the original finder of the Roman lamp), produced several small objects mostly found on this site. These included a small gold relic casket containing human ash (Fig. III., 7), similar to the one previously found at P'ong Tük and now in the National Museum; a fragment of a thin sheet of gold, engraved with what may just conceivably be a single character of some Indian script (Fig. III., 8); and two large beads, one of cornelian found near Nai Mā's house (Fig. III., 5), and one of blue glass found over 3 feet down in the banana garden (Fig. III., 6),

Further Excavations at P'ong Tük (Siam)

which may eventually prove to be of value for comparative study, as I believe they are the first beads recorded from a Dvāravatī site. The same man had also in his possession a polished amethyst.

Despite the depredations of the local people I decided to carry out trial excavations on this site with a view to finding out if possible what kind of building had housed so many important finds. The place indicated looked innocent enough beneath a flourishing crop of well-grown banana trees, but a tell-tale heap of bricks lay near by. Our trial trenches soon brought to light the lower portions of the much ruined brick wall of a building, probably of semi-perishable construction, and presumably a *vihara*, measuring 20 feet 6 inches by 36 feet, its long axis oriented towards the north-west, at which end was found a doorway in the centre of the wall, before which was a doorstep resembling a Ceylon "moonstone," but made of shaped bricks and quite unornamented. The width of the wall was about 2 feet, the height of the portion still standing about 1 foot 6 inches, having three plain mouldings on the outside, and resting in places on a foundation of large lumps of stucco 1 foot deep. The depth of the base of the lowest brick course below ground level was about 3 feet. The large bricks (14 by 7 by $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches; 13 by $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 inches; $14\frac{3}{8}$ by 7 by 3 inches) were made with padi husks, and resembled in size and texture those forming the road in the banana garden excavated in 1927 (*e.g.*, 14 by 7 by 3 inches). Outside the building were found a section of a large rounded terra-cotta column and what appeared to be part of a broken stone lintel. But a more important find was made inside the building where, amongst the soil that had all been turned over by the treasure seekers, were a number of small fragments of the limbs of images in the blue limestone characteristic of the Dvāravatī period, which thus confirmed the truth of the information we had been given. Lastly, a rather surprising find was made: There was no floor to the building, but just within the walls at a depth of about 18 inches below the level of the lowest brick course of the wall—that is to say, 4 feet 6 inches below ground level—in soil previously undisturbed, a human skeleton was unearthed, and we heard that the treasure seekers had found another one at about the same level. Our skeleton was well preserved, though fragile, with white teeth, and the height of the individual would have been about 5 feet 7 inches. It lay at full length with the head pointing towards the south-west. No objects that might have thrown light on its period were found with the skeleton, and at the time I was quite at a loss for an explanation, though I remembered that a skeleton had been amongst the original finds of the peasants in 1927. Fortunately our second site, with which I shall now deal, was to yield further data.

This second site, situated about 65 yards from the first, proved to be that



FIG. 1. THE ALTAR AT P'ONG TUK.



FIG. 2. THE ALTAR AT P'ONG TUK.

Figure 1. Altar at P'ong Tuk (Siam)

Figure 2. Altar at P'ong Tuk

Figure 3. Altar at P'ong Tuk



FIG. 3. VARIOUS OBJECTS FOUND AT PONG TUK (SCALE IN INCHES).



FIG. 4. A SKELETON NEAR THE STEEP BANK,
PONG TUK.

Photo by J. H. H. Pong Tuk (1950).



FIG. 5. SKELETONS NEAR THE STEEP BANK,
PONG TUK.

Photo by J. H. H. Pong Tuk (1950).

Further Excavations at P'ong Tūk (Siam)

of a small brick *stūpa*, probably belonging to the same monastery as did the *vihāra*. The ground was planted with young banana trees, and only a few bricks were visible on the almost level surface of the ground. We were informed that only superficial digging had taken place here, but undoubtedly the bell of the *stūpa* had been broken open, and any images it may have contained had been stolen. However, our excavations soon showed that the lower part of the structure had not been disturbed (Figs. I. and II.). The brick base of the *stūpa* measured 9 feet 4 inches by 8 feet 10 inches, and some of the upper hexagonal courses were still in place, while many of the rounded bricks of the spire were found near by. The bricks (typical unworked ones, measuring 15 by 7 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $13\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches) were similar to those of the *vihāra* and the road in the banana garden, and the depth of the lowest brick level was about 3 feet 2 inches below ground level. It may therefore be safely assumed that this structure dates from about the sixth century A.D., and it is of interest because, so far as I know, it is the first *stūpa* of the Dvāravatī period that has been discovered, of which anything more than a base remains, and it serves to give some idea of the original form of the great *stūpa* at P'rā Pāthōm. As the *stūpa* was filled with earth only, it was easy to sink a narrow shaft into the centre without damaging the bricks. Beneath the centre of the building, at a depth of 4 feet 3 inches below ground level, was found a small silver casket containing cremated human relics.

It was when the excavations around the *stūpa* were carried further down, with the object of ascertaining that natural soil had been reached, that the most interesting discoveries were made. At a depth of about 18 inches below the lowest brick level, or about 4 feet 8 inches below ground level, no less than ten human skeletons were found, all within two or three yards of the building, with the exception of skeleton No. 6, the nearest part of which was almost 18 feet from the nearest point of the *stūpa*. The skeletons were fairly well distributed all round the building, except on the south-east side, where three were closely pressed together, the nearest being almost under the brick base. All the skeletons were lying at full length, some face downwards and some on their backs, with the heads often much crushed by soil pressure, frequently turned either to the right or the left. The direction in which the heads pointed was roughly westwards, Nos. 5, 6, 8 and 10 actually pointing to the west, while Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 9 pointed to the south-west and No. 7 to the north-west. On the right side of the skull of No. 5 a small much oxidized copper earring was found (Fig. III., 9), while similarly corroded iron weapons (Fig. III., 1, 3, 4), which had been much reduced in size by the action of the elements, though retaining a semblance of their original shape, were found in conjunction with Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 9. It thus seemed that the skeletons were

Further Excavations at P'ong Tük (Siam)

those of warriors killed in battle, though in most cases it was impossible to say definitely whether a weapon was the cause of a mortal wound, since none was found penetrating a bone, or whether the weapon was the warrior's own, having remained clutched in his hand after death. But in the case of No. 5, the latter alternative seems to be the correct explanation, for the weapon, possibly a spear head (Fig. III., 1), lay parallel to the skeleton's thigh bone, with the point towards its feet, the hand being in such a position that it would appear to have grasped the weapon's wooden shaft before the latter rotted away. Another iron object, of unknown use (Fig. III., 2), as well as a piece of bone, were found in the shaft sunk in the centre of the *stūpa*, a few inches beneath the silver casket and hence at the level of the skeletons.

The first point that I wished to decide was whether the skeletons were in any way connected with the *stūpa*, and with this object in view I extended my existing trenches some yards from the building in all directions and cut two more at random, one 12 yards from the south-east face of the building and one 22 yards from the north-east face, the trenches in each case running for some yards parallel to the *stūpa*. The result was that no more skeletons were found, and I was at first inclined to think that there was indeed a relationship between the skeletons and the *stūpa*, which might have been built over the shallow grave of warriors killed in battle as a memorial to the occasion. While not being able absolutely to rule out this explanation I am now more inclined to think that the juxtaposition of the ten skeletons and the *stūpa* is a matter of coincidence, and that had I been able to dig many more trenches I might have found more skeletons. For we have to explain the finding of at least one other skeleton beneath the *vihāra* 65 yards away and lying in a similar position at practically the same level. Moreover, the finding of the silver relic casket, buried a few inches above the level of the skeletons, seems to be a sufficient explanation of the *raison d'être* of the *stūpa*.

Whether the dead warriors were artificially buried or not, it seems likely that they had been roughly laid out straight and approximately facing the west, though this may not be the only possible explanation of their position. Let us suppose for the moment that they were not artificially buried and that the level on which they were found was the level at which they lived. If this is the case, it would be interesting if we could date them, and certain evidence obtained from my excavations at P'ong Tük and at a Khmer site three miles higher up the river enables me to attempt this task. We have seen that the Dvāravati level at P'ong Tük (as seen in my excavations and confirmed by an inspection of the sites excavated in 1927) is about 3 feet 2 inches below ground level. If I may anticipate data which I shall give in the latter part of this article, I may add that the occupation level at the Khmer site just mentioned

Further Excavations at P'ong Tük (Siam)

is 2 feet beneath ground level. We may set out these facts as follows :

<i>Period.</i>	<i>Depth.</i>	<i>Date (A.D.)</i>
Modern Siamese.	Ground level	Twentieth century.
Khmer.	2 feet.	<i>Circa</i> eleventh century.
Dvāravatī.	3 feet 2 inches.	<i>Circa</i> sixth century.

A simple calculation shows that *this part* of the Meklong valley has been silting up since the sixth century A.D. at the approximate rate of 1 foot every 450 years. Supposing the process to have been going on at the same rate prior to the sixth century A.D., it would follow that our warriors lived about the first century B.C. It is true that no evidence (as of potsherds, etc.) was obtained that the level at which the skeletons were found was an occupation level, though, on the other hand, one could hardly expect this as the warriors would most probably have been killed fighting in the open some distance away from their village. But even if it is held that the warriors received burial we could at least place the date of their death between the first century B.C. and the sixth century A.D.

Despite the fragile state of the remains, three skulls were removed and brought to London in moderately good condition. They are at present undergoing a careful restoration and examination at the Royal College of Surgeons, and it is hoped that their report, on which I shall hope to publish a note at a later date, may serve to throw some light on the little understood ethnic structure of this region at the dawn of the historical period.

In concluding my account of our finds at P'ong Tük I may mention that at two places, one near the *stūpa* and one on the other side of the road leading to Nai Mā's house, were found at Dvāravatī level the remains of kilns at which coarse pottery had been manufactured ; while, about 300 yards S.W. of the *stūpa*, were the remains of two small brick structures, completely destroyed by unauthorized diggers, and at which we did not attempt to work, but near which, we were told, had been found two well-known Buddhist symbols, in the shape of small terra-cotta deer, each about 4 inches long.

The Khmer site referred to above was brought to my notice one morning by the successful treasure seeker already mentioned, but from his description of it I was led to expect a Dvāravatī monument of the type excavated near the San Chao in 1927. It was situated, as already stated, some three miles higher up the river than P'ong Tük, near a village named Wāt Wai Nio, in the gardens of one Nai Chăn, some 300 yards from the river bank. As soon as we arrived, Nai Chăn produced a pair of highly ornamented bronze hands which were clearly not of Dvāravatī style. Moreover, on being shown the mound, which was about 40 feet square, I at once noticed a laterite *snāna-dronī*,

Further Excavations at P'ong Tük (Siam)

suggesting the Brahmanical cult, and our subsequent investigations brought to light, at the level of the floor of the building (2 feet below ground as already stated), fragments of the head of a Khmer *nāga*, which could be dated *circa* eleventh century A.D. The trenches we dug showed the mound to consist of fallen bricks and a few laterite blocks, both of which showed traces of stucco covering up to 1 inch thick, pieces of stucco moulding also being found. But the shape of the shrine could not be determined owing to its ruined condition, no trace of walls or floor being recognizable.

The existence of this Khmer site is of interest, firstly because it shows that while the Khmers did not actually occupy P'ong Tük, their nearest establishment was not far away. Indeed, their power spread right up the Meklong valley, at least as far as Muong Sing. And the second point of interest is that Lajonquière, who studied the ruins at Muong Sing (*B.C.A.I.*, 1909, p. 24), was struck by the way in which the monuments found there differed from the contemporary monuments in Cambodia. In particular, he found that the structures were covered inside and out with stucco, and that this stucco was ornamented with *motifs* foreign to Khmer art. This influence he was unable to explain, but from the excavations carried out at P'ong Tük in 1927 we now know these features to have been characteristic of the Dvāravati period. And the remains at Muong Sing and Wāt Wai Nio indicate that, whatever may have been the political fate of the Dvāravati kingdom after the seventh century, its culture continued long after to influence the civilization of Central Siam.

NOTE

Since writing the above account I have received an interesting report from Dr. Cave of the Royal College of Surgeons concerning the skulls which he has kindly examined, and which will be permanently stored in the College museum. He considers that they are those of Thai people, exactly resembling the Siamese skulls in the museum. Unfortunately the Môn-Khmer material in the museum is limited to a single Talaing skull, from which he states the skulls we excavated differ widely, but it would be desirable if more Môn-Khmer examples were available for comparison. So far as the evidence goes it points to the conclusion that Thai colonies were already established in the Meklong valley (and presumably the Menam valley also) in the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably even earlier; and thus it may be that existing theories on Thai immigration into Siam will have to be revised. It is true that the Môn language is used in inscriptions of the Dvāravati period, but this may indicate either the existence of a Môn ruling caste, or merely that Môn was then the fashionable literary language of the day. Mr. F. H. Giles, President of the Siam Society, recently remarked to me that he had reasons for believing the Thai were established in Central Siam quite by the fifth century A.D. It is to be hoped that he will soon publish the evidence on which he bases this belief.

TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INDIA SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1935

DURING 1935 the various activities of the Society were well maintained. An Exhibition of cotton fabrics from the collection of Mr. G. P. Baker was held at the Alpine Club Hall. The Exhibition was opened by Lady (Manubhai) Mehta on May 27, and attracted many visitors. The Society also organized, in conjunction with the Royal Asiatic Society and the School of Oriental Studies, a public lecture by Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales, Director of the Gaekwar of Baroda Greater India Research Expedition, on the results of his investigations. The paper which he read, entitled "A Newly Explored Route of Ancient Indian Cultural Expansion," has been published in the Society's journal.

PUBLICATIONS

In the course of the year the Society published "Indian Influences in Old Balinese Art," by Dr. Willem F. Stutterheim, late of the Archaeological Survey of the Netherlands East Indies, and the distinguished representative of the Society in Java. The volume, which was handsomely illustrated, has been well received by the Press and critics. The thanks of the Society are due to the author for his interesting and attractive work.

Two half-yearly issues of INDIAN ART AND LETTERS were published and issued free to members. The subjects dealt with included exploration, architecture, painting, calligraphy, and bronzes. Music and dancing in India and Java were also treated. The arrangement by which members of the Society can purchase at a reduced price the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, published by the Kern Institute, has been continued, and advantage is being taken by members of the terms at which this fine and valuable publication can be procured.

LECTURES

It is gratifying to the Council to be able to report increased attendance at the lectures, reflecting the greater interest that is being taken in Indian art and its influences on the arts of other countries of Asia. The complete lecture programme was as follows :

May 28.—Th. B. van Lelyveld on "The Dances of the Javanese Theatre" (illustrated by Raden Mas Waloejo). Chairman: Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

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- June* 6.—Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales on “A Newly Explored Route of Ancient Indian Cultural Expansion.” Chairman: Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E.
- July* 19.—Dr. K. N. Sita Ram (Curator, Central Museum, Lahore) on “Indian Dancing, with Special Reference to its Hinduistic Aspects.” Chairman: Sir Eric Maclagan.
- July* 24.—Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan (Archæological Survey of India) on “Muslim Calligraphy.” Chairman: the late Sir John P. Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
- September* 19.—Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, C.I.E. (late Director-General of Archæology in India), on “The Eight Great Places of Buddhist Pilgrimage.” Chairman: Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
- October* 11.—Guru Saday Dutt, I.C.S., on “The Living Traditions of the Folk Arts in Bengal.” Chairman: Laurence Binyon, C.H.
- December* 2.—Major D. H. Gordon, D.S.O., I.A., on “Cave Paintings of the Mahadeo Hills” (Central Provinces). Chairman: Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E.

The Council were happy to profit by the presence in this country of the four Indian gentlemen, to invite them to address the Society on the various interesting subjects they had selected.

CORRESPONDING SOCIETIES

The interchange of information and mutual assistance with various Societies having similar objects in France and Holland has continued, and the Council desire to record their gratitude for the friendly and generous assistance invariably extended to members of this Society by these organizations.

DONATIONS

The Council record with gratitude the receipt of further donations of £100 each from H.F.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. It is only by such generous gifts that the Society have been able to maintain the full programme of lectures and publications.

FINANCE

The Council submit the audited accounts for the year. It will be noted that the annual subscriptions have increased to £337 8s. 2d., but that there is still an excess of expenditure over income for the year amounting to £51 16s. 4d., to which must be added the further expenditure on the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art amounting to £21 17s. 5d. not provided for in the previous accounts.

As has been stated, an illustrated volume was issued during the year, and although the outlay on the two issues of the Society's journal has been

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reduced, the annual subscriptions do not cover the cost of the special publications given free to members. As in previous years we have been dependent in part on generous gifts, but it is obvious that it would be more satisfactory if the total amount of the membership subscriptions more nearly met our current needs. On this and other grounds the Council hope that members will use their best endeavours to secure new members among their friends.

The Council have had many gratifying indications of the value to the Society's aims of the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art. But on the financial side, as was indeed to be expected, it necessitated a considerable depletion of our cash resources. The Exhibition accounts were closed during the year. The Council are satisfied that the financial position of the Society is strong. If the special donations are maintained we should be able to pay our way in the current year without further trenching upon reserves.

COUNCIL.

The following gentleman was co-opted during the year under Rule IV to fill a vacancy on the Council :

Dr. Arnold A. Bake.

The name of this gentleman is now submitted to the Annual Meeting for election to the Council.

Further, under this Rule, the following members of the Council retire, and, being eligible, offer themselves for re-election :

Mr. F. J. Adams, Mr. F. H. Andrews, Sir W. Reid Dick,
Mr. H. V. Lanchester, Mrs. Villiers-Stuart.

The Council desire to record their gratitude to the Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer, whose exertions permitted of so much work being performed at such a small cost.

The Council also thank the auditors, Messrs. Rushton, Osborne and Co. (chartered accountants), for preparing the accounts.

FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND,
Chairman.

JOHN DE LA VALETTE,
Vice-Chairman.

April 30th, 1936.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1935

EXPENDITURE.			INCOME.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To <i>Printing of Publications</i> :			By Annual Subscriptions	...	...
INDIAN ART AND LETTERS	214	12 10	" Sales of Books	...	...
Balinese Art	125	3 4	" <i>Interest on Deposits</i> :		
Sundry Publications	34	1 7	Post Office Savings	...	11 12 9
			Bank Deposits	...	0 12 0
" Books Purchased for Re-sale	373	17 9	" <i>Dividends on Investments</i> (less In-		
" Payment for Survey of Indian	6	5 2	come Tax)	...	...
" Art in British Collections	10	10 0	" <i>Annual Grants and Special Gifts</i> :		
" <i>Lecture Meeting Expenses</i> :			H.E.H. the Nizam of Hydera-		
H.H. the Maharaja Gaek-	99	17 11	bad	...	100 0 0
war's Lecture Fund	11	19 2	H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar		
General Lectures			of Baroda	...	99 1 3
" Hon. Secretary's Honorarium...	111	17 1	" <i>Increase in Valuation of Stock of Books at Decem-</i>		
" Clerical Assistance	50	0 0	ber 31, 1935	...	...
" Advertising	42	6 8	" <i>Excess of Expenditure over Income for Year</i>		
" Postage and Sundries	7	17 6		...	...
" Telephone	42	14 10		...	...
" Rent of Office	4	8 6		...	...
" Audit Fees	50	0 0		...	...
" Subscriptions to Societies	7	8 0		...	...
" Corporation Duty	2	1 0		...	...
" Income Tax	1	12 5		...	...
	6	17 1		...	...
	£717	16 0		£717	16 0
To <i>Excess of Expenditure over Income for Year on</i>			By <i>Total Excess of Expenditure over Income for Year</i>		
General Account	51	16 4		...	...
" <i>Additional Expenditure on</i> Exhibition of				...	...
Indian Art	21	17 5		...	...
	£73	13 9		£73	13 9

THE ANNUAL MEETING

THE twenty-sixth annual meeting of the India Society was held on Wednesday, April 30, 1936, at India House (by courtesy of the High Commissioner for India). In the unavoidable absence of the Marquess of Zetland, Sir Francis Younghusband presided at the meeting.

The Chairman moved the adoption of the Annual Report. The motion was carried unanimously.

The Chairman then moved the adoption of the Annual Accounts. The motion was carried *nem. con.*

The Chairman moved, and Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mohan Singh seconded, the election of the following office-bearers of the Society :

President : The Marquess of Zetland.

Vice-Presidents : Sir John Marshall, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, Jonkheer de Marces van Swinderen, Mrs. Rhys Davids, H.E. The Persian Minister, Professor Paul Pelliot, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, H.S.H. Prince Varnvaïdya, Sir Eric Maclagan, H.E. The French Ambassador, H.E. The Japanese Ambassador, The Director of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Sir George Hill, The Viscount Halifax, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Sir Atul Chatterjee, Sir Denison Ross, The High Commissioner for India, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, M. Aimé Joseph de Fleuriau, H.H. Prince Bidya, M. Robin, Mr. Laurence Binyon, H.E. The Chinese Ambassador and Sir Akbar Hydari.

Hon. Secretary : Mr. F. J. P. Richter.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. F. H. Brown.

Mrs. Polak moved, and Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mohan Singh seconded, the election of the following members of Council, who retire by rotation, and were eligible for re-election :

Mr. L. J. Adams, Mr. F. H. Andrews, Sir William Reid Dick, Mr. H. V. Lanchester and Mrs. Villiers-Stuart, and the election of Mr. J. H. Lindsay, I.C.S.

Mr. John de la Valette proposed, and Mr. Polak seconded, the appointment as Auditors for the ensuing year of Messrs. Rushton Osborne and Co. (Chartered Accountants). The motion was carried unanimously.

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to the High Commissioner for India for the use of India House for the Annual Meeting, and to Mr. F. H. Brown and Mr. F. J. P. Richter for their work on behalf of the Society.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY (1934)

MEMBERS of the Society are again being offered the *Annual Bibliography*, of which a new volume has just been issued, on advantageous terms, thanks to the courtesy of the Kern Institut. The price to members is eleven shillings and ninepence post free. Members who desire copies of this and previous issues should write at once to the Hon. Secretary of the India Society, and send the remittance to him.

The following passages are taken from the Foreword of the new number of the *Bibliography*:

For the Introduction of the present volume we have again received important contributions from various quarters. We are indebted to Dr. C. L. Fábri for a general article on the progress of archaeological research in India, illustrated with some excellent photographs which the Director-General of Archaeology in India has placed at our disposal. The text illustrations belonging to this article were prepared by Dr. Fábri.

Sir Richard Burn has again favoured us with a note on numismatic researches in India, while Mr. Yazdani has sent a well-illustrated account of the work accomplished under his able superintendence by the archaeological department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. A note on important acquisitions for the Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Mathura, together with numerous photographs, we owe to Mr. V. S. Agrawala, the curator of that museum. It is hoped that in further issues of our annual we may be able to supply similar information with regard to other Indian museums. A novel feature in the Introduction to the present volume is the second article, in which some important events relating to the study of Indian archaeology have been recorded in the form of a series of detached notes.

Ceylon is, as usual, represented by an able article in which Mr. Paranavitana has given an account of the progress of archaeological and epigraphical research during the year 1934.

The excellent work performed in Indo-China by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient is dealt with in two contributions: the one by Dr. Victor Goloubeff on new exploration around Mount Bakheng, Angkor, and the other by M. J. Y. Claeys on the discovery of Cham sculptures on the ancient site of Vijaya (Binh-dinh, Annam). We wish here to record our great indebtedness to these two scholars for their welcome co-operation as well as to M. George Coédès, the Director of the French School of Hanoi, for his unflinching willingness to render us assistance in matters relating to this *Biblio-*

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology (1934)

graphy. Among the excellent photographs which he has permitted us to reproduce we wish to draw special attention to the remarkable bird's-eye view of the site of Angkor taken by an officer of the Military Air Force of Indo-China.

In the Netherlands Indies the work of exploration and restoration has almost come to a standstill owing to the financial depression by which the country has been so severely affected. There is, however, one special branch of antiquarian research—viz., prehistoric archaeology—which seems to suffer but little under these adverse circumstances. Important discoveries relating to this domain of studies continue to be made both in Indo-China and Indonesia, and by combining them far-reaching conclusions have been drawn with regard to the early history of both these regions. There seemed, therefore, good reason to publish a special article on the progress of prehistoric research in Indonesia, the more so as we found Dr. Robert Freiherr von Heine-Geldern willing to write it. We are greatly indebted to the author for this valuable contribution.

The second article relating to Indonesia we owe to the courtesy of Dr. C. C. Berg, Professor of Javanese in the University of Leyden. It deals with the study of the language and literature of ancient Java, a subject so closely associated with Indo-Javanese archaeology that it may be considered to fall within the scope of this annual. Professor Berg's remarks will no doubt appeal to scholars in India whose growing interest in the ancient civilization of the Malay Archipelago bids fair to yield abundant fruit in this department of studies.

The most important part of the present volume—viz., the bibliography proper—is the work of Dr. Hermann Goetz and Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers. The general arrangement of the materials has remained the same, and does not call for any special observations. Dr. B. C. Law of Calcutta, as stated in the Foreword to our last issue, has assumed the responsibility for books and articles written in the Indian vernaculars, in which branch welcome assistance has also been rendered by Mr. Niharranjan Ray. Publications brought out in Japan have again been included thanks to the welcome help of Professor N. Fukushima of the Imperial University of Tōkyō and his assistant, Mr. Otake Tanaka. It is gratifying that we have succeeded in finding also the necessary co-operation in Poland and Russia through Dr. Stefan Przeworski. In this connection we wish also to express our gratitude to Mr. R. J. Forbes, who has kindly offered to supply information on publications relating to the technical side of archaeological research. This offer we have all the more readily accepted, as articles of this kind are to be found in periodicals which do not usually come under our notice.

INDIA AND GREECE

A NOTE BY H. G. RAWLINSON, C.I.E.

ATTENTION has repeatedly been drawn, by Garbe* and others, to the striking resemblances between Indian and Greek philosophy. The parallels between the Eleatic and Sāṅkhya schools, and between Orphism and Buddhism, are curiously exact. B. J. Urwick, in a recent work, *The Message of Plato*, has pointed out that similar resemblances abound in Plato, especially in the *Republic*. The doctrine of the Ideas is Vedānta pure and simple, and the Vision of Er the Pamphylian at the end of Book X. has a typically Indian ring. The three classes in the *Republic*, Guardians, Auxiliaries and Producers, are the three Varnas of the Indian law books. This was noticed by Megasthenes, the Greek envoy to the court of Chandragupta Maurya in 302 B.C. "In many points," he says, "the teaching of the Brahmans agrees with that of the Greeks, for instance, that the world has a beginning and an end in time, and that its shape is spherical; that the Deity, who is its Governor and Maker, interpenetrates the whole; that the first principles of the universe are different, but that water is the principle from which the order of the world has come to be; that besides the four elements there is a fifth substance from which the heavens and stars are made;† that the earth is established at the centre of the universe. About generation and the soul their teaching shows parallels to the Greek doctrines, and on many other matters. Like Plato, too, they interweave fables about the immortality of the soul and the judgements inflicted in the other world."‡ These resemblances have been hitherto dismissed as coincidences or instances of parallel but independent development of thought, in view of the fact that Herodotus explicitly states that the Greek doctrine of metempsychosis came from Egypt,§ and that contemporary proof of any nexus between cultured Greeks and Indians has hitherto been wanting. The *argumentum ex silentio*, however, is always a weak one, and I recently came across a remarkable passage in Eusebius,|| which has apparently been overlooked by J. A. McCrindle, the author of Chapter XVI. of Book I. of the *Cambridge History of India*, and other authorities. It runs as follows:

Φησὶ δὲ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς Ἰνδῶν εἶναι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον. Ἀθήγησι

* *Greek Thinkers* I. 127.

† *Ākāśa*, ether.

‡ Frag. 40. Quoted in *Camb. Hist. Ind.* I. 419.

§ Herod. II. 123. The weak part of this statement is the fact that the Egyptians, as far as is known, did not hold the doctrine.

|| *Præparatio Evangelii* XI. 3. Eusebius was bishop of Caesarea in Phœnicia, A.D. 315-340.

India and Greece

γὰρ ἐντυχεῖν Σωκράτει τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἓνα τινά, κᾶπειτα αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι τί ποιῶν φιλοσοφοίη· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος ὅτι ζητῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου, καταγελάσαι τὸν Ἰνδὸν, λέγοντα μὴ δύνασθαι τινα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καταλαβεῖν, ἀγνοῦντά γε τὰ θεῖα.

("Aristoxenus the musician tells the following story about the Indians. One of these men met Socrates at Athens, and asked him what was the scope of his philosophy. 'An enquiry into human phenomena,' replied Socrates. At this the Indian burst out laughing. 'How can a man enquire into human phenomena,' he exclaimed, 'when he is ignorant of divine ones?'"

The interest of this statement is obvious. Eusebius gives his authority for it—Aristoxenus the musician, a pupil of Aristotle, and a well-known writer on harmonics. His date is 330 B.C. So we have contemporary evidence of the presence in Athens as early as the fourth century of Indians who knew Greek and actually discussed philosophy with Socrates. This must modify our views of the interrelationship of Hellenic and Hindu culture.

JAVANESE EURHYTHMICS IN FRANCE

BRITISH devotees of Javanese dancing—and there are many to-day—will remember with delight the vivid, graceful and descriptive dances with which Raden Mas Jodjana has thrilled the English public on several occasions. Originally built up on the traditional dances of the Central Javanese Principalities, they gradually developed into a much more personal expression of the dancer's aims and aspirations, finally to crystallize into a coherent system of eurhythmics.

After having expounded his method for several years in many parts of Europe, Raden Mas Jodjana and his wife, who is Dutch and a sound musician, have now settled at the Château of Vergoignan near Barcelonne du Gers, in the lovely valley of the Adour at the foot of the Pyrenees.

Here their many pupils, drawn from a wide range of countries, will have opportunities to practise Jodjana's eurhythmics systematically. No attempt will be made to inculcate any set dance movements; rather will stress be laid upon the awakening and natural development of the student's innate aptitudes.

The progress of this movement will, also in this country, be watched with sympathetic interest.

J. DE L. V.

BOOK REVIEWS

Matter, Myth and Spirit. By MRS. DOROTHEA CHAPLIN (Simpkin Marshall). 8s. 6d. net.

It has become the habit of orientalists to write with extreme caution. This has become necessary if any sort of face is to be kept. Our "experts" know that any unguarded statement may be seized upon and torn to ribbons with joy by some of their fellows.

Dorothea Chaplin disarms them all by a refreshing, if difficult, book called *Matter, Myth and Spirit*. To single out any one statement would be out of place—the book is full of provocative statements. The theme is an absorbing one—the racial, religious and artistic connections between the Kelts and the ancient Hindus. Other questions are brought in: it is suggested that the ancient civilizations of Mexico and Peru spring from the same roots. In fact the book is full of questions.

Many of the points of contact are quite remarkable, and undoubtedly must have been formed by definite connections. This is to be seen farther away than India. There is a likeness between Anglo-Saxon metalwork, the illumination of Keltic manuscripts and the gold-inlaid bronzes of China of c. 300 B.C. which cannot be accidental.

Dorothea Chaplin has the courage to write her thoughts and conjectures as well as many sound statements. The book is a challenge, for many of her statements would be as difficult to disprove as to prove.

Some of the statements are rather vague, others explicit. To quote: "In Guildford, Surrey, the old parish church contains four plaques of such great antiquity that it was thought necessary to call in archaeologists to explain their meaning." However, in this case I could find neither the meaning stated nor the plaques described. On the other hand, on a later page: "Why in Penrith churchyard and other places in a sanctified atmosphere do we discover Boar-stones? They cannot be Christian representations because there is no Christian symbol of a boar, whereas in the case of the Aryans the boar is the groundwork of the Fertility cult." This statement finds support in the extraordinary resemblance between the Boar stones on Holy Island and some ancient Chinese ceremonial Jades. Also, elsewhere, we are led to think of possible connections between the Keltic and Hindu Sun-discs and the Chinese *pi* "symbol of heaven," a pierced disc of jade which has already been suspected of a connection with phallic worship.

To sum up, this book is well worth reading, particularly on account of the large number of questions which it raises, and in reading it one cannot but be stimulated. A. D. B.

An Artist Looks at Ajanta.

At the opening of the Exhibition of Ajanta and Ellora paintings and drawings at the Bombay University, organized by the Universal Arts Circle, Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, Director of the Bombay School of Art, read a paper on "Ajanta and the Unity of Art," which will appeal to many who look upon the exclusively archaeological dissection of the great works of early art as incomplete and unsatisfying. It is as a practising craftsman in the art of painting that Mr. Gladstone Solomon embarks upon the study of the masterpieces of Ajanta. Not only so, but he replaces them in the midst of the throbbing life from which they arose and which they so fully represent. The river that flows through the deep-cut gorge, the "fish leaping like handfuls of silver in the teeming pools reddened by the sunset"; the passing shadow of a floating vulture, the "warm bodies of the lively little squirrels," all the animals and birds in fact that give reality to the surroundings are as alive to Mr. Gladstone Solomon as they were to the artists who wove so many of them into their stirring patterns of human existence and experience.

The burden of the writer's argument is that since similar impulses gave rise to the early art of the West as to the art of the East, an underlying unity binds them together. "The bull on

Book Reviews

the seal of Mohen-jo-Daro is the sworn brother of the painted bull of Gnosossos." When we look back far enough "we are not able to distinguish the gods of Olympus very clearly from India's immortals of Mount Kailasa"; and "if Indian and European legend are so much alike, their art could not be very dissimilar." Even those who may not agree with the writer's efforts to divest Indian art of the mysticism that attaches to it will appreciate the refreshing stimulus that is exerted by a consideration of these masterpieces from the point of view of an artist to whom the skill and the craftsmanship of the artists are of more immediate concern than the ultimate effect produced upon beholders many centuries later. The method of approach provides a useful corrective to much that is soothingly accepted by some enthusiasts.

J. DE L. V.

L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT

DURING the year 1935 the French School of Far Eastern Studies at Hanoi carried on important work with its usual energy, discovering and exploring new sites of ancient culture in the dense jungle; clearing, restoring and preserving others; acquiring new treasures for the museums, and adding to scholarly research. Among the personal losses which it suffered were two that were widely mourned also in British circles. Within a few weeks of each other occurred the deaths of M. Sylvain Lévi, who originated the idea of establishing a centre for archaeological and artistic studies in Indochina and put concrete suggestions to that effect before Monsieur Paul Doumer, then Governor-General of that colony, and of Monsieur Louis Finot, who succeeded in realizing the plan. Both scholars contributed in several ways towards spreading a wider appreciation of the important influences which Indian culture has exercised far beyond the borders of India. As staunch friends and supporters of the India Society their loss is doubly felt by us.

Another old friend of this Society, M. Victor Goloubeff, went last October on a successful cruise in the beautiful Bay of Along on board the French gunboat *Mytho*, specially assigned for that purpose. Several sites of archaeological interest were discovered, among them an important stone enclosure in the euphoniously named island of Danh Do La, and the ruins of a pagoda together with many ancient stelæ in the forest of Yen-lap near Hangay. The latter site appears to correspond with that of a Buddhist pagoda, named Sung-dúc, which was founded during the Tran dynasty (1225-1413).

Among the scholars who lectured to the members of the Société des Amis de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient were several whom members of the India Society have had the privilege of hearing in London, such as Messieurs Georges Cœdès, Victor Goloubeff and Philippe Stern, and the Comtesse G. de Coral-Rémusat.

J. DE L. V.

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[The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. The India Society does not hold itself responsible for them.]

NEW SERIES. VOL. X., NO. 2

SECOND ISSUE FOR 1936

THE EXPLORATION OF SRI DEVA, AN ANCIENT INDIAN CITY IN INDOCHINA¹

BY DR. H. G. QUARITCH WALES

(Field Director of the Greater-Indian Research Committee)

I. INTRODUCTION

THE second expedition organized by the Greater-Indian Research Committee was carried out during the winter of 1935-36 and was made possible by the generous support of Mrs. C. N. Wrentmore, a member of the India Society. The Siamese Government kindly afforded every facility and assistance, and the work in the field was throughout shared with me by my wife.

Our main objective was the exploration of the ancient city of Śrī Deva (pronounced Śi T'ep in Siam), and also known locally as Mu'o'ng Āp'hāisali. In order to make my account as complete a monograph as possible, as also in order to explain my reasons for undertaking this research, I shall bring together in this introductory section what little information was available before we began our investigations, though considerations of space forbid me to reproduce the published photographs of those objects that had already been brought to Bangkok from Śrī Deva.

The ancient city is situated about five miles from the left bank of the Paśāk River, and is marked on Siamese maps as being approximately in latitude 15° 27' North and longitude 101° 12' East (see map, Fig. 1). This river flows through a narrow valley, never more than twenty-five miles broad, between the P'eč'ābun hills and the escarpment of the K'orat plateau. It runs in a steep gorge and is frequently blocked with boulders and fallen trees which, with the presence of rapids, make it practically unnavigable except at the season of the highest waters, when boats of moderate size can reach

¹ Based on a lecture delivered at the Royal Society on June 23, 1936. Sir Francis Young-husband, Chairman of the Greater-Indian Research Committee, presided.

The Exploration of Sri Deva

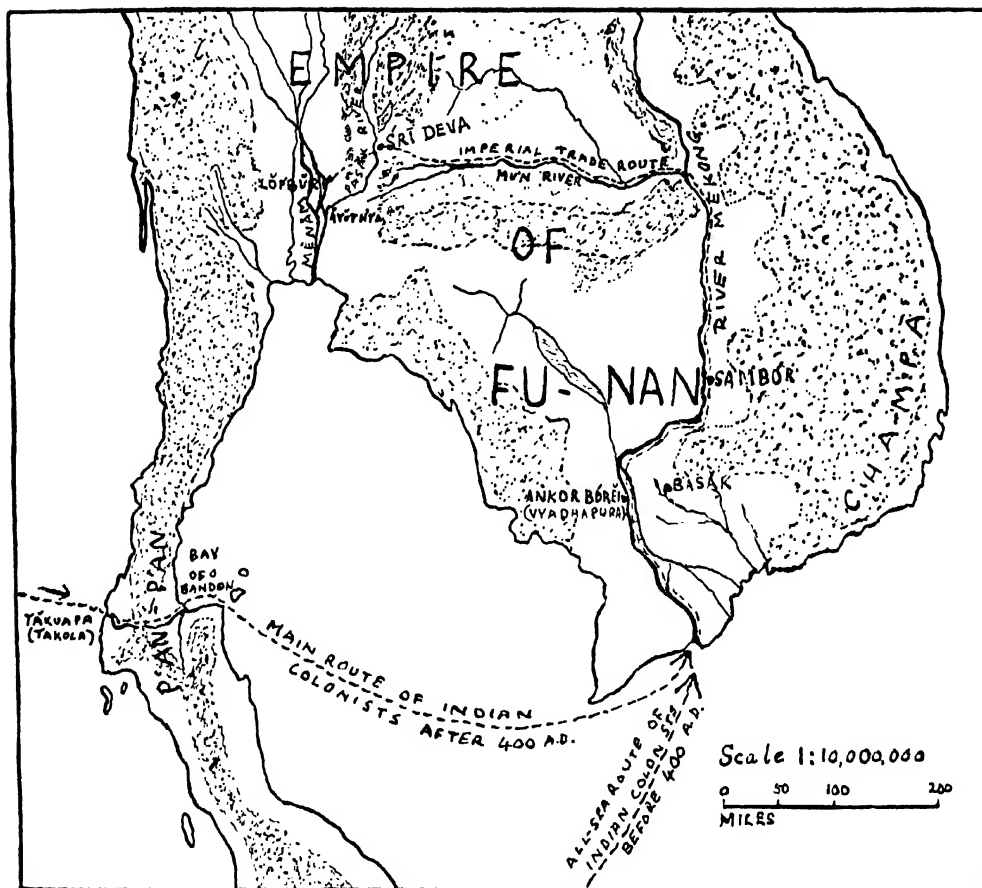


FIG. I.—MAP OF PART OF INDOCHINA SHOWING POSITION OF SRI DEVA.

Author's copyright reserved.

The Exploration of Sri Deva

Kēngk'ōi, at which point the Pasāk flows out into the valley of the Mēnām and eventually joins this river at Āyūth'ya.

The relative inaccessibility of the Pasāk valley, coupled perhaps with its unenviable reputation for fever, seems to account for the fact that prior to our coming the city of Śrī Deva had never been visited by a European archæologist. And yet its unhealthy climate is the very factor which brought about the discovery of the city, an event which occurred as long ago as 1905, and was due to the indefatigable attention to duty of H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rājanubhāb. Quite recently, at his house in Penang, he gave me the details of this discovery. It appears that at that time the province of P'ēc'ābun, which includes the greater part of the Pasāk valley, was considered so unhealthy that it was difficult to find officials willing to accept administrative posts in this region. And so it came about that Prince Damrong, being then Minister of the Interior, resolved to make a tour of the province in order to make a personal inquiry into conditions there. He set out from P'īṣṇulok with the object of reaching P'ēc'ābun town, the headquarters of the province of that name. But as soon as he reached the hills which form the watershed between the valleys of the Mēnām and Pasāk rivers, he encountered his first difficulties in that the men he had brought from P'īṣṇulok refused to cross into the Pasāk valley. At length he persuaded them to follow his example and risk the journey, and in due course he reached P'ēc'ābun town. He then continued his journey southward along the valley of the Pasāk until he reached a large village named Ban Wīc'ien. Being, of course, interested in archæology, Prince Damrong here inquired if there were any ancient remains in the vicinity, but apparently no one had any information to give on the subject. The behaviour of the people when questioned was such that the Prince suspected that they were withholding information for fear of being obliged to act as his guides, for, as he afterwards found, the actual neighbourhood of Śrī Deva had such an exceedingly evil reputation that even people who resided in the Pasāk valley at no great distance away would not go near the ancient city. Then Prince Damrong called the villagers together and pointed out to them that it was a national duty to inform the government of the existence of any ancient remains. At last one man stepped forward and said that there were ruins two days' journey further south. "Then lead me there," said Prince Damrong, and within that time he reached Śrī Deva. He stayed three days, sufficient only to make a superficial examination, and then passed on down the valley to continue his official tour. Two years later, in 1907, Mr. F. H. Giles, as he told me recently in Bangkok, also travelled down the Pasāk valley on an official journey in the course of which he actually entered the city of Śrī Deva. But, not being then as interested in archæological

The Exploration of Śrī Deva

matters as he afterwards became, he took no particular note of what he saw.

The first mention of Śrī Deva in print occurs in 1909,¹ Lajonquière having seen a statue originating from this city in the museum at Āyūth'ya. But this always careful observer was himself unable to make the journey to Śrī Deva, and the hearsay information he placed on record is too inaccurate to be worth reproducing here. In 1916 a certain C. S. Braddock² published a photograph of the Khmer *dvārapāla* (giant) from Śrī Deva that was afterwards brought to the Bangkok Museum.

In February, 1925, Śrī Deva narrowly missed being visited by Lieut.-Colonel J. P. Andersen, a Danish officer of the Siamese provincial gendarmerie, when on an official tour to the valley, which he reached from Lōp'būri by the route we afterwards followed. "Some distance from Bua Chum," he wrote, "towards the east are the sites of other old towns, Muang Nong-yai-daw and Muang Poendin-tong. The villagers declared that there was nothing to see there, and as it was too much out of my way, I did not go to these places. But to my regret I now discovered that at Ban Na-ta-krut I had missed the best of all. Only between two and three kilometres east of the village are the ruins of an ancient city called Muang Apaisalee [Śrī Deva]. The people of Bua Chum, who pretended to know about the place, said there were ruins of buildings and walls, and that broken statuary was lying about in the jungle. The account they gave me seemed exaggerated, but was corroborated by the guide and another man who had come with me from Ban Na-ta-krut. It was not blessings I, in my thoughts, sent the people of Ban Na-ta-krut; not one of them had mentioned a word about this to myself or any of my men when I was in their village. However, it could not be helped; to go back was out of the question, so after having spent the next day in Bua Chum, I continued my south-west journey on Friday, the 13th of February."³ Knowing the reticence of the local people on the subject of Śrī Deva, only penetrated by Prince Damrong himself with considerable difficulty, one can sympathize with the Lieutenant-Colonel for having missed so much.

A torso of the same type as that seen by Lajonquière and also originating from Śrī Deva was preserved for some years in the Ministry of Interior at Bangkok, and these two pieces, together with three more collected at Śrī Deva by the local officials acting on the orders of Prince Damrong during the years 1926-1929, were finally placed in the National Museum after that institution had been founded in 1926. One of these Indian images was published

¹ *B.C.A.I.*, 1909, pp. 198-200, and Fig. 3.

² *The Royal Sala of Siam*, in the *Log of the Circumnavigators' Club*, Jan.-Feb., 1916, p. 24.

³ *J.S.S.*, Vol. XX., p. 162.

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by M. Cœdès in *Ars Asiatica*, XII., 1928, while he published the others in *Mélanges Linossier*, 1932. These sculptures are as follows :

No. 1. Male torso, height 1 ft. 4½ in., *Mélanges Linossier*, Plate XII (right).

No. 2. Fragmentary male figure, height 3 ft. 2½ in., *Mélanges Linossier*, Plate XII (left).

No. 3. Torso of *yakṣī* [?], height 2 ft. 4¼ in., *Ars Asiatica*, XII, Plate VII.

No. 4. Male figure, height 6 ft. 10¼ in., *Mélanges Linossier*, Plate X.

No. 5. Male figure, height 3 ft. 11½ in., *Mélanges Linossier*, Plate XI.

In his *Note sur quelques sculptures de Sridev*,¹ M. Cœdès has described in detail the characteristics and affinities of these sculptures. He remarks that from the purely æsthetic point of view they are in every way remarkable works of art. They are the productions of artists in full possession of the technique of their medium, while the beauty of their modelling and the ease and nobility of their posture place them amongst the finest Indian sculptures in Indochina. In comparing them with the earliest Primitive Khmer (Pre-Khmer) images, M. Cœdès notices the following differences: The costume, so clearly represented in Primitive Khmer statues, is here barely indicated; the headdress, instead of being completely cylindrical, is flattened behind or is vaguely octagonal; the head, with its massive features, is mounted on a bull-neck such as is never seen in a Primitive Khmer statue; the thighs, more clearly detached from one another, recall the Indian anatomy; but above all one is struck by the triple flexion of the body, and indeed one must go to India or Java to find such a clear application of the *tribhāṅga* formula.

M. Cœdès thus clearly distinguishes these sculptures from the earliest Primitive Khmer images, and, in remarking how clearly they recall the Indian canon of the Gupta period, he considers that they date from the fifth or sixth century A.D. He goes on to say that their presence in the heart of Indochina is a sure guarantee that at the same epoch similar images must have existed in neighbouring countries; and he states that in helping us to form an idea of the nature of the statuary of Fu-nan, which, apart perhaps from the Buddhas of Añkor Bórëi,² has been submerged by Khmer statuary, they furnish the link that was missing between the latter and the Indian sculpture of the Gupta period. The finding of these early sculptures so far from the sea, in a valley difficult of access, led M. Cœdès to marvel at the force of the expansion of Indian civilization, which had not only touched the coasts, as one would have

¹ *Mélanges Linossier*, pp. 159-164.

² Groslier, "Note sur la sculpture khmère ancienne," in *Études Asiatiques*, Vol. I., pp. 297-314.

The Exploration of Śrī Deva

been tempted to believe, but had pushed as far as the centre of Indochina, with its learned language, its writing, its religion and its art. And he wonders whether Śrī Deva was a vassal state of Fu-nan or an independent kingdom.

Before leaving the subject of the Indian sculptures that were already known from Śrī Deva, I shall take the opportunity of here placing on record the existence of a sixth sculpture which is housed in the Bangkok National Museum, but does not appear to have been published. For that reason I publish it here (Plate III, 3) as No. 6, male figure, with nimbus, height 3 ft. 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

Lajonquière was the first to draw attention to a fragmentary stone inscription which he saw in Bangkok and erroneously described as a *linga* originating from C'āiya.¹ It was subsequently shown that the stone in fact came from Śrī Deva, but the Siamese claim that this nail-shaped object represents a *lāk mu'o'ng*, or foundation stone of the city, appears to be baseless. M. Finot² assigned this inscription to the fifth or sixth century, an opinion with which M. Cœdès³ agrees. In a recent article, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra⁴ assigns the record to the fifth century, but, as we shall see later, Dr. L. D. Barnett prefers the first quarter of the sixth century. The text does not yield any coherent sense, but Dr. Chhabra remarks that the mention of Kānīnarṣi (*i.e.*, Vyāsa) points at least to its Brahmanical nature.

Besides the Indian inscription and the sculptures enumerated, the *dvāra-pāla* above mentioned⁵ of the style of the Bayon was also brought from Śrī Deva, and this enabled M. Cœdès rightly to conclude that the city had been reoccupied by the Khmers at a late period. A fragment of a statue of Nandi, also in the Bangkok Museum, is another object of Khmer workmanship from Śrī Deva.

One can appreciate the regret which M. Cœdès tells us he feels that during his residence in Siam circumstances were continually opposed to his visiting a site which had always excited his curiosity. In 1931 another French archæologist, M. Clæys,⁶ when making a tour of Siam, recognized the primordial importance of the sculptures from Śrī Deva, at the same time regretting that a site so difficult of access was beyond the reach of archæologists *en mission*. But it was clear that the remarkable nature of the sculptures amply justified the organization of a special expedition with the object of discovering what architectural and other ancient remains might exist at Śrī Deva; and it was such an expedition that last winter I was privileged to carry out.

¹ *B.C.A.I.*, 1909, p. 228.

² *Mélanges Linossier*, p. 162.

³ *Mélanges Linossier*, Pl. XIV.

⁴ *B.C.A.I.*, 1910, p. 152, No. 16.

⁵ *J.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. I., 1935, p. 55, and Pl. VII.

⁶ *L'Archéologie du Siam*, p. 42.

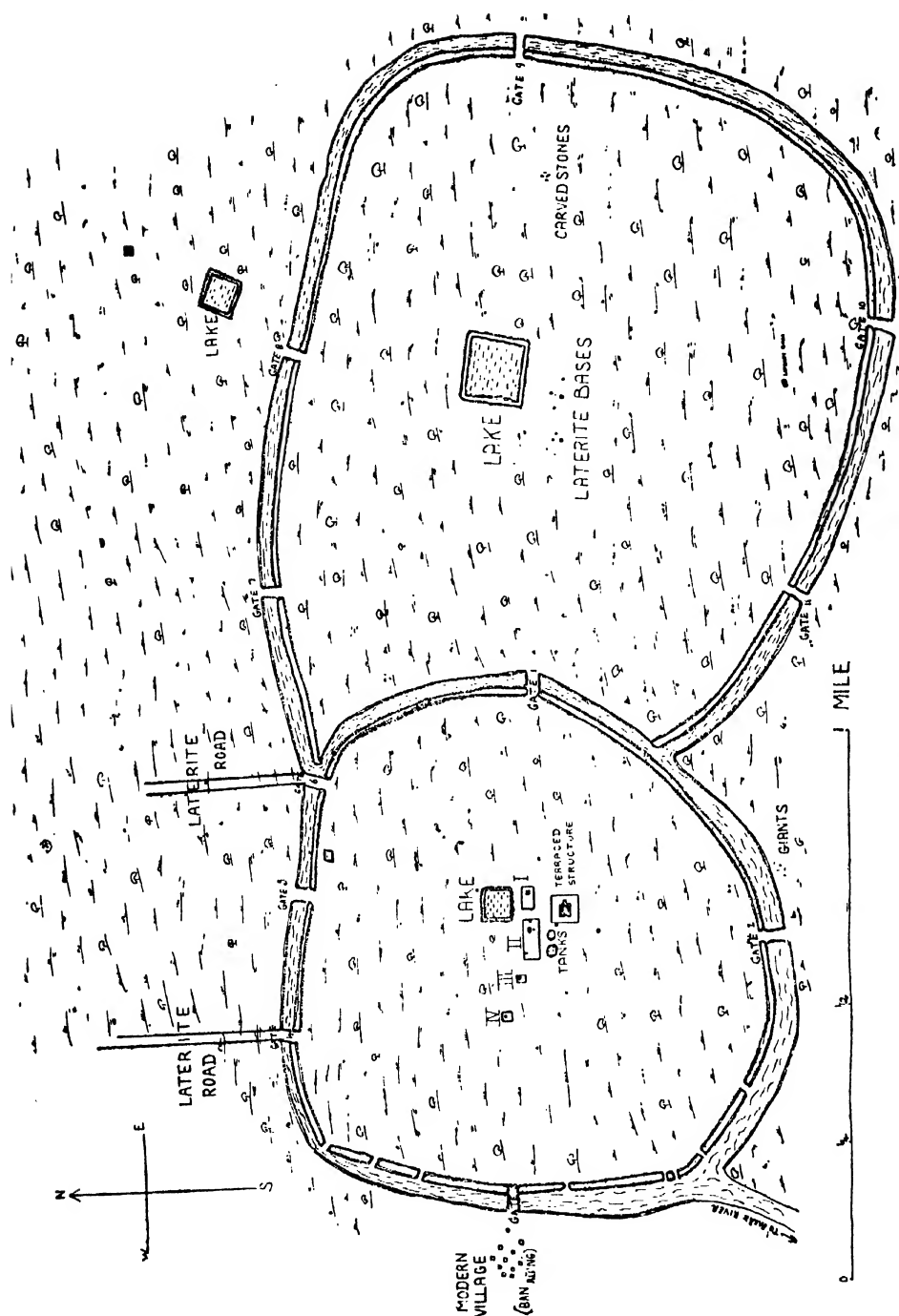


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF THE CITY OF SRI DEVA.

Author's copyright restored.

The Exploration of Sri Deva

II. THE ANCIENT CITY

I shall not here dilate on the details of the journey, all the space at my disposal being required for archæological matters. I need only give the salient facts : We started north-eastwards from Löp'būri on February 14, 1936, with two motor-lorries. At K'ok Sāmrong, however, after the first day's journey, these had to be exchanged for bullock-carts, the unusually late rains having made the use of lorries impossible after that point. Then followed a slow and rather difficult journey lasting five days, across a thin and monotonous jungle of deciduous trees just bursting into leaf, the ground being swampy for the first two days, afterwards dry and sandy or stony. On the third day the P'ěč'ābun hills were crossed by a low but rocky pass, and on the fourth the Pasāk gorge was negotiated, Śrī Deva being reached on the fifth day. In the height of the dry season, or even in January or February after a season of normal rains, the Pasāk valley could probably be reached from Löp'būri in two days by lorry, though unless the cart track is put into better condition a few places might cause trouble *en route*. Bullock-carts would then only be required for the last few miles of the journey, a state of affairs that must persist until the Pasāk river is spanned by a properly constructed bridge.

The city of Śrī Deva lies in thin laterite jungle, except on its western side, where there is a considerable area of padi land cultivated by the villagers of Ban Bū'ng. I shall now describe the main features of the city as shown on the plan (Fig. 2), which we made from a compass traverse, and which is, of course, only approximately accurate. An aerial survey, which I hope may some day be made, would be a very valuable and eminently desirable further elucidation. The plan of the city is unlike that of any other in Indo-China and is typically Indian. But it should be added that none of the Primitive Khmer cities of Cambodia, some of which might be expected to follow this plan, appear as yet to have been mapped. It consists of a main city, about a mile square, on to the eastern side of which has been built a subsidiary city of considerably greater area. It is obvious at a glance that the larger city is the subsidiary one, if for no other reason because its ramparts abut on to the original moat of the smaller city and it has no western rampart of its own. This method of extending an Indian city by building a large ward or *mahalla* on to one side of the existing city was technically known in architectural treatises as *dāmada*. The new enclosure was intended either to accommodate the lower castes expelled from the main city, or else as an emporium. In India the city of Purī is believed to furnish an example of this type of extension.¹ Both the main and subsidiary cities are surrounded by a rampart of earth and laterite, about 20 feet high, 60 to 90 feet broad at the

¹ B. B. Dutt, *Town Planning in Ancient India*, 1925, p. 134.

base, and 15 to 30 feet broad at the top. No doubt the rampart was originally surmounted by a stockade, and the surface of the rampart is in many places littered with coarse potsherds, probably indicating the sites of the dwellings of the soldiers who guarded the city. The south-eastern part of the rampart of the main city is low or almost non-existent, it having no doubt been either allowed to fall into disrepair or intentionally reduced in height after the subsidiary city had been built. The moat varies in breadth up to 300 feet. The water was stagnant, but we were informed that in the rainy season the surplus water flows out by the stream which leaves the south-west corner of the main city and flows into the Pasāk river. The main city was presumably intended to be square, a shape that was considered to be the best for cities in ancient India, but though the *sthapati*, or master-builder, was always careful to fix the position of the main gates at the cardinal points, the workmen usually did their best to cut off the corners. The gates, now represented merely by gaps in the rampart, are numbered 1 to 11 on the plan, and are usually about 60 feet wide. The original gates of the main city are probably those at the cardinal points, the two additional ones on the northern side having probably been opened by the Khmers, since broad laterite roads, raised 3 feet above flood level, lead some distance towards a Khmer terraced structure situated about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles north of the main city. Some of the gates have local names, among which may be mentioned the Water Gate (No. 8) and the Gate of the Dead (No. 10). The moat opposite the gates is in every case spanned by earth causeways, but all trace of water channels through these causeways has long since disappeared. The western rampart is pierced by a number of narrow breaks probably intended to carry off the city drainage, the slope of the land being in that direction. Near the centre of the subsidiary city there is a lake about 200 yards broad, surrounded by a low embankment, two other similarly constructed lakes, but only of about half the size of the one first mentioned, being situated near the centre of the main city and about 200 yards outside Gate 8 respectively.

The plan of the city as so far described, with the exception of Gates 4 and 6 with their laterite roads, seems to retain the original features of the Indian period. We must now be careful to distinguish between the monuments of the Indian and Khmer periods. We may dismiss the subsidiary city quite quickly because it contains no monuments other than a few laterite bases scattered along the site of what would appear to have been the main street running from west to east through the city. They are probably the basements of poor wooden temples frequented by the lower castes, and, whatever their period of origin, they were certainly adapted for use by the

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Khmers, for in two or three cases *lingas* of Khmer type were found *in situ*. Towards Gate 9 were found a broken bas-relief and the remains of two stone pillars, all of Khmer workmanship, which undoubtedly belonged to one of the temples in the main city, and had at some time been transported to this spot and there deposited. They were held in high veneration by the villagers.

Turning now to the consideration of the main city, a noteworthy point is that, whereas the subsidiary city contains only open laterite jungle with tall forest trees and little undergrowth in the manner common to this district in general, the jungle of the main city consists largely of dense bamboo thickets, interspersed with larger trees. In accordance with the usual plan of Indian cities it would appear that the main temples, the council house and the palace were grouped together in the centre, the rest of the area having been given up to the wooden dwellings of the various castes. Of these, as of the council house and palace, no trace remains at Śrī Deva, owing to the perishable nature of the materials from which they were constructed, but a possible site for the palace is the western side of the lake, which does not appear to have been otherwise occupied. Along the northern side of the apparent site of the main street are a number of tower-like brick temples, built on extensive earth platforms raised about 3 feet above ground level, which platforms must also have accommodated numerous wooden pavilions, of which the laterite bases occasionally remain. Temple II was the chief sanctuary of the Indian period, situated at the centre of the city, but unfortunately only the lower parts of its walls remain, and it has been built over by a Khmer *prang*. To us, therefore, Temple I is the most important building, for it is purely Indian and remains in tolerably good preservation, and I shall have more to say about it in the next section. Nos. III and IV are ruined Khmer *prangs* of minor importance. South of Temple II are two small water tanks, and to the south-east of them rises a large terraced laterite structure, a kind of artificial mountain or Kailāsa, such as the Khmers liked to build at the centres of their cities. In this case the centre was already occupied, so they built it as near as they could. They also built a larger structure of the same kind outside the city about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles north of Gate 5. Nearly half a mile south-east of this second laterite terraced structure are two lakes which were probably dug by the Khmers. About 450 yards north-east of Gate 8 there is a small laterite structure of Khmer origin, and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles north of that gate there is a well-preserved Khmer *prang*, known locally as the *prang rīṣi*, the hermit's tower, but to which I shall refer in future as Temple V.

We were able to trace the provenance of some of the Indian images that had previously been removed to the Bangkok Museum, and of which no exact record had been kept. The so-called *yakṣī* (No. 3) and one large male statue

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(probably No. 4) had been found together lying outside the city in the jungle about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile east of Gate 9. Two other statues, presumably Nos. 5 and 6, were said to have been found a short distance outside Gate 3. It will be seen later that one of the statues found by us was also lying a considerable distance outside the city, and the evidence thus points to the conclusion that the Khmers, who were Śiva worshippers, had in many cases thrown the Vaiṣṇava Indian images out of the city and often mutilated them as well. The Khmer *dvārapālas*, however, of which one had been removed to the Bangkok Museum as already stated, and the fragments of several more of which were found by us outside Gate 2, had probably guarded the city gate in the manner of those at Ankor Thom.

The position of several of the objects found by us will be mentioned in later sections, but the opportunity may be taken here of dealing with a few small objects of uncertain period, to which it will not be necessary to refer again. It may be mentioned that even a place so remote as Śrī Deva had not entirely escaped the attention of the treasure-seekers, and the base of one or two of the Khmer *prangs* had been dug into, without success, we were told, by the local people. One man, however, showed us a place about 300 feet south-west of the Khmer terraced structure in the city, where there were the remains of a laterite structure and various worked stones. Here he indicated a spot where he had dug and found at a depth of about 3 feet a dozen crystal beads and a sheet of gold. Of these objects only two of the beads could be produced for inspection, and it is impossible to say to which period they belong. A small bronze fragment, length $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. (Fig. 9), which a man said had been found lying on the ground near Temple I is probably of Khmer workmanship and may be a portion of the harness of a horse.

The position of one of the two small modern villages located in the vicinity will be observed on the plan, namely, Ban Bū'ng, situated just outside Gate 3, the other, Ban Śi T'ep, being situated about a quarter of a mile distant from the north-east corner of the subsidiary city. Both villages have their adjoining padi fields, but Ban Bū'ng would appear to have the pleasanter situation and a better water supply. Not knowing our relative position when we arrived, we encamped outside Gate 8 and remained there for the whole of our stay of three weeks, obtaining supplies and labour from Ban Śi T'ep and our water from the moat, which was then drying up, but appeared preferable to that which remained in the lake. But those who follow us to Śrī Deva may find a camp near Ban Bū'ng preferable, with its more adequate water supply and readier access to the main ruins. We noticed that while exceedingly voracious mosquitoes swarm near the water's edge, they give little trouble if one camps even as little as 50 yards from the water. We did not observe the

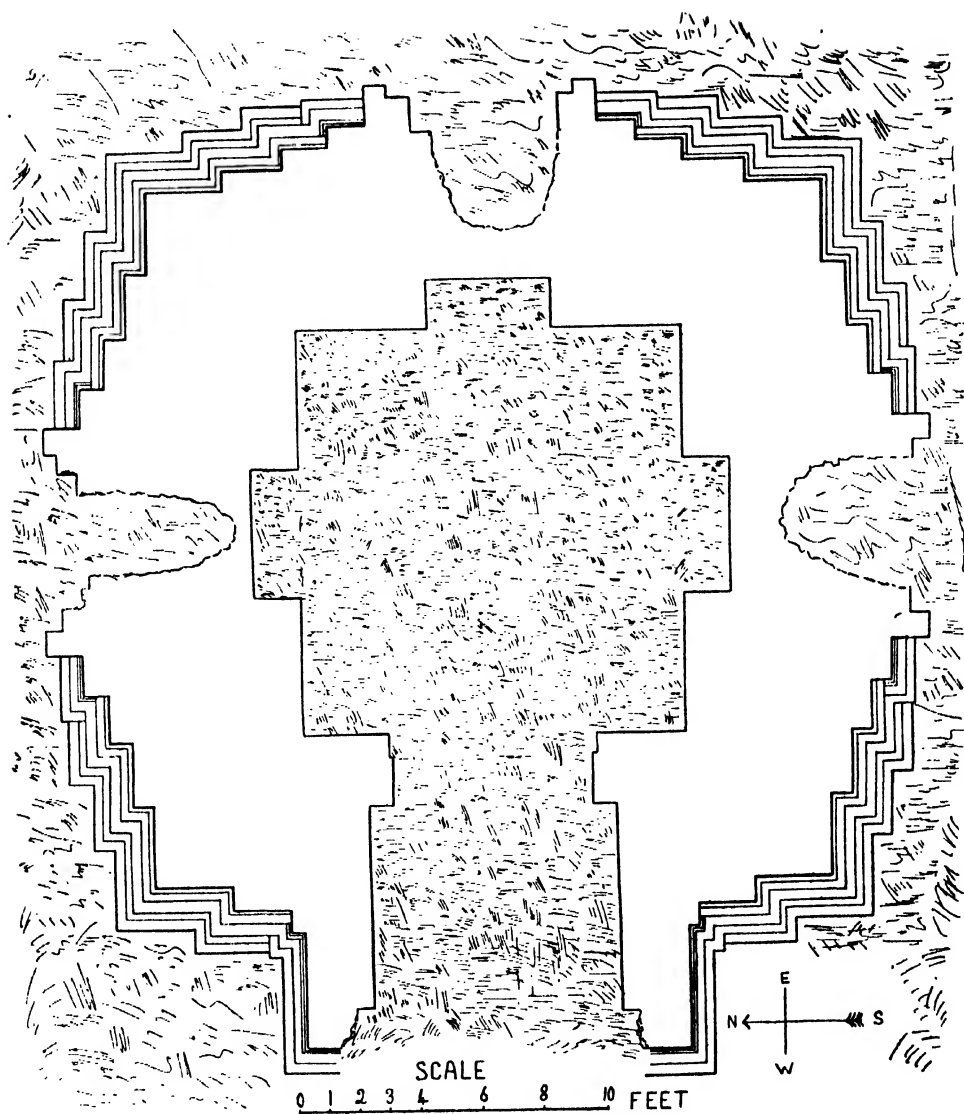


FIG. 3.—TEMPLE 1: GROUND PLAN.

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presence of *Anopheles*, but the villagers confirmed the truth of the well-known saying that only those born in the Pasāk valley can tolerate a prolonged residence there.

III. THE INDIAN BUILDINGS

I now propose to consider in some detail Temple I (Plates I and II), which, as I have said, is the only more or less complete building of the Indian period. Though almost the simplest possible sanctuary-tower, it is nevertheless an impressive structure of restrained and dignified architecture. Its dimensions and structural details are shown on the accompanying plan and section (Figs. 3 and 4). The building is erected on a rectangular laterite basement about 20 feet high, which though ruined shows signs of having been terraced, apparently with stairways at the cardinal points. At its foot this laterite basement measures 40 by 46 feet, its long axis running east to west. This basement stands towards the eastern end of an extensive earth platform raised 3 feet above ground level and measuring 200 by 146 feet, its long axis running east to west. The brick tower itself is about 40 feet high; that is to say, its summit is about 63 feet above ground level. It is square in plan with an entrance porch opening towards the west and three false porches on the other sides. The cornice is much ruined, and above that the tower consists of two receding stages of reduced height with false niches and other elements which repeat on a smaller scale the structural features of the main portion of the tower, and are reminiscent of a storied wooden building. The porches, true (Plate II, 1) and false, are in a ruinous condition, so that it is not possible to say whether originally there were pillars and lintels, but if there were these may have been of brick. The Khmers, in converting the shrine into a Śiva temple, put in stone door frames of the usual type, ringed octagonal pillars and a lintel of type III from which the central figure had been torn out (Plate VI, 3). But as all these objects have long ago fallen out of position and are lying near the foot of the laterite basement, the temple has almost its original Indian appearance. With them were found other pieces of Khmer stonework, including four broken wedge-shaped *pièces d'accent* (?), length of each, 3 ft. 5 in., ornamented with lotus-bud motives (Fig. 7), and fragments of the hemispherical stone cap, with a socket for a pointed terminal, which had crowned the tower in the Khmer period. Presumably in the Indian period the summit was closed by a corbelled vault. Traces of a coat of stucco remain on the outside of the building, but there is no sign of pilasters or other ornamentation (Plate II, 2). The bricks were well baked and better laid than those of the Khmer *prangs* at Śrī Deva, but not so well laid as those of Cham buildings. Typical measurements were $12\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7'' \times 3''$; $13'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$; $14'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$, a size which recalls the Dvāravatī period bricks of P'ong Tūk

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and Nāk'ôn Păthôm, but is larger than those of any early site we examined in the Peninsula last year, except those of Khău P'ră No', a shrine which, as I shall have occasion to mention again later, I am now inclined to think possesses affinities with the Indian buildings of Śrī Deva.

We may now make an examination of the interior of the sanctuary which rises in *encorbellements successifs*, a system which, though it continues to be found in many buildings of advanced type, when found in staged buildings appears to me to be more primitive than the simple pyramidal vault, because it bears a definite relationship to the exterior stages of the building and thus recalls a period of wooden architecture during which these stages were real and not fictitious storeys. The first stage, or true sanctuary, rises about 21 feet 6 inches above the laterite floor, but at about half this height an encorbelled brick ledge runs round the interior of the sanctuary. This ledge supports the remains of a timber ceiling which thus had the effect of reducing by half what, but for what were evidently considered to be structural necessities, would appear to have been the available height of the sanctuary. Above this ceiling are wall sockets, some still containing the ends of rafters intended to strengthen the walls. At the bases of the upper stages there are also the remains of timber ceilings. Probably the original timbers were all replaced by the Khmers when they restored the building. There is a complete absence of such typical Primitive Khmer adjuncts as stone hooks for the support of the rafters, nor is there any sign of a *somasūtra* ever having existed. Such a typically Primitive Khmer appliance as the latter would have found no place in the originally Indian Vaiṣṇava shrine, nor would it have been installed by the Khmers of the classical period, in whose temples it is never found. A very important feature of the interior of Temple I, which, though considered here last, strikes one immediately one enters the sanctuary, is the presence of *niches lumineuses*, which I believe to be a most primitive feature (Plate II, 3). These are, in my opinion, a direct survival of wooden architectural forms, harking back to those wooden pavilions which, as befits a hot climate, were open to every breeze that blew, and which indeed may still be seen in any modern temple compound. When the transition to brick architecture took place it was necessary to fill in three of the entrances in order to support the weight of the building, but, though that closely related primitive feature the false porch survives into the latest periods of Indo-chinese architecture, the interior *niche lumineuse* survives only in some Primitive Khmer and some Cham buildings, never in Classical Khmer architecture.

To sum up, the most striking feature of this building is that it is completely lacking in all the distinguishing features of later forms of architecture in Indochina. Its generally simple and undifferentiated structure is such that

we must place it considerably earlier than any other known Hindu building in Indochina—that is to say, at latest the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. It is *not* Indochinese, but is definitely Indian; a fact which Dr. Stella Kramrisch immediately recognized when she was recently examining my photographs, and she considers that the building in India of which it is most strongly reminiscent is the brick temple at Bhitargaon in the Cawnpore district which dates from the fifth or sixth century. And it is very important for me to insist here that the early and purely Indian character of Temple I can be definitely established on architectural considerations *alone*. It is not necessary to fall back on the additional argument that Indian sculptures and inscriptions have also been found at Śrī Deva; and indeed such an argument would not certainly tend to strengthen my contention, because none of these objects is actually found *in situ* or in direct relationship to the building. To rely entirely on such an argument would allow room for the criticism that perhaps these undoubtedly Indian sculptures and inscriptions were housed in contemporary wooden buildings of which all trace has disappeared, the suggestion at the same time being made that Temple I is a Primitive Khmer structure of the seventh or eighth century. As it is, such a possible criticism has been disposed of by showing that the building lacks all the distinguishing features of even the most Primitive Khmer temple, but if an additional check is needed one might surely be justified in asking the supposed critic whether, had there been a Primitive Khmer period of occupation, one might not expect to find possibly an inscription of that period or at any rate at least one sculpture of Primitive Khmer type? As a matter of fact, besides definitely Indian sculptures and inscriptions, we find only sculptures of the Classical Khmer period of reoccupation.

It will now be of interest to compare Śrī Deva Temple I with Wāt Kêu, C'ăi-ya, Peninsular Siam, a building which I discussed last year.¹ Apart from resemblances of a general nature, it is particularly interesting to note the existence in Wāt Kêu of two early structural features that we have noticed at Śrī Deva—namely, the construction of the interior vault by means of *encorbellements successifs* and the presence of *niches lumineuses*.² I stated last year that I saw in Wāt Kêu and certain other temples at C'ăi-ya and Năk'ôn Śrī Th'ammārat the survival of an early Indian type of colonial architecture combining in itself the basic features of cubic Cham, Pre-Khmer and Javanese styles. However, these buildings have been much modified by a later wave of Indian colonization (see *infra*, p. 95) and by evolution, nor could they altogether have escaped the effects of reflux influences. But when examining

¹ INDIAN ART AND LETTERS, Vol. IX., No. 1, p. 21.

² Claeys, *Archéologie du Siam*, Fig. 43.

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them I did not expect that within little more than six months I should have the good fortune to find myself face to face with their earliest prototype, the former existence of which I had tacitly assumed. I now propose to regard Śrī Deva Temple I as an actually existing example of this prototype, the earliest ancestral form not only of the Pre-Khmer type, but also, as such connecting links as Phô-hài (situated north of the mouth of the Mekong) indicate, of Cham and Javanese architecture as well. It might be convenient to coin a distinguishing name for Śrī Deva Temple I and its associated Indian sculptures, together with the prototype of the buildings mentioned at C'äiya and Nak'ôn Śrī Th'ammārat and the prototypes of such sculptures as the T'äkuapa and Wieng Srā Viṣṇus,¹ and I suggest the term "Art of Kaunḍinya." Kaunḍinya, of course, was the Indian Brahman who, according to the Liang Shu, journeyed via P'an-p'an, the state in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, about the end of the fourth century A.D. to Fu-nan, where he was responsible for the complete Indianization of that country. This need not be taken too literally, but such a term as I propose vividly suggests the course via the T'äkuapa-C'äiya transpeninsular route which Indian cultural expansion seems largely to have made use of from about this time, although it should be added that the "Art of Kaunḍinya" only represents a portion of that great movement of Indian culture which I shall characterize below (p. 91) as the "second wave."

I now approach the delicate task of challenging the generally accepted theory of so great an authority as M. Parmentier. In fact, I had already set forth upon this adventure last year,² but from the standpoint of general conviction only, whereas subsequent researches have put me in a position to marshal new and, I think, more definitely convincing facts. M. Parmentier sums up his views on the "Origine commune des Architectures Hindoues dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient"³ in five clauses which I propose to quote *verbatim* :

"1. L'élément commun de tous les arts indiens d'Extrême-Orient : (a) est l'art ancien de l'Inde en construction légère ; (b) transporté dans sa forme primitive ou dans un des aspects successifs qu'il a pu prendre dans l'Inde.

"2. Cet art ainsi importé à des stades différents de son évolution, s'est développé plus ou moins dans chaque pays et suivant des conditions différentes.

"3. Fixé dans une forme en matériaux durables, celle-ci a pu évoluer à son tour, tandis que l'art léger continuait à son côté, une existence parallèle et, ignoré de nous, a pu encore à l'occasion réagir sur la forme durable, la seule qui nous soit parvenue.

¹ INDIAN ART AND LETTERS, Vol. IX., Part 1, Plate II 1 ; *Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XII. Plate IX.

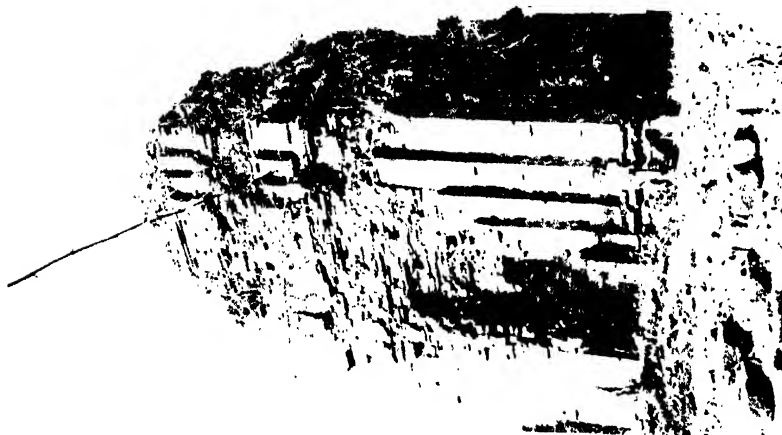
² INDIAN ART AND LETTERS, Vol. IX., Part 1, pp. 1-2.

³ *Études Asiatiques*, Vol. II., pp. 218-219.



1.—TEMPLE 1, SOUTHEAST CORNER.

The Expedition of Sir David.

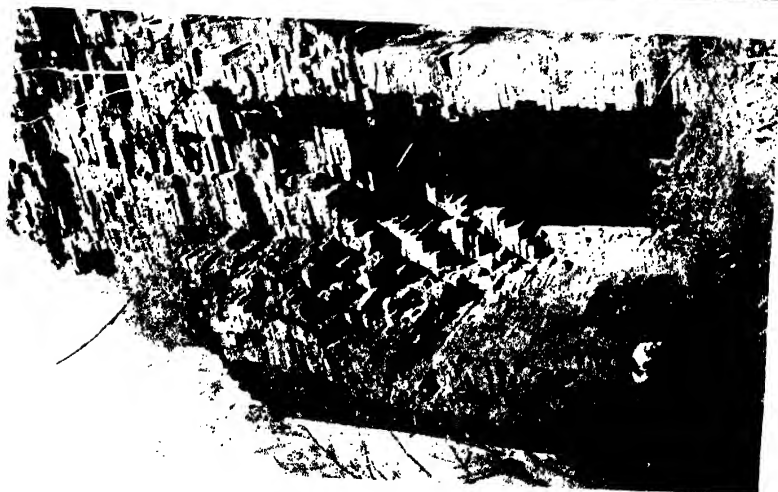


2.—TEMPLE 1, SHOWING EAST WALL AND PORCH.

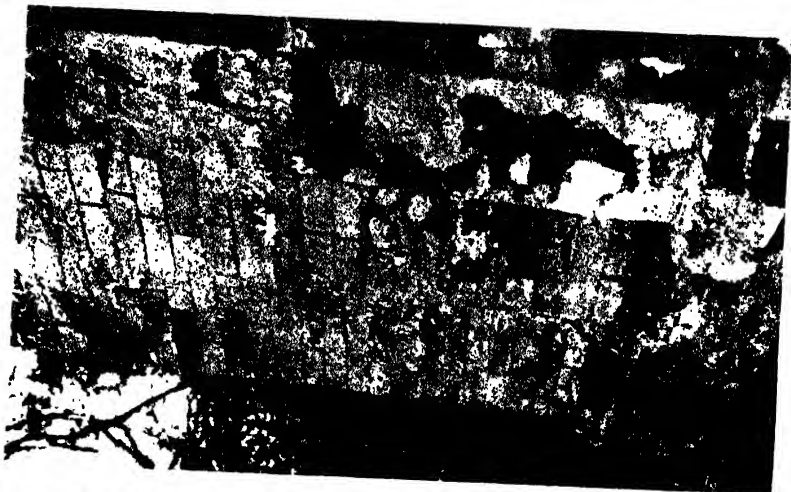


3.—TEMPLE 1, WEST WALL WITH TRUL PORCH.

The Expedition of Sir David.



1.—TEMPLE 1: DETAIL OF THE PORCH.



2.—TEMPLE 1: DETAIL OF WALL AND PLINTH.

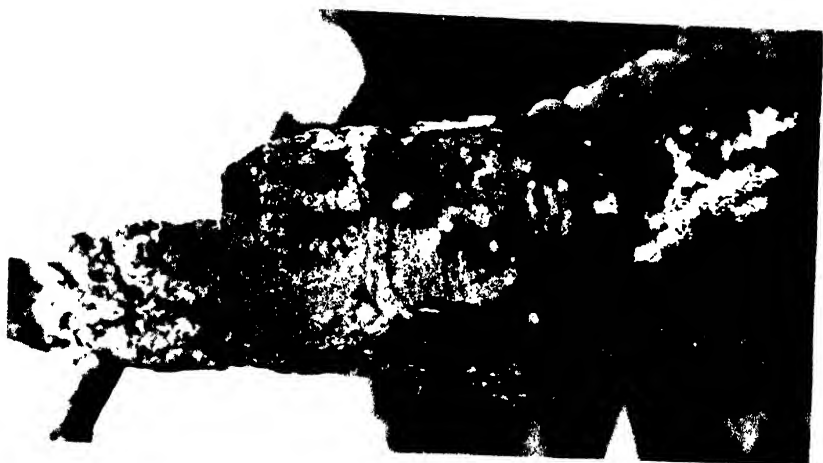


3.—TEMPLE 1: INTERIOR, SHOWING
NICHES LICHENIZED.

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1.—INDIAN IMAGE, NO. 10.



2.—INDIAN IMAGE, NO. 10.



3.—INDIAN IMAGE, NO. 6

The Explanation of Sri Ivesa.

Archeological Survey of India (P. 111, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

PLATE IV



1.—INDIAN IMAGE, NO. 7.



3. INSCRIBED STONE PILLAR.



2.—INDIAN IMAGE, NO. 9.

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4. PORTION 1. THE SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION.



5. CONTINUATION OF THE INSCRIPTION TO RIGHT.



6.—ISOLATED FRAGMENT OF INSCRIPTION.



1. TEMPLE I, SOUTHWEST



2. TEMPLE II, INTERIOR, SHOWING CONTRAST OF INDIAN AND KHMER BRICKWORK.



3. TEMPLE II, FROM THE NORTH-EAST, WITH TEMPLE IV ON LEFT.

PLATE VI



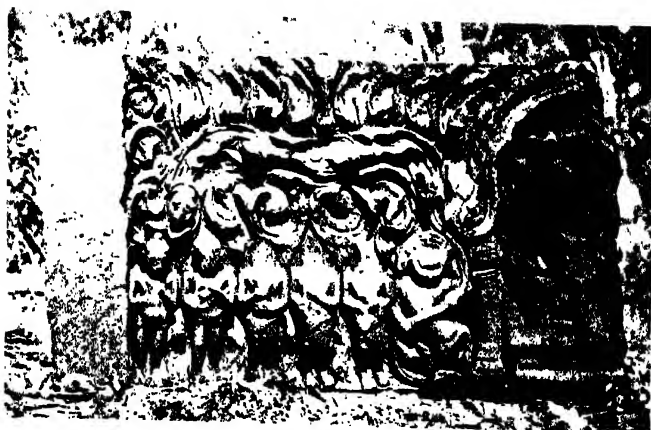
1. TEMPLE V.



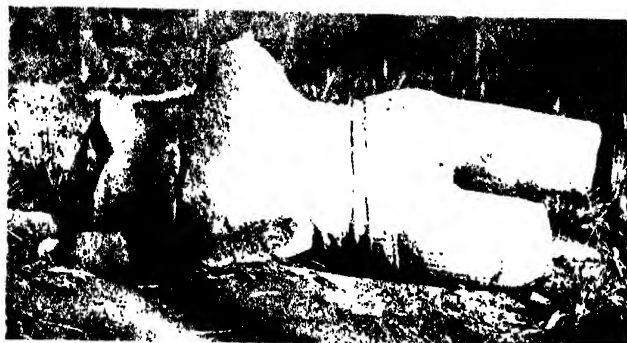
TEMPLE VI PORCH.



3.---KHMER LINTEL FOUND NEAR BASE OF TEMPLE I.



1. PORTION OF KHMER RELIEF.



2. —KHMER *DE ARDRA*.



3. —KHMER *SATYU-PROY*.



3--KIMER ULLAR.



2--LUM, GOD OF FISH.



1--KIMER ZUDU.

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"4. Quelques pays, pour des raisons diverses, n'ont jamais opéré cette fixation relative et la construction légère ou mixte s'y est maintenue. Elle ne nous donne pas d'ailleurs le type primitif importé, à cause des réactions et des transformations locales accumulées pendant tant de siècles.

"5. Une forme indienne massive a pu exister dès l'origine dans l'Inde et être également générative en Extrême-Orient."

In elucidation of which latter clause M. Parmentier explains (*loc. cit.*, p. 223) that even if there did exist in the early times of colonization a massive type of brick building in India, the poor colonists would necessarily have transported only the contemporary perishable form.

In my previous article I admitted that this theory no doubt contains elements of truth. I would even go further here and agree that in all probability every one of the factors mentioned by M. Parmentier has played a part in the evolution of Indochinese architecture. The process must have been infinitely complex, and we must certainly give due weight to the influence of parallel forms of wood architecture only transformed into non-perishable materials at a late stage of their development, the reactions to successive waves of colonization, and the obscuring effects of reflux influences. Indeed, I have nothing but admiration for such a well-reasoned and comfortable working hypothesis, and M. Parmentier is himself the first to admit that it is only hypothesis (*loc. cit.*, p. 223), which, in the absence of the required facts, has done so much to allay so many of our archæological troubles in Indochina. But it is the sweeping nature of this hypothesis that I must combat; and when new facts come to light which do not fit in with all these assumptions, there is no alternative but to restrict the application of M. Parmentier's panacea accordingly.

The first new fact is that in 1932 M. Cœdès discovered that, though none of the sculptures and Indochinese buildings enumerated by M. Parmentier are earlier than the middle of the sixth century, yet two stone inscriptions survive from the Fu-nan period which show that, whatever may have been the case with regard to sculpture and durable architecture, epigraphy is not lacking in the fifth century. And the fact that these early inscriptions are engraved on *pièdes-droits*—i.e., component parts of buildings of non-perishable construction—must have occurred to M. Cœdès when he remarks that the conclusion that epigraphy, the making of stone statues and durable buildings were developments unknown before the Khmers reared their power on the ruins of Fu-nan, is "un de ces arguments *a silentio* qui masquent généralement notre ignorance ou l'insuffisance de notre information."¹

The second new fact which further disturbs this "argument *a silentio*" is the discovery at Sri Deva of a purely Indian brick building of a period so

¹ *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XXXI., p. 1.

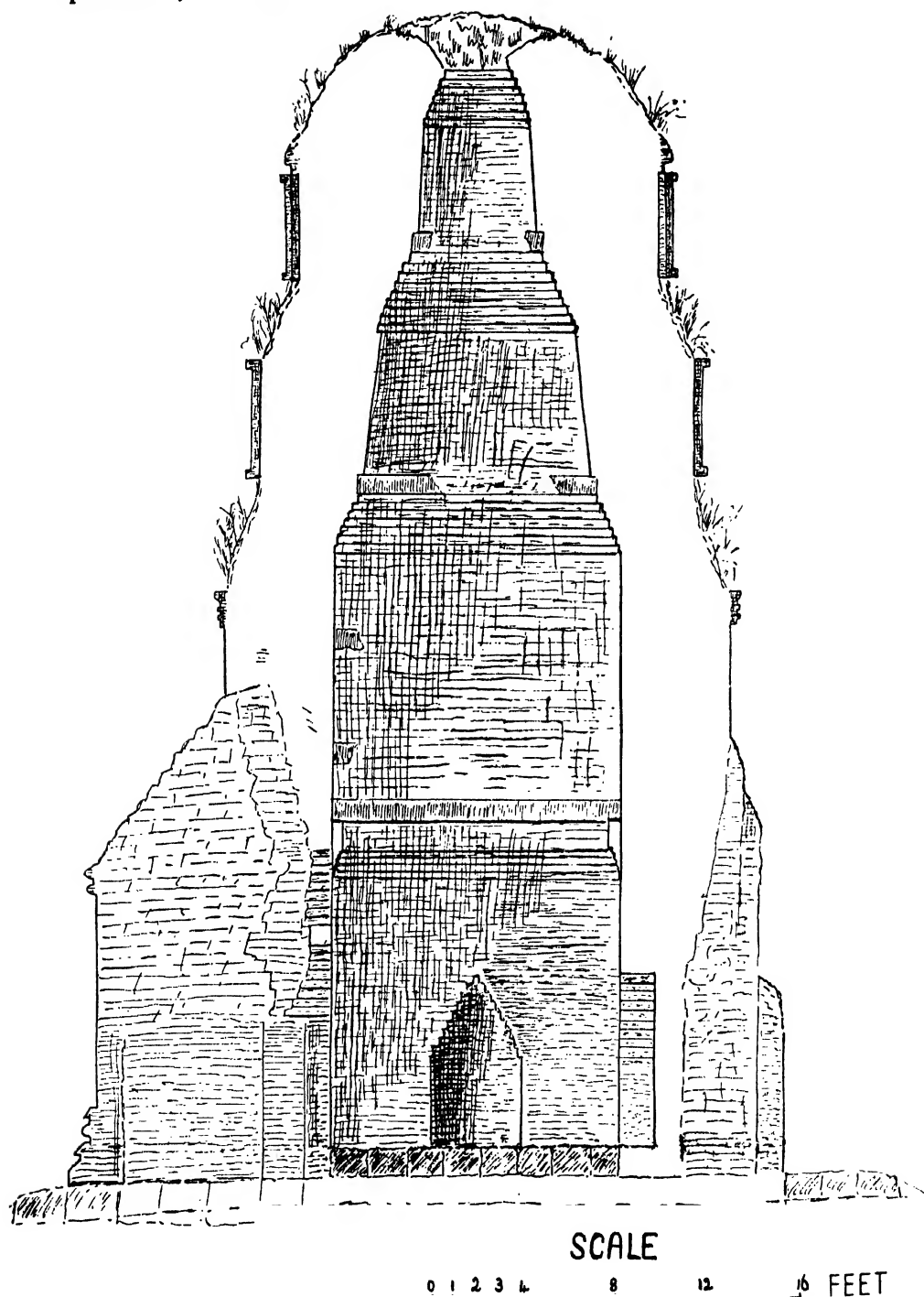


FIG. 4.—TEMPLE 1: MEDIAN SECTION (WEST—EAST).

early and a form so simple that it could well represent the type from which, allowing for the complementary influences referred to above, the various schools of Indochinese architecture could have evolved. It is really irrelevant whether the earliest Indian colonists a few centuries before were building in brick or only in wood as M. Parmentier maintains in his fifth clause. The point is that in the fifth or early sixth century Indian colonists in Indochina, who must still have been in close touch with their mother country, are now proved to have been building unspecialized Indian *brick* temples, making Indian sculptures and writing in a purely Indian script, all of which manifestations are of such a type that they must be placed at the base of Indochinese cultural evolution.

I have now to consider a more recent article by M. Parmentier in which he deals with "L'Art Présumé du Fou-nan."¹ He there advances another hypothesis, which seems scarcely compatible with his earlier views, but which is perhaps prompted by the rather disquieting matter of the inscribed *pièd-droits* mentioned above. In this hypothesis, which I find equally unacceptable, he seeks to establish, amongst other things, that the architecture of Fu-nan is represented today by the buildings previously regarded by him as forming the "simple" type of Primitive Khmer architecture, which is especially characterized by the presence of multiple superior stages each of insignificant height and the absence of both false porches and the corresponding false niches of the upper stages. Now, as everybody agrees, including M. Parmentier in his earlier article,² multiple roofs, being further removed from the primitive true storied wooden architecture than are buildings possessing only a few and more definite fictive stages, are a late feature. Moreover, I have suggested above that the absence of false porches, being another development removed from wood architecture, is also a late feature. Again, although none of these buildings is dated, the fact remains that two of them bear inscriptions which are considered on palæographical evidence to belong to the seventh century A.D., and M. Parmentier's attempt to throw doubt on this evidence is not very convincing.³ And they seem to have been largely associated with Śiva worship, which appears to have had only a minor place in the Fu-nan empire. On the whole, therefore, one might be more inclined to regard this so-called "simple" Primitive Khmer architecture as an unsuccessful and rather decadent offshoot of the main stream of evolution. And the buildings enumerated by M. Parmentier in this article, as intermediate between the "simple" and rich forms, are rather evidence as to the way in which this "simple" offshoot was evolved than *vice versa*, as apparently main-

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII., fasc. 1, pp. 183-189.

² *Études Asiatiques*, Vol. II., p. 231.

³ *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XXXII., fasc. 1, p. 186, footnote.

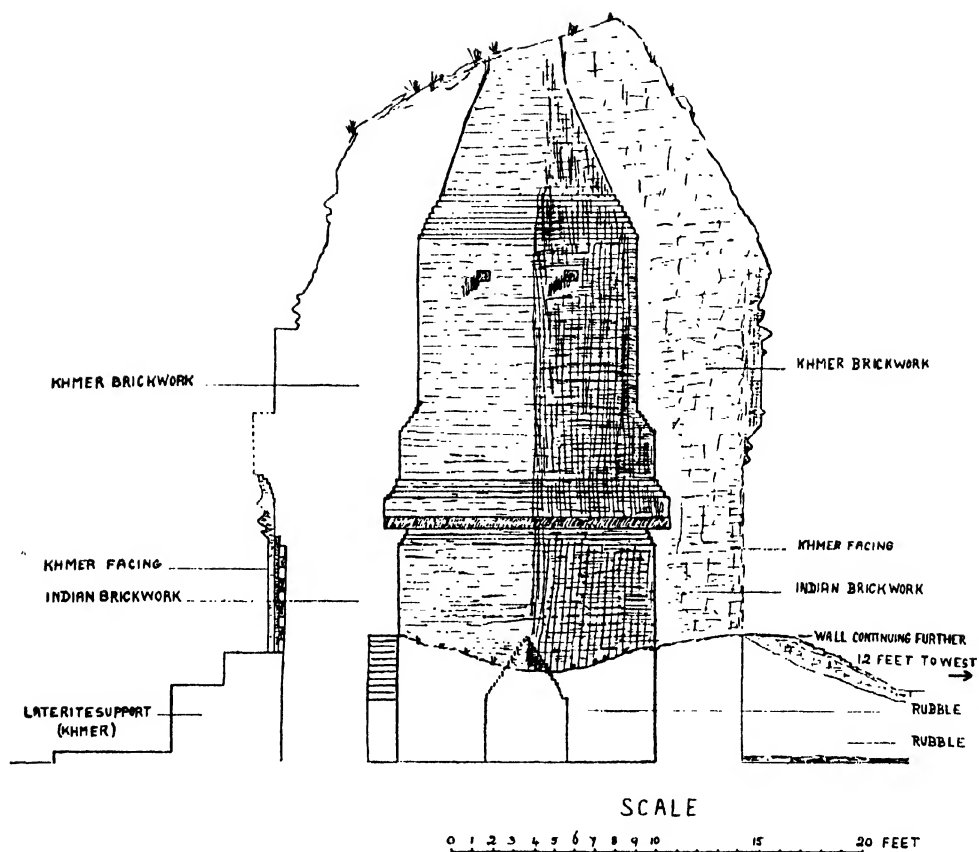


FIG. 5.—TEMPLE II: DIAGRAMMATIC MEDIAN SECTION (EAST—WEST).

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tained by him. As a matter of fact, one is rather surprised to note that M. Parmentier does not suggest, as he does with the Bodhgaya *śikhara*,¹ that this "simple" type of Primitive Khmer building had already gone through in wood forms the process of multiplication of fictitious stages before being translated into brick about the sixth century, whereas the rich type of Primitive Khmer temple, like the South Indian *vimāna*, had been translated into brick perhaps at a later date, but before the process of multiplication was far advanced. In thus taking refuge under cover of his all-embracing theory he would at least have rendered himself invulnerable by retiring into the hazy and hypothetical age of wood architecture which has necessarily left no traces and where, from the absence of all definite scientific data on which to base a discussion, I should have refrained from following him. But by maintaining, as he does, that the rich form has evolved from the "simple" one, leaving aside the question of false porches, M. Parmentier not only contradicts his own statement, referred to above, concerning the comparative lateness of roof multiplication, but goes against all accepted opinions on structural reduplication. The point is, then, that whatever be the origin of the so-called "simple" form of Primitive Khmer architecture, it can by no means itself have originated the rich type. Where, then, must we look for the origin of the rich type of Primitive Khmer building? Must we look for it in some hypothetical form of wood architecture of which no trace remains? No! The discovery of Śrī Deva Temple I makes it quite plain that here we have the ancestral form which, as the result of evolution and the effect of later Pallava influences, produced the rich type of Primitive Khmer architecture, and that it alone is the one certain example that remains to witness to the nature of the ancient architecture of Fu-nan.

These theoretical considerations have led me rather far from my account of the finds at Śrī Deva, to which I must now return, and in concluding this section I would draw attention to Fig. 5, which explains more clearly than could any verbal description the state of the remains of Temple II, and the manner in which the base of the original Indian temple has been utilized by the Khmers in the construction of a temple of their own. This Indian temple, standing at the centre of the city, though of exactly the same type as Temple I, was no doubt constructed a little while before it, and, while it is raised on a low earthen platform measuring 305 feet by 132 feet with its long axis running east to west, it was not built on a tall laterite basement, a fact which may well have been responsible for its early ruin. The lower part of the sanctuary is filled with rubble, but we did not feel able to clear this out owing to the precarious condition of the Khmer superstructure. If it were

¹ *Études Asiatiques*, Vol. II., p. 237.



FIG. 6.—INDIAN IMAGE NO. 8.

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permissible to remove this—and its preservation does not seem worth while—or if, as will probably happen during the next few years, it falls down, interesting excavations could be carried out at the base of the Indian temple which might bring to light new finds or which would, at any rate, afford further information as to the construction of the Indian building.

IV. THE INDIAN SCULPTURES

The general characteristics of the type of Indian sculpture found at Śrī Deva have already been set forth in the introductory section, in accordance with M. Cœdès' study of the subject. It will, therefore, only be necessary for me to give here a concise account of the four Indian sculptures that we were able to add to the series already known from Śrī Deva, and which will no doubt in due course find a permanent sanctuary in the Bangkok National Museum. They are as follows :

No. 7 (Plate IV, 1).—Torso of four-armed male figure, probably Viṣṇu ; schist ; height of main fragment 2 feet 8 inches. Fragments of the lower limbs, and the feet attached to a pedestal, were also extant, all these parts being found lying inside the porch of Temple I, though they may have been placed there at a comparatively recent date. Probably the officials, when collecting the sculptures that they afterwards sent to the Bangkok Museum some years ago, had passed over this piece because of its lack of a head. I am glad, therefore, to have been able to call attention to this magnificent statue, which, despite its mutilated condition, possesses with its graceful curves and subtle modelling an artistic merit worthy of placing it in the first rank of sculptures from Śrī Deva, if not from the whole of Indochina.

No. 8 (Fig. 6).—Relief depicting a male figure and a horse ; limestone ; height 2 feet 9 inches, including base ; found a few yards to the west of the laterite base of Temple I. This relief is so weathered that my photographs were not very satisfactory, and I reproduce here only a drawing made in the field. In the male figure there is a decided *hanchement* of the left hip, and the position of the arms is an early feature.

No. 9 (Plate IV, 2).—Fragmentary male statue, apparently four-armed and hence probably representing Viṣṇu ; sandstone ; height 1 foot 8 inches ; found leaning against a tree *inside* the subsidiary city, about 450 feet from the rampart towards its north-eastern corner. It was venerated by the peasants, who had stuck together the fragments with mud in a decidedly unprofessional attempt at restoration. If the image is properly restored it will more readily be recognized as a fine example of this school of Indian sculpture, at least when seen from the back, as unfortunately the face is so weathered that the features are indistinguishable. The dress is, as usual, only faintly indicated,

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and the arrangement of the hair in two rows of overlapping curls strongly resembles that of No. 5.

No. 10 (Plate III, 1, 2, showing head and shoulders only).—Upper portion of a male statue of which only the head remains in good preservation, the arms and the greater part of the surface of the body having been broken off, the curve of the body being recognizable on the left side only. The median portion of what may have been a semicircular nimbus remains behind the head. Green sandstone; height 4 feet 2 inches; found lying on the ground about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles outside the western gate of the main city. It is a curious fact that in this statue the usual state in which one so often finds ancient images is reversed, and instead of a headless torso we have a figure in which the head is the only well-preserved part. In spite of an obscuring growth of lichens, which can no doubt be removed, we clearly have here a head of great nobility. In addition to possessing the remains of what may have been a nimbus, the decoration of the headdress, the large round earrings (one only preserved), and the facial characteristics, are all features in which it closely resembles No. 6 (Plate III, 3).

The identification of the various kinds of stone of which these images are made is not to be taken as definite, but is offered only as the impression I obtained from the necessarily unreliable examination of the weathered surface of the sculptures. But I am sure that the stone was obtained locally from the hills on either side of the valley, and in crossing the P'ēc'ābun hills I noticed an abundance of sandstone and schist.

I may add that Dr. Stella Kramrisch, in recently examining the photographs of both the Indian sculptures found by me and those previously brought from Śrī Deva, expressed the opinion that they strongly resemble the style of the sculptures of the Śiva temple at Bhūmara, India, of the fifth to sixth century A.D.¹ Śiva is, however, certainly not represented amongst the male figures from Śrī Deva, most of which probably represent Viṣṇu, a belief which is strengthened by the finding of the Vaiṣṇava inscription now about to be considered.

V. HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PERIOD

The stone bearing the inscription just mentioned was found by me lying half buried in the ground on the earth platform of Temple II, 60 feet to the west of the tower itself. The stone was of schist with a total height of 3 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, including the pedestal, the upper or bulbous part measuring 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches across at its greatest breadth (Plate IV, 3-6). The middle of this bulbous portion had originally borne two lines of Sanskrit running all round

¹ See *A.S.I. Memoirs*, No. 16, 1924.

it, but it had been rendered fragmentary by most of the surface stone having flaked off that portion of the pillar that was above ground. The other inscribed stone from Śrī Deva, which I have mentioned in the Introduction and which has been described as "nail-headed," before it was broken was probably very similar in shape to the one I found. I was unable to trace the original location of this first stone, but the fact that we found two very similar but unfinished and uninscribed stones, one entire and one broken, lying in Gateways 3 and 2 respectively, suggests the possibility that it might have been the intention to set up an inscription at each of the main gates of the city. However, the fact remains that the only one of the two actually inscribed stones of which the exact provenance is known was found near the centre of the city.

This inscription is certainly the most informative document known from Śrī Deva, for though it is so short it gives more definite information than does the one previously known. Dr. L. D. Barnett and Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum have kindly examined my photographs and estampages of the inscription, and Dr. Barnett writes as follows: "It seems very likely that the inscription is of the early sixth century: and I think the characters point to the northern parts of the Deccan, rather than the southern, as the home country. I suspect that the colonists came from Telingana; but I may be wrong. In the first line can be read the words *vaiṣṇavaś śūra . . . satya-sandhi . . .* 'Vaiṣṇava hero . . . true to compact . . .,' or perhaps indicating some connection with the Śūra dynasty of Bengal.¹ In the second line we can read the names Rāma and Lakṣmana; but the context is hard to make out, so we cannot say certainly whether these are names of the royal family or of deities worshipped."

Dr. Barnett has also examined a photograph of the other inscription; and he tells me that he would date it from the same period as the one found by me. Other authorities, as has been mentioned in the Introduction, consider the fifth century as a possibility for the previously found inscription, and this would presumably apply to both, but the nature of palæographical evidence is not such that one can insist on too definite a distinction between the writing of the latter part of the fifth and the early part of the sixth century. On other considerations, however, it is certain that these records cannot date from later than the middle of the sixth century, when the Fu-nan empire fell to pieces; while the geographical position of Śrī Deva in relation to the heart of the empire is so remote that it is not likely that the city was founded before the Fu-nan period was well advanced—say the first half of the fifth century. I have already had occasion to mention the fact that two other

¹ Dr. Barnett's first reading is perhaps the more likely, since in the other inscription we find the comparable text *śurau satyadayānvitau*, according to Chhabra (*loc. cit.*).

The Exploration of Śrī Deva

inscriptions of the Fu-nan period have been brought to light.¹ The earlier one of the two was set up by Gunavarman in the second half of the fifth century, according to M. Coédès, an ascription with which Dr. Barnett tells me that he is in agreement, while the second is considered to date from a little before the middle of the sixth century, in the reign of a king named Rudravarman. It is interesting to note that the inscription of Gunavarman (who incidentally describes himself as a descendant of Kaunḍinya), like the inscription found by me at Śrī Deva, is definitely Vaiṣṇava, while Rudravarman's inscription is Buddhist. Moreover, we know from the Liang Shu that in the reign of Rudravarman's father Jayavarman, who died in 514 A.D., Buddhism flourished in Fu-nan. But if by the beginning of the sixth century Buddhism seems to have largely superseded Hinduism in Fu-nan proper, it is quite certain that the inhabitants of the remote vassal state of Śrī Deva adhered exclusively to Hinduism until the end.

The next important consideration concerns the part of India from which the colonists of Fu-nan originated. We have seen that Dr. Barnett considers that the style of the characters used in the Śrī Deva inscriptions points to the colonists having come from the northern part of the Deccan—i.e., Telingana or Vengi, the district situated just north of the Kistna river. The script used in these and other early inscriptions of Greater India is not in Dr. Barnett's opinion Pallava-Grantha, and he tells me that he considers that it is mainly, though perhaps not exclusively, from Vengi that the early Indian colonists set out, though later—that is to say about the seventh century, when the Pallavas reached the height of their power—the tide of colonization flowed more strongly from further south and Śaivism was the predominant religion. Turning now to the evidence supplied by the art of Fu-nan, we have seen that Dr. Kramrisch compares the Indian temple and sculptures at Śrī Deva with the remains found at certain sites in North India; and in this connection the recent opinions of Dr. L. Bachhofer are of interest.² He shows that the Buddhist images found in Fu-nan not only exhibit the influence of the Amarāvati style, but that Vengi also itself received and passed on to Fu-nan the art influences of western India, while the characteristics of some of these Buddhist images make it appear that the art of North India also to some extent played its part in forming that of Fu-nan. It seems, therefore, that in the past there has been too great a tendency to ascribe Indian colonization mainly to South India under the Pallavas—for example, in Dr. Chhabra's *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule*.³

¹ *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XXXI., pp. 1-12, with plates, edited by G. Coédès.

² "The Influx of Indian Sculpture into Fu-nan," *J.G.I.S.*, Vol. II., No. 2, July, 1935, pp. 122-127.

³ *J.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. I., 1935.

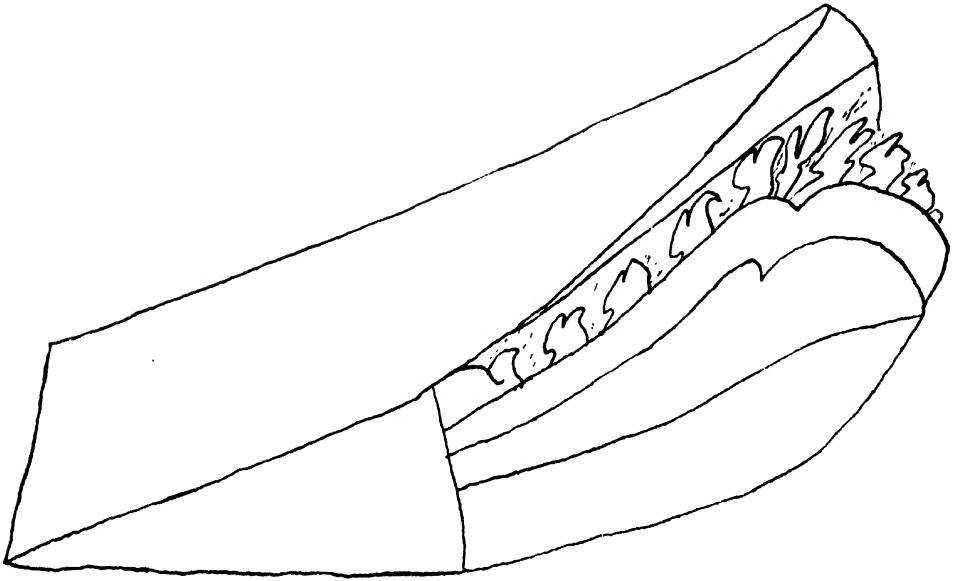


FIG. 7.—KHMER *pièce d'accent* (?).

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The Exploration of Sri Deva

Later colonists in the seventh century, who were Śiva worshippers, certainly did come from the south, but it seems as though we must look further north for the original home of the earlier colonists, who were mainly Vaiṣṇavas and Buddhists.

In leaving no stone unturned that may possibly throw further light on the history of Śrī Deva, I now propose to leave for the moment the solid ground of inscriptions, and take a short flight into the realm of legend, for it so happens that the local villagers are in possession of a legend, and one only, which they say has been handed down among them from early times, and which purports to tell us of the downfall of the city. I shall repeat it here as I took it down direct from the mouths of the peasants themselves: "On a mountain near the city there lived in neighbouring hermitages two hermits, named Fire Eye and Ox Eye respectively. Fire Eye had for a pupil the king's son, who used to come and study the *śāstras* with him. One day Fire Eye told the prince about two nearby wells. If you bathed in the water of one you died, but water poured on you from the other well would restore you to life. The prince would not believe him, so Fire Eye agreed to make the experiment, first making the boy promise to bring him back to life with water from the second well. But when the hermit was dead, the faithless pupil ran away back to the city. Now the two hermits were accustomed to visit one another at frequent intervals, and it so happened that Ox Eye, not having received an expected visit from Fire Eye, went to look for him. On the way he passed the Well of Death and, noticing that the water was boiling, he realized what had happened. Accordingly he straightway restored the dead hermit to life with water from the Well of Life. Fire Eye, having recovered, would not listen to Ox Eye's counsels of moderation, but swore a terrible vengeance on the prince and the whole city. He made an image of a bull and miraculously gave it life, at the same time filling its body with a potent poison. He sent the bull to circumambulate the city, which it did for seven days, roaring all the while. When the officials had noticed this apparition they had at once closed the gates. But on the seventh day the king ordered the gates to be opened and the bull rushed in. Its body burst open and the poison flowed out, destroying all the people."

It is quite possible that this legend contains a germ of historical truth, for it may be a poetic reference to the ravages of a cholera epidemic, a type of catastrophe that has destroyed many a city in this part of the world. There is, of course, no certainty that the legend applies to the destruction of the Indian city rather than to that of the city after it had been reoccupied by the Khmers; but it is because the story appears to be so very Indian in character that I provisionally include it in this section. Possibly some scholar may be

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able to throw further light on the matter by identifying the origin of the legend in some literary source.

We need not, however, place too much reliance on any possible germ of truth contained in this legend, for an inspection of a map of Indochina can leave us in little doubt as to the historical factors which led both to the founding and to the abandonment of Śrī Deva. By whichever route the early colonists came, whether by the Straits of Malacca or by the route across the Malay Peninsula, they formed their first settlements in the lower part of the Mekong valley, where the capitals of Fu-nan, at Bāsāk or Sāmbōr du Fleuve and Añkor Bōrēi (Vyadhapura) are known to have been situated. But in course of time, as we know from Chinese sources, the empire extended its power westwards, perhaps as far as Burma. The route of expansion followed the Nām Mu'n river, and the descent into the Pasāk valley was made by a pass just opposite Śrī Deva. This city was therefore on a great military and trade route, and traders from the fertile lands of the Mênām valley must have brought their goods by the route we followed to exchange them at the emporium which, as we have seen, adjoined the main city. The remoteness of its geographical position with regard to Fu-nan proper, and its situation on an imperial route, explains why, as indicated by the archæological evidence, the city was probably not founded until about the first half of the fifth century—that is to say at a period when the empire was about to reach the height of its power and its greatest territorial extent. No doubt the city, with its surrounding land, was held as a fief by some vassal prince, possibly a scion of the Fu-nan royal family, and ruled by him after the manner of the times as an almost independent state. The Chinese records mention a number of such feudal states, owing allegiance to Fu-nan, but, though I have carefully examined the evidence, I have been unable to identify the particulars they give of any of these states as being in any way applicable to Śrī Deva. I can only conclude that a state so far inland as Śrī Deva was not known to the Chinese. With regard to the fall of the Indian city of Śrī Deva, it is quite easy to see that the break-up of the Fu-nan empire, which we know took place about 550 A.D., as the result of the rise of Chenla, the Pre-Khmer state in the south, coupled probably with the declaration of independence by the kingdom of Dvāravatī in the west, would have caused the trade route and the city to be abandoned. The only means of support of the latter must have been this overland trade route, since it is doubtful whether the inhabitants could have grown enough rice for their support in such a narrow valley, and the Pasāk river afforded but a poor outlet to the Mênām delta and the sea. Thus it was that for the five or six hundred years prior to the coming of the Khmers the city was reclaimed by the jungle. But before turning to this late

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period of revival, at the risk of introducing rather an extensive digression, I intend to take this opportunity to attempt to clarify in some measure the position at which Greater Indian studies have now arrived in regard to the understanding of Indian cultural expansion, at the same time modifying or further developing in the light of my subsequent researches one or two of the ideas tentatively adumbrated by me last year, while at the same time indicating the basic importance of Śrī Deva.

In the first place, when speaking of Indian cultural expansion, it seems to me that it is necessary to guard against the use of the term "period" in the usually accepted sense, because it suggests those watertight compartments that seldom exist in nature. And though some scholars¹ have in my opinion correctly appreciated the number of Indian cultural elements or factors that have gone to the making of Indochinese and Indonesian art, yet I think that we shall be in a better position to understand the manner in which the process of expansion really worked if, when sifting the archæological evidence that has now been accumulated, we try to determine the various successive *waves* of Indian colonization. In determining these waves, however, it is necessary to bear in mind that the process of expansion was one of great complexity, and we must not forget the modifying influences of minor or local waves; the fact that the process is cumulative in effect; the fact that the main waves tend to continue in a stylized form long after the next wave has reached the shore, especially, of course, in backwaters not reached by that next wave; and lastly the fact that reflux influences, local evolution, and the awakening of a local genius are all factors which tend to obscure the recognition of the part played in the development of Indochinese and Indonesian art by the various cultural developments of India. But, despite the complexities of the subject and the necessity of avoiding the pitfall of watertight compartments, the use of exact definitions is to some extent necessary for the progress of scientific knowledge and to enable us to take stock of our position. Hence, while emphasizing the above reservations, I propose to define as follows the Four Main Waves of Indian Cultural Expansion.

First Wave.—This extended through the second and third centuries A.D., or perhaps began a little earlier, and, with the possible exception of the Vo-Chanh inscription (Champā), all the evidence points to the Indian influence brought by this wave having been exclusively Buddhist of the Hīnayāna school. Apart from this one epigraph, all the objects that have been found are isolated Buddhist images of Amarāvati style. They have been found in Sumatra (Segungtang), Java (South Djember), West Coast of Celebes (Karam river near Sikendeng), Champā (Dong-Duong), Siam (P'ong Tú'k

¹ Especially Devaprasad Ghosh in *J.G.I.S.*, Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1936.

and K'orat) and Cambodia (head from Wāt Romlok). All these sculptures are purely Indian in style and are the work of Indian craftsmen, but, as no actual settlement of this period has yet been found in South-Eastern Asia, it is impossible to say whether these objects were brought from India or were made by Indian colonists overseas. The existence of the Vo-Chanh rock inscription and the evidence of Ptolemy certainly point to there having been actual Indian settlements at this period. And though in some cases (*e.g.*, Siam) these early sculptures were found on the sites of later centres of civilization, whither they were probably brought by the devout of later ages, the widely separated position of the countries whose names are represented on the above list certainly points to the conclusion that from the very outset Indian cultural influences penetrated to the eastern confines of what was to become Greater India. This wave of influence, which brought Indochina and Indonesia its first contact with Indian culture, undoubtedly came by the sea route through the Straits of Malacca.

Second Wave.—The first wave seems to have passed quite smoothly into the second, though colonization now established a firmer hold on the countries of the Further East, and Gupta art characteristics succeeded those of Amarāvati. Moreover, Vaiṣṇavism takes its place side by side with Hīnayāna Buddhism and Śaivism makes its definite appearance, though in a minor degree. The duration of this wave was from the fourth to the middle of the sixth century, and so far as Buddhism (Hīnayāna) is concerned, the immediate effects of this wave of culture are represented by a few scattered images, amongst which may be mentioned the bronze image from Perak (Pangkalan, Ipoh), the small stone relief found by me in Southern Siam (Wieng Srā), the stone figures of Fu-nan style from Cambodia (Wāt Romlok) and Cochinchina (Son-Tho); while Buddhist inscriptions of *circa* 400 A.D. have been found in Kedah and Province Wellesley (ancient structures possibly of the same age on Kedah Peak) and West Borneo (Batoe Pahat). An Indian monk named Gunavarman visited Java and made many converts to Hīnayānism in the fifth century, and the Chinese records show that in Sumatra also this form of religion was predominant until about the end of the seventh century. In the fifth century, however, Vaiṣṇavism appears in Java (inscriptions of King Purnavarman, near Batavia), and, as we have seen, in Fu-nan it makes its appearance in this century side by side with Hīnayāna Buddhism, Śrī Deva being the only known settlement of this period in Indochina. At the same time, and also apparently side by side with Hīnayāna Buddhism, Śaivism makes its appearance in Borneo (inscribed *yūpa* shafts from East Borneo), and the presence of the latter religion is also definitely indicated in Champā (two Cho-Dinh inscriptions).

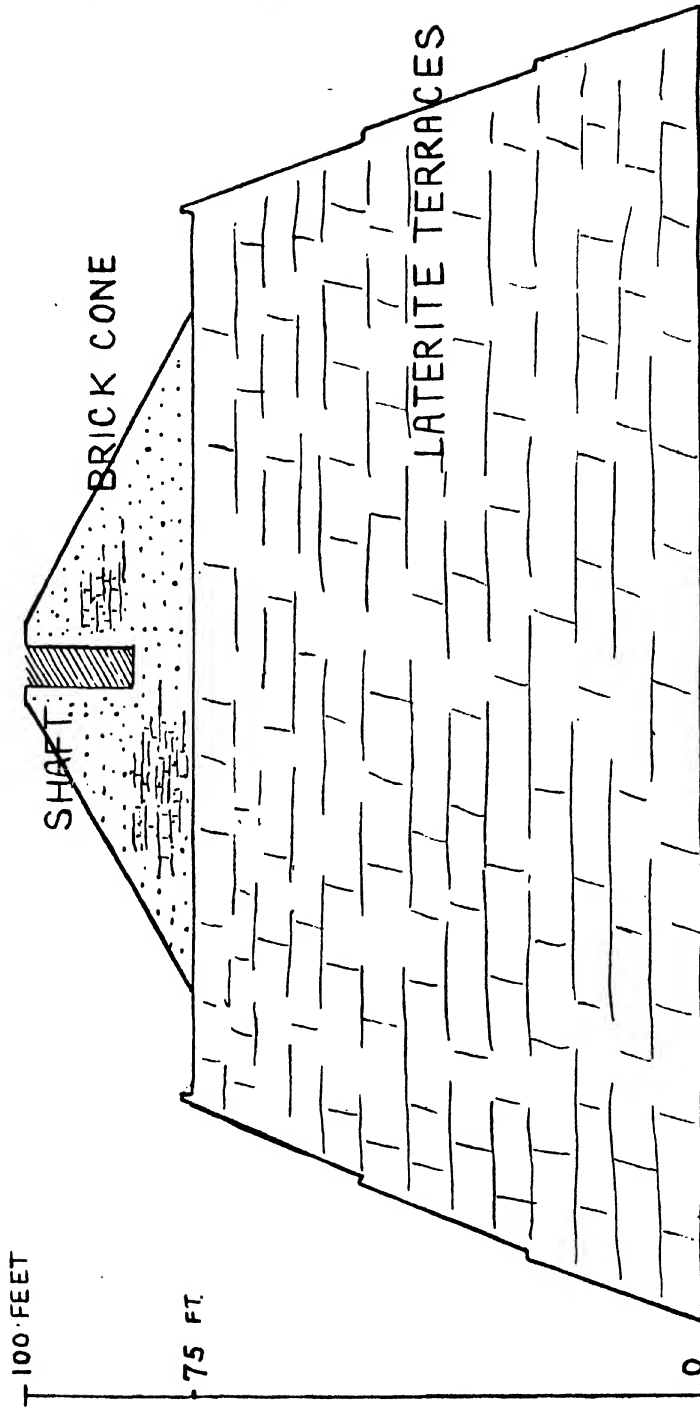


FIG. 8.—DIAGRAMMATIC MEDIAN SECTION OF KHMER TERRACED STRUCTURE OUTSIDE CITY.

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The settlements in Borneo were doomed to early extinction, and were never replaced by later Indian colonists. Indian culture was also doomed to temporary eclipse in Java, since as early as the beginning of the fifth century Fa Hsien tells us that Buddhism was then insignificant there, though Hinduism survived, probably in a debased form, and the efforts of the monk Gunavarman do not appear to have produced lasting results. In Sumatra, however, the testimony of I-Ching shows that Hīnayānism had taken a firm hold. This slackening of Indian intercourse with the more distant Indonesian islands, which in these parts at least temporarily stultified the efforts of the second wave of colonists, was evidently due to the piracy which, as Fa Hsien indicates, had sprung up in the narrow waters of the Straits of Malacca and flourished at the expense of the Indian merchants. But in my view this was the very cause that led up to the opening of the Tākuapa-Cāiya transpeninsular route and the establishment of a centre of cultural development around the Bay of Bandōn, as described by me last year. This route, if we can place any reliance on the Chinese story about Kauṇḍinya, must have begun to function as early as the fourth century, thenceforward becoming progressively of greater importance, until towards the end of the eighth century the Śailendras once more made safe the all-sea route. And we can see that it was owing to the opening of the transpeninsular route that Indian cultural relations continued to be maintained with Fu-nan and Champā, free from the piratical menace of the Straits of Malacca which for several centuries did so much to retard the progress of the southern islands. On this transpeninsular route the only object that can be said with certainty to be the direct product of the second wave is the small Buddha found by me at Wieng Srā (fifth century rather than sixth to seventh, as stated by me in my previous article), but the Viṣṇu from that same site and the one from Tākuapa¹ with the remains of its shrine (of which the bricks are larger than those associated with buildings of the third wave at Tākuapa and elsewhere) are stylized relics of the second wave, the signs of which on this very busy route have necessarily been largely obliterated by later waves.

In the same way the culture of the kingdom of Dvāravati (objects from Nāk'ōn Pāthōm, Āyūth'ya, Lōp'būri, Ratbūri, Sūp'ān, and P'ēc'ābūri, probably with influence stretching as far south as Cāiya and Nāk'ōn Śri Th'ammārat) is to be considered as a stylized form of the second wave, which in this case seems largely to have penetrated via Burma and the Three Pagodas Pass.

¹ I now appreciate that this image, on account of its being so stylized, must have been made in the Peninsula and not transported from India, as formerly suggested by me (INDIAN ART AND LETTERS, Vol. IX., No. 1, p. 9).

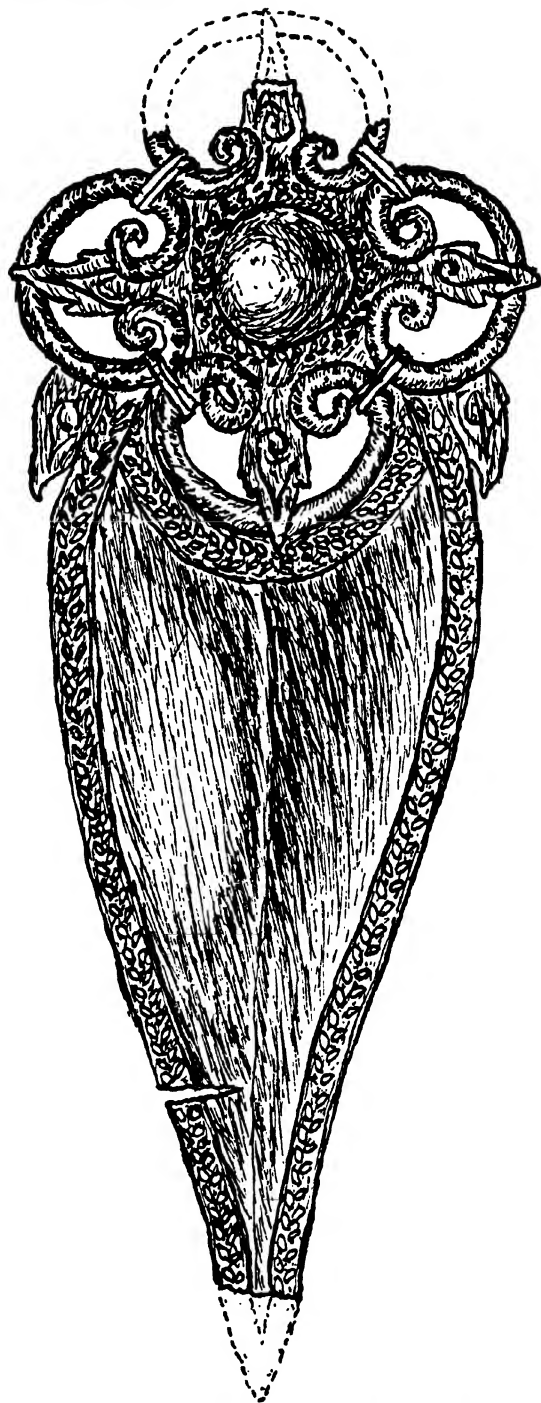


FIG. 9.—BRONZE FRAGMENT, PROBABLY KHMER.

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Third Wave.—Its duration was from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century, corresponding to the dominance of the Pallavas in South India, originating from further south than was the case with the first and second waves, and mainly Śaiva. It followed almost exclusively, I think, the transpeninsular route from Tākuapa to the Bay of Bandōn, where, itself a development of the Gupta era in India, its art superseded the Gupta style in the Malay Peninsula, and has left us there such remains as the Viṣṇu and Siva of Wieng Srā,¹ the Viṣṇu of C'āiya,¹ and such buildings as Wāt Kêu and Wāt P'rā Th'at at C'āiya (employing smaller and better laid bricks than in structures of earlier type). From the Bay of Bandōn region the influences of this wave radiated out to Cambodia, where, in combination with pre-existing Gupta styles of Fu-nan, the Pre-Khmer or Primitive Khmer art resulted; and to the less effectively Gupta-colonized countries of Java and Champā, producing in the former country the art of the Dieng plateau, and in Champā the definitive style of that country, which was at first predominantly Pallava in style and thenceforward followed a local evolution. For some time this wave hardly touched Central Siam, where the influence of the second wave continued.

Fourth Wave.—In the second half of the eighth century (though as early as the seventh in Sumatra), the Mahāyāna seems to have reached the Bay of Bandōn by the same transpeninsular route, bringing Pāla art influences which modified the Indian colonial art produced there by the second and third waves, and resulted in the Śailendra art, of which magnificent examples have been found at C'āiya,² while, being in turn radiated outwards to Java, it was responsible there for the ninth-century monumental art of the Śailendra empire. In Cambodia, a little later, the influence of this wave produced the Art of Indravarman, from which was evolved Classical Khmer art. This wave scarcely influenced Champā, but in Classical Khmer times its reverberations spread all over Central Siam and down the peninsula as far as C'āiya.

In concluding this section it may be as well to reiterate the great relative importance of the Indian ruins of Śrī Deva for the cultural history of Greater India, as being the only known surviving settlement of the active period of colonization of the second wave. Whereas the territory of the former state of Fu-nan proper became a scene of vigorous growth and evolution, under the influence of the third and fourth waves, producing in succeeding centuries the Primitive and finally the Classical Khmer culture, in the course of which process the material remains of the Fu-nan empire were ground to powder, so that hardly a statue, much less a building or a city, survives from the active

¹ *Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XII., Plate X.

² *Ibid.*, Plates XII., XIII., and XV.-XVII.

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period of the second wave in Cambodia or in Cochinchina, on the other hand the ruins of Śrī Deva lay undisturbed in a secluded valley as almost the only surviving witnesses to the works of the early Indian colonists of Fu-nan.

VI. THE KHMER REOCCUPATION

The last section completes my study of the Indian ruins at Śrī Deva and their importance for the history of Greater India, and the present section is added more by way of an appendix than with any intention of entering into a detailed discussion of provincial Khmer buildings which do not seem likely to add much that is new to our knowledge of that great art. To deal first with the Khmer *prangs* (Plates V and VI), these are found at four temple sites, as mentioned in the second section, and, though differing in their degree of ornamentation, all belong to the same style, which M. Parmentier has characterized as being a decadent prolongation of the Art of Indravarman, consisting of poor brick temples, which continued to be built up to the last days of the classical period.¹ A temple of this type, though even more decadent than the Śrī Deva *prangs* and probably of Thai construction, is P'rā Prang Khek at Lōp'būri, which is situated not far from the richer stone-built classical type of Khmer temples, Wāt Māhath'at and Prang Sam Yôt, although the latter was probably built by the Thai. These poor brick temples generally have simple octagonal door pillars and plain lintels, but lying near Śrī Deva Temple II we found ringed octagonal pillars with *ṛiṣis* carved at the base, a type of pillar which belongs rather to the stone-built classical *prang*, and is to be seen *in situ* at Prang Sam Yôt, Lōp'būri. We have already seen that in restoring Temple I for their own use the Khmers also utilized such pillars, and it may be concluded that they used such refinements for what they considered to be the principal temples of the city. At Temple I we have also seen that they used a lintel of type III (Plate VI 3) and what I think are stone *pièces d'accent* (Fig. 7). No such structures were found in connection with Temple II, but lying in the subsidiary city near the main road we found portions of a broken pillar with carved *ṛiṣis* at its base (Plate VIII 3), and a broken bas-relief, possibly a lintel (Plate VII 1, showing one portion only), from which the figure in the central niche had been torn out, all of which objects had evidently been at some time transported thither from the main city. The other *prangs* had simple octagonal pillars and plain lintels, which were found *in situ* only in the case of Temple V.

The curious way in which Temple II, of which the western face has completely fallen, has been built up on, and partly encased, the base of the earlier Indian tower has already been indicated in Fig. 5. And it may be added

¹ *Études Asiatiques*, Vol. II., p. 204.

here that not only has the base been strengthened by the laterite support built up against the outside of the lower parts of the north, east and south walls, but there also exist the lower parts of brick walls 2 feet 6 inches thick, extending forward from the ruined porch for a distance of 20 feet on either side of an approach 8 feet 4 inches broad, which may have been covered by a brick vault. The entrance, therefore, was at the original Indian floor level, but the false porches on the other faces were necessarily built far above their normal level owing to the presence of the laterite support. Another curious feature of this strangely hybrid building is that its interior construction has evidently been influenced by ideas suggested by the pre-existing Indian tower, because it is closed by *encorbellements successifs*, rather than by a plain pyramidal vault of the type found at any rate in Temple V, where the interior is practically a truncated pyramid measuring 5 feet 6 inches square at the base and about 18 inches square at the open top. Temples III and IV are too completely ruined for me to say anything more definite than that they belong to the same style of architecture in general, and have the same type of pillars and lintels.

With regard to orientation, whereas Temple II follows the plan of the original Indian temple and opens to the west, Temple V opens to the east, and Temple IV and probably Temple III to the south. All these temples were raised on low but extensive earthen platforms. The dimensions of that of the originally Indian Temple II have already been given. That of Temple III measured about 107 by 93 feet, the long axis running north to south, and the temple being situated towards the northern end. The platform of Temple IV measured 129 by 75 feet and was oriented in the same way as that of Temple III, the sanctuary being in the same relative position. In the case of Temple V, the platform measured about 108 by 87 feet, the long axis running east to west and the shrine being situated towards the western end. Adjoining this platform was another of the same extent on which was situated the completely ruined base of another small *prang*, No. V, A. In the same way a small subsidiary *prang*, completely ruined and engulfed by a large tree in a manner reminiscent of many shrines at Angkor, was situated in conjunction with Temple II. But this small *prang*, which may be called II, A, was situated close to the southern side of Temple II, with which it shared the same platform (Plate V, 3). The brickwork of these *prangs* was not so careful as that of the Indian structures, as may be seen in Plate V, 2, where the brickwork of Temple II below the wooden beam is Indian and that above it is Khmer. Examples of the size of the Khmer bricks, which were laid without apparent mortar, are as follows: Temple III, $10'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$; Temple V, $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$; $10'' \times 7'' \times 2''$. They were thus definitely smaller than those

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used by the Indians, but in Temple II there were many large bricks which were probably re-employed Indian ones.

The stone base of an image was found near Temple III, but the only sculpture in the round dating from the Khmer period that was found in the neighbourhood of any of the *prangs* was a statue in green sandstone, measuring 3 feet 6½ inches in height, including its pedestal, which is believed to be a Ganeśa (Plate VIII, 2), though the front of the statue is too badly damaged to make this identification absolutely certain. But that the Khmers were Śaivas is quite definitely established by the finding of *līṅga* fragments of Khmer type, one near Temple II and one outside the subsidiary city. Two broken sandstone *līṅgas* were also found, each on a laterite base near the centre of the subsidiary city, while on another of these laterite bases was found the only complete and perfect *līṅga*, measuring 3 feet in height (Plate VIII, 1). I have already mentioned the fragment of a Khmer Nandi from Srī Deva and the *dvārapāla*, both in the National Museum, and, as previously stated, the fragments of two or three other *dvārapālas* of the same type were found some distance outside Gate 2. One is shown in Plate VII, 2 (length of extant portion 4 feet 6½ inches). We also found a fragment of the arm of a large Khmer statue, possibly a *dvārapāla*, near Temple II.

It now remains to consider the large terraced structures, of which one (locally known as Khău Klang, the central hill) was situated near the centre of the main city. It belongs to the type of artificial mountain, or Kailāsa, of which Bakong and Bayon are examples at Angkor. It is a rough and possibly unfinished structure, regularly oriented, with little trace of terracing, and, while a few worked slabs of sandstone were found on the top and sides of the mound, there was no trace of sculpture in connection with this site. The structure measures about 135 feet square at its base, standing in the middle of a low earth platform about 270 feet square, and it rises to a height of about 50 feet. On the eastern face there are the remains of a stairway which gave access to the flat upper terrace, the southern side of which had apparently collapsed, exposing the regularly laid courses of laterite blocks around what may have been a central cavity. Near the north-west corner of the earthen platform there was an adjoining laterite platform about 30 feet square; and 44 feet south-west of this laterite platform was found a large sandstone *snāna-dronī*, 3 feet 9 inches in diameter (Plate VII, 3).

The other terraced laterite structure (Fig. 8), situated outside the main city and about 1¼ miles north of Gate 5, and apparently approached by the laterite roads leading from Gates 4 and 6, was larger and also more interesting. Like Temple V, it was probably constructed after the buildings in the city, and so has remained in a better state of preservation, showing distinct traces of three laterite terraces. There did not appear to be any earthen platform,

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and the base of the structure itself measured about 195 feet square, regularly oriented, the upper terrace being about 75 feet above ground level. Opposite the centre of each face there were the remains of small brick and laterite edifices with worked fragments of sandstone, distant in each case about 75 feet from the main structure. At the centre of each face of the main structure there appeared to have been stairways which gave access to the upper terrace, which was about 135 feet square and was surrounded by a low balustrade of laterite blocks. This brings me to the curious feature of this building, which, so far as I know, is unique in Khmer architecture. On this upper terrace was erected a brick truncated cone, about 25 feet high and having a diameter at its base of about 100 feet. At one or two places on the surface of this cone the brickwork was exposed, indicating from its appearance that the cone was not a mere mound of rubble. On reaching the summit of the truncated cone one stood on the narrow rim of a shaft sunk perpendicularly into the cone. The opening of the shaft measured about 9 feet square, and the depth was about 15 feet. The definite brick courses of the smooth inner walls showed that this shaft was not the excavation of treasure-hunters, but was evidently an original structure. We have seen that the upper part of the laterite mountain in the main city seems originally to have enclosed a central cavity; and it is well known that corresponding buildings in Cambodia had wells sunk into their centres in which were ensconced *lingas* in connection with the cult of the Deva-rāja. I can only suggest that this remarkable pierced brick cone is a local variation of the same idea. As we stood on the rim of the cone we were well above the tops of the surrounding trees, and had a fine view of both the P'ēč'ābun hills to the west and the heights of the K'orat plateau to the east, which gave us an idea of the magnificent setting of the city in the days when the obscuring jungle had temporarily given place to a fertile stretch of padi fields.

Despite the lack of any Khmer inscriptions, the characteristics of the sculpture of this period found at Śrī Deva seem to be sufficient to establish that the Khmers must have reoccupied the city about the eleventh to twelfth century, though it must be said that the absence of all trace of Buddhism (Mahāyāna) is remarkable for a city of this period, especially when we consider its prevalence at Lōp'būri. History, we may be fairly certain, repeated itself both in leading to this Khmer reoccupation and in terminating it. For no doubt the Khmers, when they in turn established an empire extending across Central Siam, with the seat of a viceroyalty at Lōp'būri, utilized the ancient route once more, though possibly their main route was the one further south that is now followed by the railway. And with the break-up of their empire they were doubtless obliged in turn to abandon the route and leave the old city once more to the undisputed possession of the jungle.

THE MUSEUM OF ASIATIC ART, AMSTERDAM¹

BY H. F. E. VISSER

(*Curator of the Museum*)

EIGHTEEN years ago I went to the house of the late Dr. Verburgt of The Hague to see some paintings by a modern Dutch artist. I was not disappointed, for Dr. Verburgt was able to show me some very good specimens, but I was quite surprised to find examples of Far Eastern art in his collection. Although at the time of this visit I had already been active for some years in the field of Asiatic art, I must confess that I was at the time entirely ignorant of the fact that Dr. Verburgt was the owner of Far Eastern objects. A simple deduction on the spot made me realize that there might be other Far Eastern objects in other collections in my country, and that the best way to study and enjoy these would be the organization of an exhibition of Far Eastern art.

Dr. Verburgt told me he welcomed the idea, but asked whether it would not be much nicer and better to found a society of people interested in Chinese and Japanese art, somewhat in the style of the Burlington Fine Arts Club? Once this had been formed, its first task would be the organization of an exhibition of Far Eastern art.

Now, in working out an idea one may arrive at a practical result which differs greatly from what was planned from the outset; in fact, this very often happens. Dr. Verburgt suggested a club of a small number of people interested in Chinese and Japanese art, but in the summer of 1918 the Society of Friends of Asiatic Art was founded with a programme including Far Eastern *as well as Indian art in its widest sense*, and consisted not of a small number of members but of well over two hundred.

Of course, we cannot claim to be the first in Europe to have founded a Society of this kind. I have the great honour and the pleasure to speak here today before members of a Society eight years older than the one I belong to. However, other societies in Europe with similar objects are our juniors: I refer to those in Paris, Berlin, Cologne, Vienna and Munich.

In many points the work of our Dutch Society of Friends of Asiatic Art is similar to that of kindred societies. Our programme, like theirs, includes exhibitions, lectures, excursions, the formation of a library and the publication of periodicals and books. In one respect, however, there is a great difference between ourselves and our sister organizations. None of them had and has the task of founding a museum, since in the towns of their headquarters,

¹ Lecture delivered before the India Society on Friday, May 15, 1936. Mr. John de La Valette, presided.

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London, Paris, Berlin, Cologne and so on, we find the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Louvre, the Musée Guimet, the Musée Cernuschi, the Abteilung für Ostasiatische Kunst, the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, etc., partly or entirely devoted to Far Eastern art, to Indian art, or to both. In my country circumstances are quite different. The State Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, now housed in a much better building than previously, possesses a very important collection of Hindu-Javanese plastic art and excellent non-Javanese works of Asiatic art. But Leiden, proud of its University, justly renowned for Oriental studies, is a small town which cannot attract very many visitors to its museums. It therefore would not seem advisable to make Leiden a museum-centre of Asiatic art. Moreover, private persons are not likely to subscribe funds of any importance to its Museum of Ethnology, and it is hardly necessary to mention the fact that nowadays no Government grants large sums for buying purposes to State museums.

Besides in the Museum of Leiden, art from our East-Indian colonies is to be found in the Museum of Ethnology in Rotterdam, in the Museum of Ethnology of the Royal Colonial Institute in Amsterdam, and in smaller museums all over the country. The Municipal Museum in The Hague owns, thanks chiefly to the work of its Curator, Dr. Gallois, a nice and instructive collection of Far Eastern ceramics, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam has a collection of Chinese ceramics comprising important specimens, and the Museum Boymans in Rotterdam would welcome any enlargement of the small collection of Far Eastern ceramics it has to show at the moment. I should also mention the Museum Princesshof at Leeuwarden, the capital of Friesland. It comprises art from our East-Indian colonies and Far Eastern art, especially Chinese ceramics.

However, all these museums, either because they are not situated in large towns or because only a minor part of their activity can be concentrated on Asiatic art, were and still are not the right places for collecting large series of Indian, Chinese, Japanese and Korean art. An institution like the Society of Friends of Asiatic Art on the other hand, counting among its members nearly all those in Holland who collect, study or love this art, could undertake the foundation of a museum, exclusively devoted to the art of Asia, if it could raise funds to buy works of art and find museum-space to house them.

And here begins my short survey of the history of the Museum of Asiatic Art in Amsterdam. In 1928 the Society of Friends of Asiatic Art could look back upon ten years activity, particularly in the field of the organization of exhibitions, publications, lectures, excursions and the formation of a library. But the most important point of its programme was not fulfilled as yet: the foundation of a museum.

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Opinions differed as to how to start. Should we raise the money first, then buy works of art and in the meantime try to get museum accommodation, or should we only ask for the latter when an extensive collection has been brought together? Fortunately we decided upon the first, which I think was preferable. You cannot begin without funds, but you need not start with a long list of objects. Once good museum-rooms have been secured and, of course, excellent works are available with which to furnish them, important loans and presents come in due time. This fact is proved by the history of our museum.

Towards the end of 1928—that is, before the depression—a committee raised a sum of money for purchasing works of art, which today sounds rather important. A third of the total could be spent at once, whilst the remaining two-thirds was divided into ten annuities.

Let us hope—the end of the annuities being in sight—that better times are at hand and that, when our fund becomes exhausted, benefactors will enable our museum to continue buying in the future.

The Vereeniging Rembrandt—a Dutch society similar to your splendid National Art-Collections Fund—has helped us several times in buying important objects. Its help implies that the museum itself is in a position to pay part of the sum required. For this reason also we shall need money after our own fund becomes exhausted.

So in the spring of 1929 we owned rather a handsome sum to buy works of art, but we had no proper museum-rooms to show the few things we already possessed and to house the works we intended to acquire by purchase, gift or loan. Then a favourable change came about: the City of Amsterdam offered rooms in its Municipal Museum. The offer was accepted with enthusiasm.

And thus, since the beginning of 1932, we are excellently housed in the Amsterdam Municipal Museum. We started with a very large room, which we divided into three smaller ones. Probably towards the end of this year our museum will comprise eight rooms. It will still be a small museum, it is true, but no longer one of the smallest in Europe.

The essential feature of our museum is the combination of Far Eastern and Indian art on an absolutely equal footing and in communicating rooms. This is, however, by no means a unique feature, since the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and some other American museums had already long ago attached the same importance to Chinese and Japanese art as to Indian art. As you know, there is no museum as important in the domain of Asiatic art as the museum in Boston. At the end of 1927 it had a "Department of Chinese and Japanese Art" and a "Section of Indian Art and Muhammadan Art." Since 1928 both are combined and named "Department of Asiatic Art." In the

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Metropolitan Museum of New York, the Curator of the Department of Near Eastern Art is also entrusted with Indian art. Although, *as far as America is concerned*, it is but natural to show Far Eastern and Indian art in *one museum-department*, it is, in Europe, unusual to find both arts exhibited in communicating rooms and on an absolutely equal footing. The Musée Guimet in Paris is in the first place highly important for its collections of Indian art. It also possesses among many Far Eastern objects, more or less interesting from an ethnographic point of view, good Chinese and Japanese works of art. But one cannot say that here Indian and Far Eastern art are shown on an equal footing. In Paris this might be possible if only the Far Eastern works of art in the Louvre, the Chinese in the Musée Cernuschi and the magnificent Indian series in the Musée Guimet were combined in a Museum of Asiatic Art. Since the Louvre and the Musée Guimet are Government museums, such a combination is possible, though probably very difficult to bring about. The Musée Cernuschi, however, is a municipal museum, a fact which makes it nearly impossible to incorporate it in a new museum of Asiatic art in Paris.

The way in which Indian and Far Eastern art are shown in the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum is known, I presume, to everyone in this audience. I am well aware of the fact that many admirers of Asiatic art in this country cherish the idea of combining the works of that art in the possession of both museums in one large museum-department or in one museum. Many people from abroad would welcome such a valuable addition to the many important institutions of London. If in the British Museum and the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum Indian works of art should no longer be shown grouped according to their religious or ethnographic, but according to their æsthetic, value they would be appreciated as much as good Far Eastern works of art.

In the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin you will find some excellent Indian works of art combined with plaster casts and objects only interesting for students of ethnography and Asiatic religions. Here, too, it is a pity that they have not been combined with the excellent collection of Far Eastern art.

Next to London, Paris and Berlin, Stockholm ranks first as a centre of Asiatic art in Europe. But it derives its importance as such chiefly from its long series of Chinese works of art.

The Museum of Asiatic Art in Amsterdam, being a small museum in a small country, founded much later than museums or museum-departments of the kind in Europe, cannot be compared for richness of contents with the numerous treasures in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the State Museums of Berlin, the Musée Guimet and the Louvre. In quality

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it is perhaps not much inferior to the other European public collections. In showing Far Eastern and Indian art alike, it is, however—I hope you will excuse me for stating this—ahead of European institutions of the kind.

I have been talking of Asiatic art as comprising two large domains—Indian and Far Eastern art. I never mentioned Near Eastern art, originating, geographically speaking, also on the Asiatic continent. This needs to be explained. Near Eastern art is something so essentially different from Indian, Chinese and Japanese art that it is a highly difficult task to combine it in a museum with the latter arts. No doubt Persian art has sometimes been influenced by Chinese art and vice-versa, whilst Mughal art is an important chapter in the history of Indian art and Near Eastern influences abound in the art of Central Asia. Still it seems wiser to show Near Eastern art separately or combined with Western art, a system generally adopted in our European museums. There is no reason to follow American methods here, which tend to include Near Eastern art in departments of Asiatic or Oriental art.

The religious, philosophical, ethical and æsthetical backgrounds of the Near East and what I understand by Asia—India in its widest sense and the Far East—diverge so considerably that, in my opinion, no attempt should be made to group them together.

And now, after these introductory remarks, you will want me to explain how the various domains of Asiatic art are represented in our museum. It goes without saying that one category is much better represented than another. There is hardly one museum in the world which cannot show serious gaps.

Let me start with Indian art.

Thanks chiefly to the activity of the President of our Society of Friends of Asiatic Art, Dr. Westendorp, the Archæological Survey in Netherland India gave us some very important and large Hindu-Javanese stone sculptures as permanent loans, whilst we were presented with other similar pieces. Most of the pieces the Survey has sent us are loans: if one of these pieces is needed for the restoration of one of the numerous Hindu-Javanese monuments, it must be sent back to Java. Of the pieces presented to us the provenance is unknown. Among these is a fragment of exceptional beauty.

All these Hindu-Javanese sculptures date from the Middle Hindu-Javanese period—that is to say, from the eighth, ninth and early tenth centuries. The Survey did not send pieces in the Eastern Hindu-Javanese style, which, as you know, dates from a considerably later period. For very important pieces in the latter style you have to go to the State Museum of Ethnology at Leiden. Here you find the magnificent series from Singosari,

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now, thanks to the Vice-President of our Society, Lieut.-Colonel van Erp—who is well known to you—beautifully exhibited in the new building.

No doubt the Leiden Museum ranks first outside Java as regards Eastern Hindu-Javanese stone sculptures. Our museum, on the other hand, must be regarded as ranking first in Middle Hindu-Javanese pieces.

The museum is very poor in Hindu-Javanese bronzes, though it can show two exceptionally fine pieces, a small group (Fig. 4) and an Eastern Javanese lamp (*INDIAN ART AND LETTERS*, New Series, vol. ix., No. 2, Fig. 16, facing p. 94). The last piece, however, is a loan. The Leiden Museum is very rich in Hindu-Javanese bronzes, not all of them of the best quality. No museum in Europe, however, possesses finer Hindu-Javanese bronzes than the Musée Guimet in Paris. It owns three pieces of the very best quality.

So far, the museum did not extend its programme to the more or less barbaric art of Netherland India, such as the art of Timor, the Dayaks, etc. This is not due to any lack of appreciation by us, but because it is difficult to devote in a small museum separate rooms to the ikats, incised and carved bamboo and horn, the objects decorated with beads, etc., made in the islands around Java and Sumatra. Therefore, for the time being, the art of Netherland India is, in our museum, chiefly confined to Hindu-Javanese, early Javanese and early Balinese art. Masks and weapons are included in these groups. Of the latter there is a fine collection.

We are very glad that we can show in addition to our objects from Netherland India other specimens of Indian art. The art of India proper is represented by a small but varied number of sculptures. There are Gandhāra and Mathurā sculptures, Central Indian and South Indian pieces. Many of these are loans from the large collection of Asiatic, chiefly plastic, art belonging to Baron von der Heydt. Among the South Indian pieces the large bronze Dancing Çiva is one of the finest works of Indian plastic art in Europe and America.

Khmer art is represented by a small series of choice pieces, selected in Angkor by Dr. Westendorp. Siamese art is scantily represented, but one of the few pieces we can show is of superior quality. The only Champā piece—kindly lent by Baron von der Heydt—is very fine. Small plastic works from Nepāl, Tibet and Burma give some idea of the art of these border-lands of Indian art.

Far Eastern art is represented by the following categories of Chinese, Japanese and Korean art :

A few Yin-Chou style bronzes, a large Huai style bronze bell and two cases of smaller early Chinese objects in bronze, silver and gold—amongst them some nice mirrors—show the mastership in metal work of the early Chinese.

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Of Chinese sculpture in stone, you will find only a few pieces. The number is hardly worth mentioning, but we possess one fragment from the caves of T'ien-lung Shan which ranks among the best T'ang pieces. Sculpture in wood is somewhat better, tomb-figures, thanks to a loan, rather well represented.

Though the museum possesses some good Chinese paintings, yet all that we can show from this very important domain of Far Eastern art is by no means sufficient. To acquire fine and important Chinese paintings is a matter chiefly of taste, knowledge, patience and . . . money. It is for others to decide whether we comply with the three first conditions, but that the funds of a small museum in a small country are hardly sufficient to buy some Chinese paintings of the first order is self-evident.

The early and later ceramic wares shown in the museum are all loans. There are very many gaps, but on the whole it is rather a handsome collection, which, of course, should not be compared with what one is accustomed to see in London and Paris public and private collections.

Korean art is only represented by ceramics.

It is somewhat difficult to decide whether the Japanese works in the museum, taken as a whole, are more important than the Chinese. No doubt the Japanese paintings are better. There are more of them, and they are of a higher quality on the average. The Kamakura Jizô painting and the Yamato-e screen are very important.

The collection of Japanese lacquer, though rather small, is a feature of our museum. In quality it ranks perhaps after the important collection in Berlin. Some fine Nô masks and a small but excellent loan collection of pottery should be mentioned. Armour, weapons, tsuba, netsuke, etc., are shown in small series, whilst textile art, so far, is only represented by a collection of fragments. We possess a few sculptures; good, but certainly not excellent, specimens. Only, as you know, Japanese plastic art of the first rank is not to be found in Europe with the exception of some Nô masks. Even America cannot show much that can be regarded as masterpieces. Plastic Japanese art of fine quality is even in Japan restricted to temples and museums. Private collections in Japan, so very rich in Japanese art of every description, are rather poor in Japanese plastic art. I say plastic art, because a large part of this art consists of pieces not carved but executed in bronze, dry lacquer or clay. I always feel it is not fitting to speak in such cases of "sculpture."

About the illustrations accompanying this article the following remarks may be of some interest.

The Manjuçrî, reproduced in Fig. 1, once formed part of Tjandi Plaosan, one of the temples of the large Prambanan complex. This probably

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9th century Hindu-Javanese temple is in many respects a ruin, in which it is impossible to replace our sculpture. We are extremely grateful for this important loan, no doubt the largest and one of the most important Hindu-Javanese stone sculptures outside Java.

Of the two large Hindu-Javanese Makara in the museum, the one reproduced here (Fig. 5) was given by Lieut.-Colonel van Erp to Tjandi Boebrah, destroyed but for its base. This excellent piece shows the full development of Hindu-Javanese ornamental sculpture combined with figure carving. Composition, rhythm and conception are masterly; the feeling is subtle and at the same time monumental and grand.

The same qualifications apply to the small, delicate bronze group illustrated in Fig. 4. In all probability we have here before us a scene from a legend. It is a pity we do not know what legend. As a Hindu-Javanese bronze, this small work of art is unique as regards style and general feeling. Its plastic is as refined as the psychological touch. The back shows the noble character of this "pièce unique" very well.

The Ayuthia period of Siamese art seldom produced a bronze Buddha head as beautiful as the one reproduced in Fig. 2. The type is well known, but it will be difficult to find similar heads better than this. Add to its plastic and linear qualities a light green patina as fine in colour as that of some early Chinese bronzes, and you may well imagine that our museum is very proud of this piece.

Among the Indian works in the museum, the large Dancing Çiva ranks first. A glance at the reproduction of this magnificent piece (Fig. 3) easily makes this clear. It is perhaps permissible to mention this piece directly after the two famous bronzes of the Madras Museum. However, there is hardly a Naṭarāja bronze in European and American collections on a par with this very important work, acquired with the aid of the Rembrandt Society and of Mr. C.-T. Loo. A beautiful patina embellishes the fine modelling and the impressive silhouette. Special attention should be paid to the hands and feet.

A large Chinese bronze bell, similar to the one lent by M. Stoclet to the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in Burlington House, was bought for the museum six years ago with the aid of the Rembrandt Society (Fig. 7). These bells are splendid examples of the fine Huai style in early Chinese art, since a good many Huai ornaments adorn their richly decorated surfaces.

As already stated, the museum possesses a fine fragment of the Chinese rock-caves of T'ien-lung Shan. The Bodhisattva, illustrated in Fig. 8, is one of seven figures that once must have contributed to the beauty of cave No. 14, practically the best cave of the T'ang period of T'ien-lung Shan. All the

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caves have been sadly ruined by iconoclasts of the modern type—those who ruin and rob for the sake of money.

Our Bodhisattva is carved in sandstone of a fine grain ; it shows traces of polychromy in terra-cotta red. Its subtlety of plastic form, well balanced draperies and colour are marvellous to behold.

There are not many Sung paintings in European collections ; the Exhibition in Burlington House has clearly proved this point. Our museum is therefore rather proud of its small monochrome Sung landscape (Fig. 9), certainly not as good as some of the fine album leaves in the Museum of Berlin, and moreover no longer of the original shape (which was probably square), but still no doubt "*de l'époque*," which means much.

The most important work of a series of acquisitions, bought in Japan six years ago, is a sixfold screen in Yamato or Tosa style, of which a fragment is reproduced here (Fig. 10). The companion screen of the pair—Japanese screens are always painted in pairs—has probably been destroyed, which is much to be regretted. If the second screen had been preserved we should certainly not have been able to buy the pair. A pair of screens of this importance, beauty and style would have cost a considerable sum of money. One screen of a pair has not a great value in the Japanese market. With us the Japanese opinion that one screen is not "*comme il faut*" did not weigh, our screen being a splendid composition in itself.

There is a very impressive psychological touch in the scene depicted ; the colour-effect is very unusual, the lines are bold but not merely decorative. The somewhat primitive way in which the patterns are painted on the garments should be noted. According to Professor Dr. Otto Kimmell, the competent connoisseur, our screen is unique in Japanese art.

Among the objects in our museum I particularly like the lacquer inrô of Fig. 6, a characteristic Japanese work of art. Only a Japanese artist could create a design of this kind. Every smallest detail is carried out with great craftsmanship and refined taste. Works like these breathe the very essence of Asiatic art.

DISCUSSION

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. JOHN DE LA VALETTE) : Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a very great pleasure for me to be allowed to introduce to you Mr. Visser, who is an old friend of this Society. I think it is about thirteen years ago since he lectured to us for the first time. Mr. Visser is a modest man, and yesterday when I lunched with him, he was persistent in impressing upon me that he was not a scholar. This, however, detracts neither from the keen interest which he takes in his subject, nor has it prevented him from studying it with care.



FIG. 1.—MANJUÇRĪ, HINDU-JAVANESE, PROBABLY NINTH CENTURY.
From Tjandi Plaosan; andesite; height 1.40 m.



FIG. 2. HEAD OF BUDDHA, SIAM, AYUTTHIA PERIOD, ABOUT FIFTEENTH CENTURY.
Bronze; height 38 cm.



FIG. 3. NĀṬARĀJA, SOUTH-INDIAN, CIR. 14 FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
Bronze; height 155 cm.



FIG. 4. KUPA, HINDU-JAVANESE, TENTH CENTURY OR LATER.
Bronze; height 25 cm.

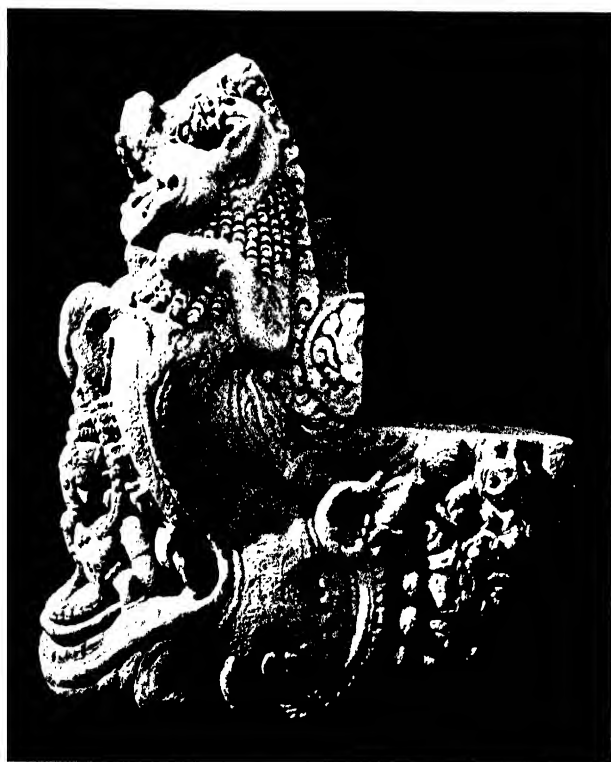


FIG. 5. MAKARA, HINDU-JAVANESE, PROBABLY SIXTH CENTURY.
From Ujandh Badrah; andesite; height 95 cm.
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FIG. 6. -INRO, JAPAN, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
Lacquer.

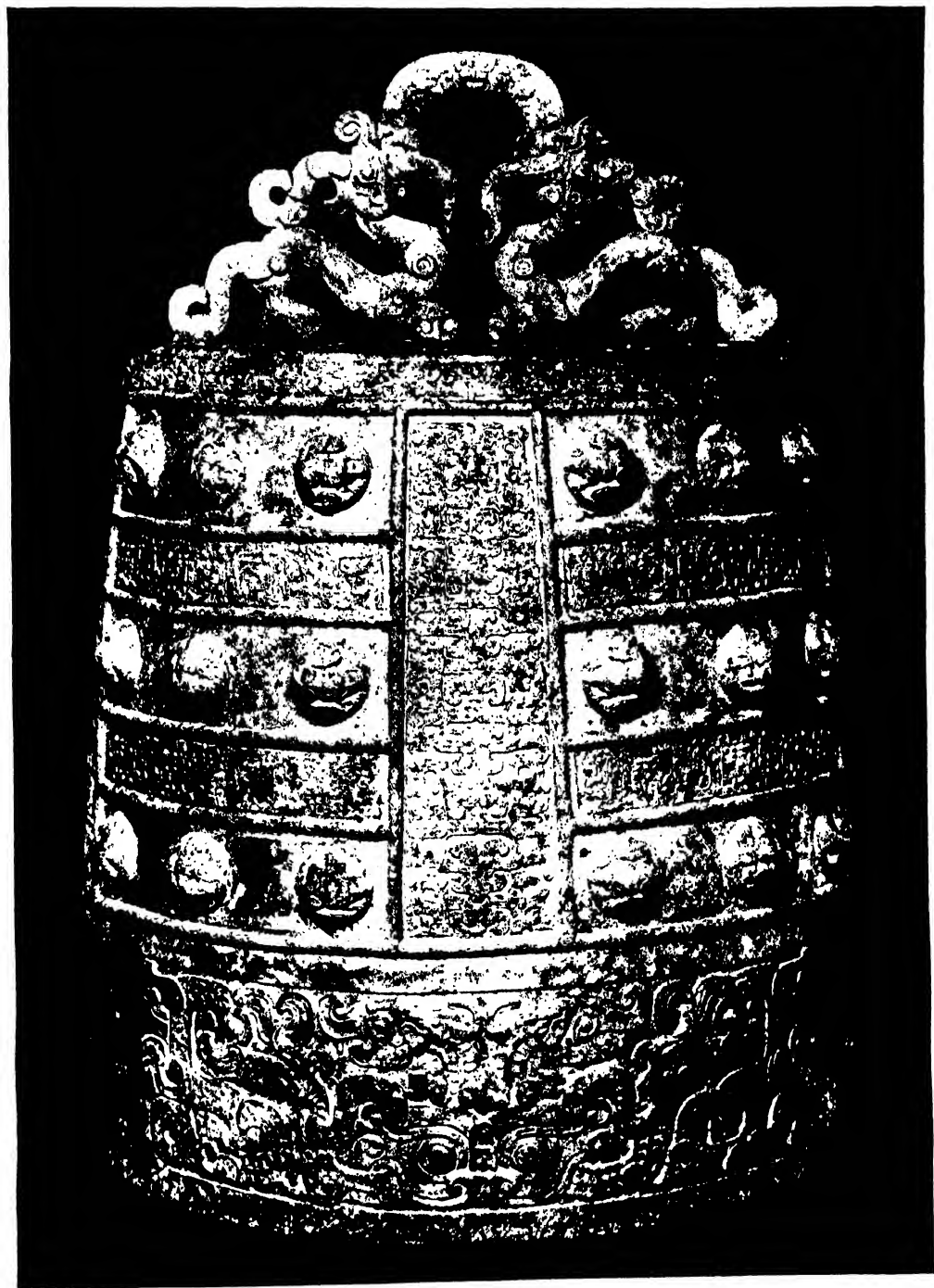


FIG. 7. BRIT. CHINA, HU, STATE (SIXTH TO THIRD CENTURY B.C.).
Bronze; height



FIG. 8. - BODHISATTVA, CHINA, T'ANG PERIOD, PROBABLY SEVENTH CENTURY.
From Cave No. 14 of F'ien-lung Shan ; sandstone ; height 95 cm.



FIG. 9.—LANDSCAPE, CHINA, SONG PERIOD, PROBABLY TWELFTH OR THIRTEENTH CENTURY.
Ink on silk; diameter 22 cm.



FIG. 10. —FRAGMENT OF A SCREEN (SCENE FROM GENJI NO UGATARI?), JAPAN, YAMATO STYLE, ABOUT 1100.
 Coll. K. S. P. 100.

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The interest that we in this Society will, I feel sure, take in Mr. Visser is due to the fact that he switched over his whole career, and abandoned the studies he was completing as a mechanical engineer, to go in for art. And he took that serious and important step because of the attraction which Indian art had exercised on him. A couple of years before the War, Mr. Visser was completing his studies at the University of Munich, which, in those days, was a very live centre for art of many kinds, including Asiatic art. From that time on he has pursued his studies in various sections of Eastern art with great perseverance and with that thoroughness which one expects from his countrymen. He has not only visited in that connection all the museums in his own country and many on the Continent, but also thoroughly acquainted himself with what is being done in this city, and he has been to America for the same purpose. In addition, he has travelled extensively through the Dutch East Indies and Indo-China, and also through a great part of India. In all these places he has been in contact with the leading men who are interested in Asiatic art. He is, therefore, eminently qualified to deal with the subject on which he is going to give us a paper this afternoon. There, again, he has been unduly modest by giving it a title which refers only to his own museum, namely, The Museum of Asiatic Art in Amsterdam, whereas, as a matter of fact, he will take us much further afield than that.

I will now call on Mr. Visser to address us.

(The paper was then read by MR. VISSER.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I think you will agree I was right in saying the title of Mr. Visser's paper was too modest for its contents.

I wonder whether Sir Atul Chatterjee, who is here, would care to say a few words.

SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE: Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel we owe a very great debt of gratitude to His Excellency the Netherlands Minister for his very kind hospitality to the members of the Society, in giving us the opportunity of listening to this most fascinating and entrancing lecture, and also of seeing these beautiful slides.

Those of us who have had the privilege of seeing some of the museums in Holland, and of watching the work that is being done there, both by the Government and the scholars of Holland in conserving the works of art in the Netherlands East Indies, and making public the results of their researches, ought to be most deeply grateful to them for that work. The Government and the people of Holland in this respect set a very good example to other countries who have interests in the East. Those of us who come from the East feel that the more our art, our literature and our drama are studied in the West, the better will be the understanding between the East and the

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West. I feel that lectures like the one we have listened to and the hospitality which has been so generously extended to us by His Excellency the Minister will contribute to that cause.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Speaker this evening has raised a certain number of controversial points, but I am afraid it is too late to enter into many of them. There is one point with which he dealt upon which we would very much like to have had the opinion of such eminent experts as Mr. Arthur Upham Pope and Dr. Phyllis Ackerman. I wonder whether a few words even at this late hour might still be possible with regard to the position of Persian art in relation to other Asiatic arts.

DR. PHYLLIS ACKERMAN: May I, speaking on behalf of Mr. Arthur Upham Pope, express his profound regret that he has not been able to be here to hear Mr. Visser's interesting and significant exposition of the latest development in the problem of presenting the art of Asia as a whole. Mr. Pope has been actively interested in the idea of the Asiatic Museum for fifteen years and looks forward to visiting Holland to see evidence of the actual inauguration in Amsterdam of the programme, while the rest of the world has been only talking and planning. Judging from the high artistic and historical value of some of the objects which we have seen on the screen, Mr. Visser's museum is destined to have an important influence on the projects now under discussion elsewhere in various parts of the world.

The discovery of the importance of the civilizations and arts of Asia is one of the great cultural advances of Europe in the last fifty years. It not only represents a notable enlargement of knowledge, but assures a sounder view of the whole enterprise of civilization, which can never be intelligibly construed without taking into account Asia, just as it cannot be satisfactorily advanced without appropriating the cultural contributions of Asia. Asia saw the beginnings of civilization, it was the cradle of all the great religions and the source of some of the most productive artistic conceptions.

But just as we cannot understand the world as a whole by any partial view that fails to take full account of Asia, so we ought to hesitate to take a fragmentary view of Asia itself and to separate, as the speaker seems to have suggested, Western Asia from the rest of the continent. The opinion that the Western Asiatic cultures belong to the Mediterranean world rather than to the Asiatic complex was first advanced in recent times about fifteen years ago in an erudite article by Professor Troelsch. But Professor Troelsch showed himself more learned in philosophy and psychology than in the philosophy of history, where he was wanting in sufficient knowledge of specific facts to sustain his abstract thesis. Professor Troelsch had been over-impressed by the Hellenic contributions to Near Eastern art and forgot that

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in part Europe was but giving back to Asia some of the elements that she had not long since received therefrom, and that to withdraw the Asiatic factors from the classical culture would be to alter profoundly the actual content of the ancient civilization at many points. This is but one instance of a myopic classicism that has tended to limit German scholarship in the history of art and culture; a highly theoretical point of view which has been more and more profoundly criticized and rectified by facts brought to light by modern archæological research.

Troelsch's theory was accepted by Professor Becker, then Prussian Minister of Education, and used by him as an argument for the defeat of the projected Asiatic Museum at Dahlem which was Bode's last dream and to which he contributed everything, not merely in the way of ideas but even of property, that he could assemble. Becker's adverse decision precipitated a furious controversy in which Mr. Pope took a leading part, contributing articles to various German periodicals at the time. He had already in 1925 advocated a German Asiatic Museum, taking a position that was endorsed by Professors Sarre, Kuhnelt, Kummel, Laufer, Pelliot, and Orbeli and Messrs. Hobson and Binyon.

The art of Western Asia, particularly as it has been dominated and repeatedly inspired from the Iranian Plateau, cannot be separated from the art of Asia of which it is an essential ingredient. It is the art of Iran more than any other one artistic factor that has bound together the various elements in the æsthetic invention of Asia. Only the Buddhist religion has played a more important part in this unification and it was itself partly Iranized in its passage through Iranian territories, while the Iranian language was the *lingua franca* of the whole of Asia, probably from Achæmenid times certainly to the Mongol invasion and perhaps long thereafter.

From the earliest periods down to recent times it is repeatedly necessary to refer to the arts of the Iranian Plateau in order to understand movements in other parts of Asia. The prehistoric painted pottery which prevailed from about 4000 B.C. into the first millennium, with local variations from China to Egypt, was primarily, according to the most learned present opinion, a development of the Caspian Plateau. It is impossible to interpret the terracotta figurines and certain of the seal motifs of Mohenjodaro without reference to earlier and contemporary objects from Persia and Mesopotamia. The art of bronze working, destined to become such an important medium of religious expression in both China and India, was first developed in Western Asia, and in all probability, according to Sir Arthur Keith and Professor Herzfeld, on the Caspian Plateau. Moreover the relations between Iran and the bronzes of China, at least of the Han period, were evidently more specific

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still, for Professor Laufer traced more than a dozen Han bronze forms to Iranian antecedents.

Nor was it only techniques and general styles that the West of Asia contributed to the rest of the continent, but many basic motifs were originated in Iran and Mesopotamia, such as the dragon and the whole world of related chimerical beasts. The sources and movements of the t'ao t'ieh are still being studied and disputed, but in the collection of Mrs. William H. Moore of New York is a Luristan bronze situla bearing a t'ao t'ieh mask which is dated, by a cuneiform inscription discovered by Professor C. G. Seligman, 960 B.C., and the figure is already so highly developed that it implies a long prior history. A whole world of Iranian decorative animal motifs was transmitted through Central Asia by the Scythic tribes, themselves of Iranian stock. Meanwhile the potters also had profited by the interchange, and there is a close relation between Parthian and Han glazes in which the ceramists of the West seem to have had precedence.

Other crafts, too, tell the same story. The history of the textile techniques in the first centuries of the Christian era involves tracing the complex exchanges between China and Western Asia, and with methods of weaving went designs, especially in the Sasanian period when Iranian patterns were imitated not only in China but also in Japan. At the same time Iranian influences were penetrating India. We now know from one of the recently discovered gold plaques that Sind was an Achæmenid province. The Asoka columns, at *Sarnath*, are regarded by many as almost pure Achæmenid with their lotus bases and capitals composed of addosed lions, an ancient Iranian sun symbol, and in several points Gupta art is surely related to Iranian.

More fundamental, however, than these specific borrowings was the basic community of religious ideas in India and Iran. The cults and mythologies of the two great Aryan religions, Hinduism and Zoroastrianism, can be fully understood only by a simultaneous study of the documents, both literary and artistic, in the two countries, and there is a wealth of ideas on the Sasanian seals still to be appropriated for enlightenment on this fascinating subject. The Indo-Iranian arts can no more be separated than can the Indo-Iranian religions and the Indo-Iranian languages.

Meantime influences from both China and India were penetrating Persia. Parthian textiles owe much to the Far East. The splendid elephants at Taq-i-Bustan and a few fine Sasanian seals are India's contribution, and while Tabari's story that Bahram Gur brought from Hind hundreds of craftsmen and artists may be apocryphal, in spirit it is just. A number of the early ceramic styles of Persia can be comprehended only in terms of their Chinese antecedents, but some of the Sung ceramic products, on the other

hand, should be compared with Persian types which, at least with our present knowledge, seem earlier.

With the Mongol invasions the bond becomes even closer. The gold-woven silks of the fourteenth century which came into Europe in considerable quantities, and are preserved in many churches and museums, are so similar from China to Spain that the same piece can be plausibly attributed to one or the other, as well as to innumerable intermediate centres both Central Asiatic and Islamic. And as the centuries pass the countries of Asia become more rather than less inseparable. Are you willing to write India's artistic history and neglect the Taj Mahal? Yet as Professor Pope has recently shown in your journal, this building depends on Iranian sources, as does a great part of Mughal art. There are paintings that can with equal verity be claimed for Persia and India, for Shah Abbas or for Akbar. There are silks and velvets and carpets which leave us embarrassed for their attribution, whether to Yazd or Kashan or to Mughal India. Was the etched ivory inlaid wood an invention of Isfahan, where it was beautifully made, or of the Indian shops which were so prolific in its production?

And throughout this period and long before, Iran had, in turn, been drawing on China. There are blue and white potteries that can be attributed to Persia only on technical grounds, and for quite a group of fifteenth-century paintings we have still not decided whether "Persian" or "Chinese" is the proper designation.

But one who wished to push to the final argument the case for Asiatic subdivision might reply that all these multiple facts represent only historical interchanges, and are to that extent mechanical rather than formative in the most significant sense. Even granting such a dubious contention, yet underneath all these parallels and interdependences there is the fundamental community of mind and spirit. Asia is sundered from Europe by a difference in artistic mentality, and Iran, India and China all share alike the Asiatic spirit. In Asia artistic presentation means an emphasis on pattern, movement and rhythm, instead of, as in Europe, on plasticity and representation. The cast shadow which is the clue to the point of view of the West is equally unknown in Persian and in Chinese painting.

For the Far East, for Iran and for the Mughal artists who derived their style and schooling from Iran, calligraphy is a supreme art of which painting is a tutelary, a conception wholly alien to the Western mentality. And how very close are the Chinese and the Persian attitudes towards calligraphy and the qualities in it that contribute to their respective pictorial arts is shown by two independent but almost identical traditions. Professor Sirén has just published translations from the Chinese concerning the art of painting, and there

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he tells how Kuo Hsi, who lived in the early eleventh century, reported that the great calligrapher Wang Yuchün liked geese because the movement of their turning necks seemed to him to resemble the movement of a man's wrist when he was writing. And the Persians say that when Mir Ali of Tabriz invented *nasta'liq*, the great Persian national script, in 1426 (823 H) he had a dream in which Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, appeared to him and advised him to use as the model for his writing the goose.

Can we not now hope that Mr. Visser's sympathies will be sufficiently expansive to take into the plan for his museum, which he has already carried so far towards success, the brilliant and creative art of the Iranian plateau? And I am sure that you all join me in thanking him again for having presented to the friends of Asiatic art the report of an admirable *fait accompli*.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am happy to say we have here with us H.E. the Iranian Minister. Had we known he would have been here, we could not have arranged for better homage to be paid to his country. I wonder whether His Excellency would be good enough to say a few words.

H.E. THE IRANIAN MINISTER: It is very kind of you to ask me to say a few words. It has been a great privilege and pleasure to be present to-day and to listen to such a remarkable lecture and see such interesting slides. I have followed with very great interest what Mr. Visser has said, and also Dr. Ackerman's observations. I am not learned in these matters, and it would be presumption on my part to enter into the details, but, of course, I am very much tempted to support the view of Dr. Ackerman.

I may say that we in Iran also are making great efforts to establish a Museum of Art in Teheran. The museum has actually been built, and very fine collections are being set up, and we shall add what we get from the excavations in various parts, because they have been undertaken on a very scientific scale. The museum will be very rich in specimens of the Sasanian and also the modern times, because art is yet living in Iran. It is still inspired by the traditions of the past. We hope very much that the museum will be a source of attraction, and that many people of the West will come and see our works of art.

I must again thank the Society for having been kind enough to invite me to come here, and also thank His Excellency for his very kind hospitality. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will all wish me to support Sir Atul Chatterjee's vote of thanks both to the lecturer and to the host and hostess of this evening. It is by no means the first time that the very charming châtelaine of this Dutch stronghold on the Thames has raised its portcullis and allowed us to enter across the drawbridge. I am sure we all welcome the

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opportunity very much, not only because we have always enjoyed the occasions which brought us here, but because of the charm and culture of this essentially Dutch *milieu*. As for His Excellency, I am afraid it would be almost impertinent if the Vice-Chairman of this Society were to start casting bouquets at a Vice-President who takes his task so seriously. As you all know, His Excellency has for many years been, not only one of our members, but a Vice-President, and a very active one. He comes to our gatherings and takes part in supporting our work, not merely when his diplomatic responsibilities might seem to dictate it, because some Dutch interest was also involved, but on many other occasions as well. We cannot be too grateful for the support which His Excellency has given us, because our two countries have not only important common interests throughout a large part of Asia, but also derive their responsibilities from very similar ideals. It is, therefore, most valuable that on both sides of the North Sea we should have opportunities of learning what has been worked out on the other. There is for us a dual advantage in seeing what the Dutch are doing with regard to some of their problems which are also ours.

They tackle these problems in the systematic manner of which we have seen an example today in Dr. Visser's comprehensive way of treating what seemed a simple question, namely, his own museum in Amsterdam. But there is another thing which makes it valuable for us to know what the Dutch are doing. This is that many of their problems, great and important as they are, are not quite so vast, are less intricate and sometimes less pressing, than those which face the British Empire. The result is that they can attempt to find the solutions with a little more breath to spare, and therefore in many cases with rather more method. Whilst the Dutch solutions may not always be capable of being adopted unaltered, it is very useful to have somebody else show us what can be done, if one can do it along ideal lines. Hence our gratitude for opportunities such as these, which bring nationals of both countries together on common ground and among common interests. (Applause.)

H.E. THE NETHERLANDS MINISTER: The châtelaine of the stronghold on the Thames says that I have to say a few words. I can only say the distinguished speakers of to-day have tried to satisfy our thirst for knowledge of Asiatic art, now we will try to satisfy your more material thirst by asking you to come downstairs into the dining-room. (Laughter and applause.)

A NEWLY DISCOVERED MONUMENT OF PRIMITIVE KHMER ART

BY ROBERT DALET

(Corresponding Member of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient)

WHEN studying a map of the Geographical Survey of Indochina, my curiosity was aroused by the word "Ruins" at the point of intersection of 13g88 and 113g485 (sheet entitled Kompong Chhnang). As no such monument had hitherto been described in this region I decided to leave Phnom-Penh on Sunday, September 25, 1932, to investigate whether there really were ruins at that spot.

After a drive of three hours by car, I was held up on the road to Snocrou by the floods which at times cover the plains in the vicinity of Tonlé Sap. I hired a sampan without much difficulty, and after a thirty minutes' sail landed at Kompong Prah—the "sacred shore." This spot, which is inhabited by fishermen, is a small mound some thirty-odd feet high, probably a remnant of the great ancient causeway which seems to have skirted the south-western shore of Tonlé Sap and the Great Lake. This mound, apparently artificial, is crowned by a modern pagoda of no great merit.

On the northern slope, however, I was much surprised to find two brick towers, one of which was still in excellent preservation. These are two *pràsāt* in the primitive Khmer style, which is so interesting because it is more closely connected with Hindu art than the style of the classical period, and is practically unknown to tourists for the reason that it scarcely occurs in the Angkor group, and does not present such imposing masses as is the case with classic Khmer art.

The two sanctuaries face five degrees west of north, a direction which must have been governed by local conditions that are not apparent at the present day. It does not correspond with the line of the causeway, which runs from south-east to north-west. It was, perhaps, governed by some cult connected with the navigation of the Great Lake.

The most striking tower, about 33 feet high, is of brick, with bays, or false-bays, of sandstone. It is rectangular in shape, about 16 feet by 12 feet, the longer sides running north and south. It is open on the north side and has (see Fig. 1) a doorway and three false doorways. Only the door-jambs, the small columns, the lintels and the false door leaves (on the southern,

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eastern and western sides) are of a fine grey sandstone. The door frames are mitred outside (an arrangement rather unusual in this form of art) and squared inside. On the front they are bordered by a fillet about 2 inches wide (see Fig. 3). The false door leaves are made in one piece of sandstone: on either side of the stout flange they have long panels. On the east and west these panels are ornamented with simple designs of foliage, and on the south with large roses inside circles (Fig. 2). Each panel is bordered by a thick fillet.

The flange has four square projections. That on the southern opening shows (from the top downwards—Fig. 2) a bull (Nandi?); a woman, seated, holding shoulder-high the ends of a garland which hang down to form her seat; a man, seated, with one hand on the ground and the other breast high; and at the bottom a lion seated on its haunches. Between these projections are recessed rectangular panels carved with leaves in volutes.

The small round columns (Fig. 3) are of rather delicate workmanship. The base and the capital are unequal in size. They both have the bulbous vase-shaped form in "constant-direction," which is characteristic of this art, and rest on a base of lotus, likewise in "constant-direction," preceded and followed by a pronounced necking, in the middle of which protrudes a ring studded with dotted buttons.

Under the base of the column is a decorated cylindrical ring resting on the cubical block, which is ornamented in the middle of the visible faces by an antefix of foliage. The capital, which is larger, has above the curved surface, already described, another lotus cushion carrying a plain doucine divided by a thin annulet. A ring, similar to that at the base, completes the column.

The shaft proper is stopped at the top and bottom by a cylindrical ring, the decoration of which varies not only in the same column but also from one column to another, and consists of either palm leaves or entwined foliage. Between the rings at each end is one in the middle and two very simple rings in between. That in the middle, slightly larger, has a row of pointed studs set in foliage; those in between have triple rows of slanting or horizontal leaves. The four plain sections are relieved by a narrow projecting annulet. The plant ornamentation is only on the visible surfaces, the other sides of the columns (see, in Fig. 2, the column on the right which is partly broken) displaying merely the general scheme of the mouldings. The columns support a lintel decorated in the Intermediate Style II, rather unattractively and in low relief.

A small simple floral motif at the centre interrupts the garland of foliage; the latter is turned up at either end into a volute, the lower curve of which rests on some chiselled mouldings with a small antefix in the centre.

Underneath the garland hang loops of foliage curving towards the centre,

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and above there is a row of slanting leaves turned outwards. The lintel is bordered at the top by a row of beads between fillets. The lintel of the northern door (Fig. 4), which has peeled, or been chipped, shows only the overhanging *ovolo*. Above, an *ovolo* in high relief is decorated with a series of rather flat floral motifs separated by small triangles. This *ovolo* has above it a flat band. The missing sculpture has been replaced by a plaster ornament of foliage enclosing a praying figure on a lotus base. This restoration may be fairly old, as the foliage has preserved its elegance.

The decorative scheme of the entrance, which stands out from a slight recess, consists of pilasters ornamented with rectangular palm motifs. These pilasters are bordered by plain bands and have, on the level of the decorative lintel and from bottom to top, the following details : a band in high relief, a fragment of a palmette in low relief projecting slightly in plan on the shaft, and a flange supporting a detached *ovolo* decorated with lotus-petals. Above, projecting still further from the level of the portion of the pilaster already described, there is a half floral motif. The fillets at the border are here finished off with an inner row of beads.

The actual capital of the pilaster is of the same character as the cornice of the *pràsât*, and consists of a rather wide flange and *ovolo* decorated with half floral motifs separated by triangles like those on the upper frieze of the lintel, but less prominent. The fillet and *ovolo* are on the level of the upper frieze.

Above these pilasters and the lintel runs an overhanging moulding with a series of pointed beads and a double row of bricks (Fig. 5). This row supports, or has fastened to it, five antefixes of leaves on a moulded base. The terminal antefix tops the capitals of the pilasters. The three others are uneven ; that in the middle, which projects, is similar to those over the capitals, while those between are raised to a higher level.

Behind this ornamentation there is a moulded portion, of which the upper fillet supports the pediment shaped like an inverted, flattened U. This pediment should have been crowned by a prominent antefix probably presenting a miniature of a building. There are signs still visible of this having been broken off (Fig. 1). The antefix has not remained in position on any of the sides. The pediment consists of a flat band bordered by rows of beads carved with central rings, the outer row projecting, the inner standing back ; a plain fillet runs round the top of the pediment. The pediment contains three miniatures of buildings in a rather dilapidated condition. These appear to be planned in the shape of a cross. On top of a high foundation in the form of a pedestal rises a ground-floor chamber, having a porch with pilasters bearing a light lintel ; above there is another storey surmounted by a large bulbous

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crowning piece, the wings of which show, in profile, a crowning motif less pronounced than that in the middle.

There are small antefixes at the corners of the building. The body of the principal *pràsàt* is very simply decorated (Figs. 2 and 3). The pilasters at the corners are rather larger than those of the bays, and their size is increased by a row of dotted buttons inside the fillets of the border. These reappear without projecting beyond the first moulding of the base and of the cornice (Fig. 2). At the cornice the pilaster is continued beyond the second moulding, which is an *ovolo* with lotus and stamens.

The pilasters at the sides of the bays are decorated only on the long sides—*i.e.*, on the east and west. The half pilasters of the bays that stand back are plain on every side. The spaces between the pilasters are without ornament of any kind.

The base of the edifice, which is buried underground to the level of the entrance thresholds, is rather damaged. It consists of (Fig. 2) a series of mouldings which, taking them from top to bottom, are as follows: a plain fillet; a row of short and broad balusters; a large detailed *ovolo* ornamented with large lotuses between two mouldings, the upper showing large stamens, the lower with a string of dotted beads; a row of square-shaped flowers with four petals; a fillet with dotted beads; a succession of double rectangles resting on the *doucine* of the invisible foundation wall.

The corners under the pilasters show a remarkable appliqué of a floral motif set upon a pedestal. The half pilasters from which the door bays are detached have the same floral motif on pedestal on a level with the base of the building.

On the pilasters of the door bays this antefix is altered (Fig. 3 to the left and Fig. 6) and shows a divinity (*nāga* King ?) seated in a pose like that of a royal personage at his ease. The right hand is placed on the right knee, which rests on the ground, and the left forearm rests upon the left knee, which is bent upwards, the hand hanging down. This figure, which is well posed, is surmounted by a seven-headed *nāga* hood. The antefix of the base of the pilaster on the south side of the eastern bay can only be roughly traced.

The cornice is decorated in the same manner as the base, but the arrangement of the ornaments is different (Figs. 1 and 2).

Above the first fillet there are: a row of square rosettes; a big *ovolo* moulding with lotus between listels, of which the lower one is plain and the upper one is decorated with stamens; a row of balusters; a second *ovolo* between plain listels and decorated with a row of birds with outspread wings, probably sacred geese (*hamsa*).

Terminating the cornice is a band which, at each corner of the building,

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bears a large brick with a small monolithic horn forming a slight antefix (see Fig. 1, right-hand corner).

The tiers, three in number, are in a good state of preservation. Their ornamentation is rather more complicated than that of the body of the building. A diminutive terrace in the form of a *doucine* connects the upper ledge with the base of the tier. It is decorated at the corners and in the recesses with floral antefixes.

The little foundation wall has pilasters decorated with square flower motifs in every recess and a small antefix at the corners.

The base, body and cornice all reproduce on a simpler and smaller scale the decorations of the ground floor, but with the addition of "flying pavilions" between the pilasters. These miniature buildings appear to be of the same composition as those of the tympanum of the pediments in the main buildings.

The frontages have a pediment shaped like an inverted U fixed against the little terrace which supports the upper floor and bears a prominent antefix, which likewise is in the form of an inverted U. This antefix serves to cover the base of the fore-part of the next tier.

The two other tiers, somewhat smaller in size, are arranged in the same way. The roof, which had to be cleared of the vegetation hiding it, unfortunately looks as if it had been restored during a period of decadence. But such traces as have been found, particularly on the long side, suggest a saddle-roof.

This theory is supported by the discovery during excavation of a large number of terminals in the shape of tall, slightly truncated cylinders carrying a half sphere at their thicker end; and also by two important fragments found on the terrace of a neighbouring modern building which look very much as if they had been the crowning pinnacles on the gables of the topmost tier on the narrow sides of the building.

These interesting fragments (Fig. 8) are about 3 feet high. Their present base is a cubical block grooved between a plinth and a chamfer, both plain—a form identical with that of pedestals with a groove or a curved die. Unfortunately this base is not cut from the same stone as the pinnacles, so it may only be the pedestal of a deity which might have been thus used at some undefined period. Accordingly this fragment does not throw any sure light on the date of these grooved pedestals, which are relatively rare and apparently archaic, and seem to have been met with hitherto only in Cambodia.

Into this pedestal is fitted a piece of sandstone of bulbous shape, the vase-shaped outline of which recalls the base and capital of small columns.

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The lower part of the bulge is decorated with a row of simple lotuses. Small mouldings decreasing in size complete the pinnacle to the top.

The interior of the *pràsât* is a plain rectangular hall without any ceiling cornice or corner stones, with a corbelled vault above.

The second tower, about 10 feet to the west of the first and 3 yards distant, has remained in the rough state.

It is a square building of a little over 9 feet with blank doorways of brick. It was simple in plan, but only the ground floor and part of the first floor remain, the rest having collapsed. The door has only part of its frame left, which was square, and over the real lintel the relieving arch, which is trapezoid, bears a horizontal block of sandstone.

The false doorways are of plain brick, as also are the door leaves, lintels and pediments. What remains of the upper floor points to four false openings.

Inside, the cella has a cornice of flat stones with holes (to support an awning). Later, clearance work revealed a bench at the end of the hall.

A hurried examination, made under the direction of M. H. Parmentier, Chief of the Archæological Service of the É.F.d'E-O., three weeks after the discovery of these towers, revealed the steps of the north entrance to the principal sanctuary.

In the ruined tower one could see, just appearing above ground, the tops of six stones ending in half-spheres. Further search brought to light a considerable number of images and of roof pinnacles. Among these figures, all of which are mutilated, the following belong to primitive Khmer art :

The bust of a woman in schist with damaged breasts, the stumps of four arms, and narrow hips. A small bust of Viṣṇu with four arms, likewise in schist. Two *lingas* with a threefold section, showing the egg-shape encircled by a thick fillet which is characteristic of this art ; one is well preserved, the other is more worn. The other images unearthed probably belong to the first period of the classic art. Among the most interesting are :

A female statue of which the head, arms and feet are missing ; the bust has small breasts, and is good. The striped sarong is tied by a waistband consisting of a double row of oval-shaped discs which the overhanging upper part of the dress covers in front. A long asymmetric flap has a design of transverse undulating stripes.

A male statue, which seems to be the counterpart of the one just described, is without arms or legs. The severed head has straight eyebrows, eyelids with double outline, and lips deeply undercut. The head-dress is an ornamented tiara surmounted by a high cylindrical bun of hair which widens somewhat at the top. The striped costume is held in position by a girdle

A Newly Discovered Monument of Primitive Khmer Art

ornamented with pendants and ending in flaps in the shape of double hooks.

Two *dvārapālas* with heads, arms and legs missing (Fig. 7). Their only garment consists of a loin-cloth with a flap of curled ribbons on the left thigh. The belts are simple and decorated with half moons facing each other. The busts are of fine workmanship. On one, at the level of the belt, is a portion broken off, this being the position of the two hands folded on the stomach. The two hands of the second *dvārapāla* still hold a long mace which ends in a trident at the level of the sternum.

In the modern pagoda there was found an interesting female statue, perhaps Umā (Fig. 9). The head is severed from the body, and the arms and legs are missing. The clothing consists of a striped sarong with a long flap held in place by a decorated belt. The upper part of the dress is turned over in front. The bust has lost its breasts. The face, which has a sweet expression, shows thin lips and a slightly aquiline nose. The eyes are open, and the eyebrows but slightly curved. The high head-dress of hair consists in front of a small bun, surmounted by a crescent and surrounded by locks arranged in loops. The ears, with distended lobes, have broken ear-rings which appears to have been round. The height of this statue is 40 centimetres (about 16 inches).

In the main tower are two very interesting finds : a stone for grating sandalwood, the first specimen of the kind found in Cambodia ; though we have since catalogued several others. This piece consists of a circular tablet, showing in section an inverted, slightly truncated cone. It rests on a pedestal of four cylinders side by side, which widen out towards the base.

The second object, the most remarkable of all those discovered at this spot, made up of two blocks fitted together, is probably a *Śivapāda* with the footprints of Śiva hollowed out on the upper portion of the second block. The lower stone is cylindrical and has three rows of sculpture on its face, and stairways on the axes (Fig. 11). The plinth is plain, and above it runs a row of lions shown in profile and facing each other in groups of three. They are separated by pilasters with floral patterns, the one in the middle being the most noticeable. The second row, which is separated from the first by a flowered border, is similarly decorated. Above, resting on a narrow fillet, are six human figures facing to the front seated in Indian fashion, in the attitude of prayer, under trefoil arches fringed with small leaves. Floral motifs fill the spaces between the niches. The stairways of three flights between side supports have the risers decorated with lotuses.

On either side of the stairs are carved small figures seated with the ease and dignity suggestive of a royal personage. Each is between two stylized

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palm-trees. The upper portion of the stone has a slightly raised edge. In the hollow part near the edge thirty-two small square holes have been cut, and in the centre a larger one. These socket-like holes appear to have been intended to hold the sacred "deposit," consisting of pieces of the precious metals.

The second block, which fits into the hollow in the first block just described, has three recessing tiers, and stairways at the axes (Fig. 10).

The plinth, the surface of which is slightly undulated, is decorated with lotuses on their stamens. Each quarter bears three squatting figures in the attitude of prayer on a lotus pedestal. They all turn in the same direction and are separated by palms. At each end of the row of figures is a lion, with its back against the side support of the staircase at the ends of these groups. The three tiers recessing upon each other are similar. The staircases have their risers decorated with lotuses, and the landings show a slightly undulating step. They are enclosed between stamped plinth blocks similar to those on the lower stone.

The top has on its face, which is slightly recessed, a fillet ornamented with small lotuses (?), and in the centre are delicately carved the two feet of the deity, the size of human feet.

This religious symbol, which is infinitely rarer than the feet of the Buddha, is probably of primitive Khmer art. A similar idol was discovered in 1912 at That Ba Chong in the province of Stungtrang by MM. Finot and Parmentier. That fragment, which was not decorated, bore an inscription which appears to be of a recent date (*Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine*, 1912, p. 184, Plate I.).

Another representation of footprints similar to that of That Ba Chong exists, it appears, at Pràsàt Srei Krup Léak (Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, vol. i., p. 287), and bears a large mystic sign (*om*?). That monument is probably the Prah Theat Trapeang Cherei No. 121 of the descriptive inventory of Cambodian Monuments by L. de Lajonquière.

The only inscription discovered in the Pràsàt Kompong Prah consists of two signs incised in the upper hollow of a pedestal placed against the eastern wall of the subsidiary tower.

The principal tower is still used for the Buddhist service, and, apart from the restoration of the decorative northern lintel, the sinking of the bases of the towers, and the unfortunate repair of the roof (which, however, may have prevented still further deterioration through the action of the weather), has not suffered very much from its proximity to the Buddhist monastery.

The sanctuary is in form like that of the Pràsàt Phum, Pràsàt No. 153 of the inventory of L. de Lajonquière, and has in addition false bays, but the pediments are much smaller in size (*L'Art Khmèr primitif*, by H. Parmentier,

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vol. ii., Plates XXIX. and LXXX.). The crowning pinnacles are identical with that lying on the lintel of the Pràsàt Ampil Rolom (Fig. 53 of vol. i., *L'Art Khmèr primitif*).

The new elements we find are :

I. The crowning pinnacles, which are the first of their kind found unbroken.

II. The appliqué work on the base of the pilasters of the doorways representing a *nāga* (?) king.

III. The stone for grating sandalwood.

IV. The *Śivapāda*, which appears to be the only idol of this kind yet found in primitive Khmer art.

This monument introduces a new conception of saddle-roof decoration with a bulbous pinnacle at the top of the arch in the shape of an inverted U on the narrow sides, and a row of crowning pinnacles in the spaces between the joists of the gable.

This finish gives a somewhat more airy general effect than that shown in the restoration depicted on Plate LXXIII. of *L'Art Khmèr primitif*, vol. ii., Prasat Prah Srei A.

As has been stated at the beginning, these towers were built on an old embankment running along the south-eastern side of the Tonlé Sap and the Great Lake, traces of which were found by us at several points in that district.

That embankment (possibly commencing in the vicinity of Lovêk-Oudong) was probably built to connect the southern with the western provinces (Battambang). Kompong Prah should, therefore, have been a stage of some importance on this highway, which served the Khmers in the same way as the present one from Phnom-Penh to Battambang serves to connect the south and west of Cambodia.

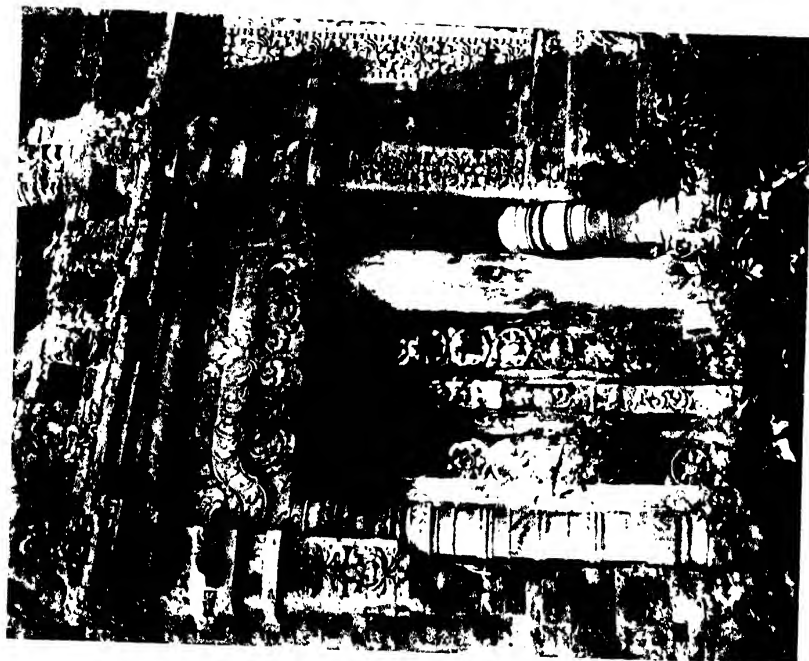


FIG. 2.—SOUTHERN FALSE DOOR.

Viewed southward in the west of pyramid of Khentkaheh.

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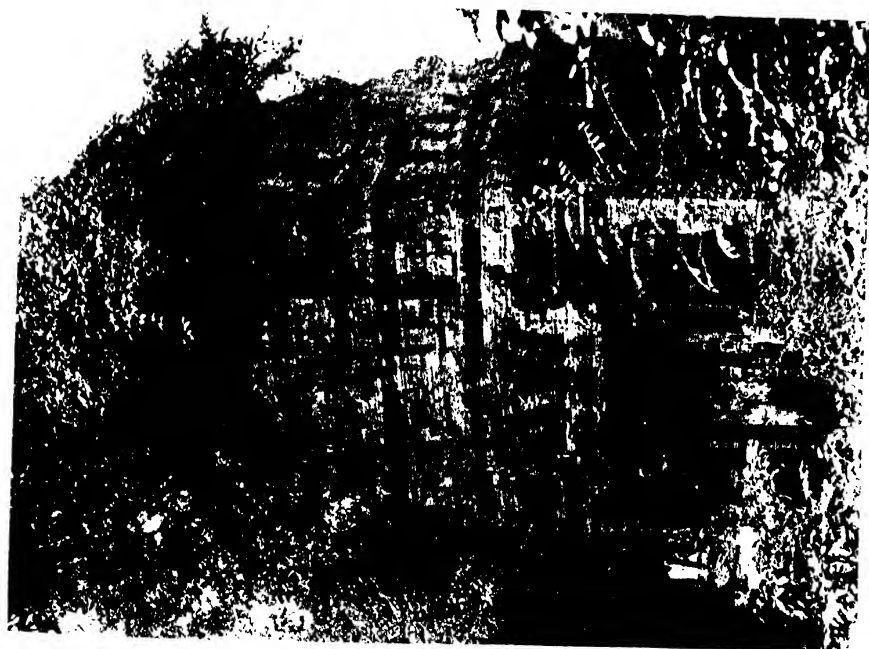


FIG. 3.—THE KING'S TOWER.

Viewed southward in the west of pyramid of Khentkaheh.

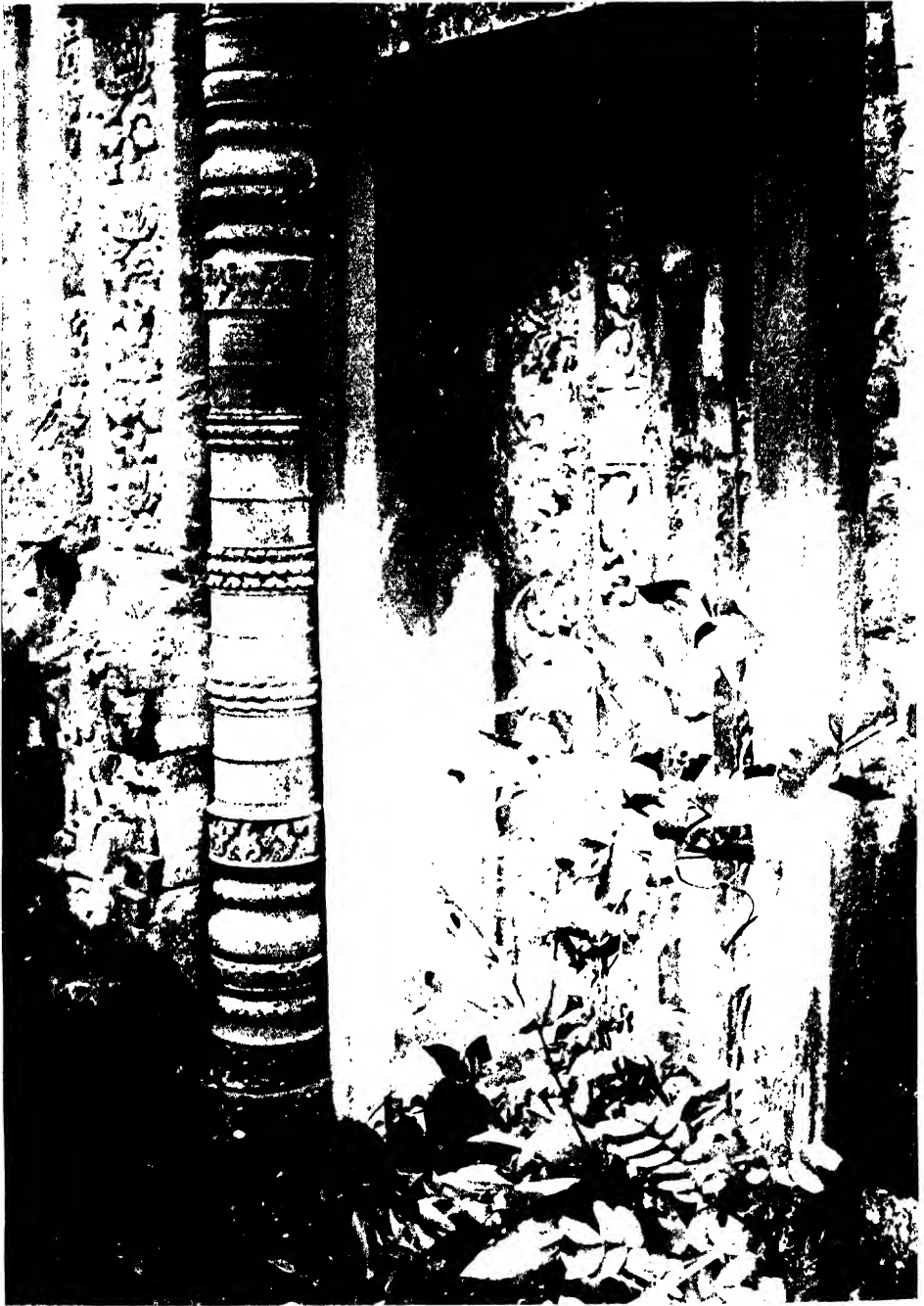


FIG. 3. THE SOUTHERN PORTION OF THE EASTERN FALSE DOOR.
A newly-discovered monument of primitive Khmer art.



FIG. 4. THE NORTHERN DOOR SEEN FROM THE WEST.
A newly discovered monument of primitive Khmer art.



14. 5.—THE OVERHANGING MOUNTING OF THE WESTERN HOUSE LOGS.

View as observed on north side of junction. Key = 235.



FIG. 6.—ANTEFIXES OF THE SOUTHERN PILASTER OF THE EASTERN FALSE DOOR.
A newly-discovered monument of primitive Khmer art.



FIG. 7.—DĀKAPĀLAS UNEARTHED IN THE SECOND TPAVER.
A newly-discovered monument of primitive Khmer art.



FIG. 6. FEMALE STATUE FOUND IN THE TEMPLE.

A newly-discovered monument of primitive Khmer art.

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FIG. 7. A CROWNING PINNACLE.

A newly-discovered monument of primitive Khmer art.

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FIG. 10. UPPER PART OF A SIVAPADA.



FIG. 11.—LOWER PART OF A SIVAPADA.
A newly-discovered monument of primitive Klong art.

INDIAN INFLUENCES IN CHINESE SCULPTURE*

BY JAMES H. LINDSAY, I.C.S. (RETD.)

TEN years ago Professor Pelliot gave a lecture to the Society on "Indian Influences in the Early Chinese Art in Tun-huang," in which he explained how Buddhist art in China had been influenced, in the first instance, by the art of Gandhara, and how later, during the T'ang dynasty, other influences had come straight from India proper. In the discussion that followed Sir Louis Dane showed from his personal experience how great had been the influence of Greece on the art of Gandhara.† Today I shall endeavour to trace these influences from both Gandhara and India to China, giving examples of sculpture to illustrate how the art of Greece, after uniting with that of India, has influenced Buddhist sculpture in China for hundreds of years.

The first move came from the West at the time of the campaign of Alexander the Great, who in 329 B.C. reached the eastern limits of his conquests and planted colonies along the bank of the Iaxartes (Sir Darya). Greek culture flourished in these colonies even after they were cut off from European Greece at the break-up of the Macedonian Empire. The traditions of the Bactrian Greeks penetrated as far as north-west India. Gandhara, situated at the north-west corner of India, merits special attention as the meeting-place of Greek and Indian cultures. Commanding the entrance to India from the north-west, it was overrun by conquering nations six times during the three and a half centuries preceding the Christian era. At the start of this period it formed part of the great Persian Empire till this was conquered by Alexander the Great. The Greeks in turn were suppressed by the Indian Mauryan dynasty, of which Asoka is the best-known ruler. Later the Bactrian Greeks reconquered the country, but they in the first century B.C. were driven out by a combination of Scythians and Parthians. Last of all came the Kushans, whose rule spread from Delhi in India across the Pamirs to the Taklamakan desert and the borders of China. With these conquests three different artistic cultures were associated—Persian, Greek and Indian. Each left its influence on the land and its people, but India's contribution was the greatest because its artistic culture was reinforced by the Buddhist religion.

* Lecture delivered before the India Society on January 16, 1936. H.E. the Chinese Ambassador presided.

† INDIAN ART AND LETTERS, vol. ii., pp. 20-34.

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The mixture of cultures can be seen in the photograph of a panel found at Muhammed Nari, near Peshawar (Fig. 1). The group at the base of the panel and several of the pillars are typically Greek. One of the pillars, however, is a Persepolitan column showing the Persian influence. The figure of Buddha in the usual seated attitude of an Indian ascetic is completely Indian. Not only the pose, but the rounded limbs, which in our eyes give a somewhat effeminate appearance, are in accordance with Indian tradition and taste. It does not seem that the sculptor had ever seen a lotus, for Buddha looks most uncomfortable, as if sitting on a thistle. The arches are worthy of attention, as the horseshoe arch came from the centre of India, and it, as well as the triangular arch, made their way to China.

Although Buddha died *circa* 483 B.C., the Buddhist religion remained as nothing but a small sect till its adoption more than two hundred years later by Asoka, the great king of the Mauryan dynasty, whose organizing genius spread the religion all over India and also into neighbouring countries. It was accepted by the people of Gandhara by the second century B.C., if not earlier, and the numerous Buddhist remains found in this country to the exclusion of anything of the Hindu Brahman religion testify to an intense Buddhist fervour. It was from this place that Buddhism spread across Asia, overcoming the greatest obstacles on its way to China.

The obstacles were certainly immense. In the first place the high range of the Hindu Kush had to be surmounted, and then the Pamirs, that great watershed dividing the East from the West. The passes in these mountains are above snow-level, or about 16,000 feet in height. When the mountains were left behind, to the east there stretched the Taklamakan desert, flanked on the north by the T'ien Shan mountains and on the south by the K'un-lun mountains, both precipitous and snowclad. It is a country without rain, where caravans go from oasis to oasis along the foot of the mountains on either side. Not till after a journey of 900 miles is the Nan Shan range reached and the first signs of a moist air current from the Pacific can be felt. Although the obstacles to this route had defeated all Western nations, the Chinese overcame them and made contact with the West. In the time of the first Han dynasty at the end of the second century B.C. Chinese generals had gradually extended the empire to cover the fringes of the desert, occupying Kashgar and even crossing the Pamirs to the Iaxartes, the site of the colonies of Alexander the Great. We are accustomed to think of the Chinese shutting themselves up in their country, trying to avoid contact with an outside world, but this is a modern idea. In olden times they showed great powers of sanely organized adventure. By this route came the silk of China to Alexandria and Rome, while in return the Chinese obtained the much prized

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horses of the West. Communications between East and West were thus opened by the Chinese by the end of the second century B.C. But the Chinese were not interested in art itself, and the journey of artistic ideas from the west to the east would have been long delayed had there not been the vehicles of Buddhism to transport it. The drivers of the vehicles were the Kushans.

As noted above, the Kushans were the last power to occupy Gandhara at the beginning of the Christian era, and their great king, Kanishka, considered himself another Asoka in his zeal for the spread of Buddhism. They sprang from a nomadic tribe formerly settled in Kansu in West China, which, after many years of fighting with the Tartars, migrated to the West, and ultimately occupied the basin of the Oxus, the old home of the Bactrian Greeks. There they were left in peace, and turned from wandering nomads into a settled agricultural people. They gradually extended their rule, till by the first century of the Christian era it reached from the middle of India on the south to Yarkand and the desert region to the east. The bridge between India and China was thus formed. Having little art of their own, the Kushans adopted the art of Gandhara, that mixture of Greek, Indian and Persian arts. They early became, like so many other nomadic races, enthusiastic converts to Buddhism. Sir Aurel Stein has excavated the sites of their settlements along the base of the K'un-lun mountains to the borders of China, finding documents in their Kharoshthi script as well as in Sanskrit. Le Coq has similarly traced them along the base of the T'ien Shan. They give in their books many illustrations of the Græco-Buddhist art found in these places, which date from the first three centuries A.D. Examples of this art are well known, as it has been fully described by Foucher in *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*. As the name implies, it was a fusion of Greek and Indian art.

The date of the arrival of Buddhism in China is not known, for the arrival of a new religion was not the sort of thing that found an entry in the old Chinese annals. In the K'ang-hsi encyclopedia, published about the end of the seventeenth century, are various traditions connected with the event. The earliest is that during the reign of the first Ch'in Emperor, about 220 B.C., Shê Li-fang and other monks arrived in China. The Emperor put these strange beings in prison, but during the night a golden man forced open the doors and allowed them to escape. Although there is just a possibility that some heroic missionaries of the Asokan age reached China, no corroboration of this story has yet been found. The usual story, and one that is found in most history books, is placed about 280 years later, in A.D. 68. The Emperor Ming had a dream about a golden man sixteen feet high, who came to the palace flying through the air. When the dream was revealed to the Council the next morn-

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ing, a member said that there had been in India a wise man named Buddha, and that the golden man was he. The Emperor then sent an embassy to India, which brought back Buddhist scriptures and a standing figure of Buddha. This story is a legend of the second century A.D., but we do know that the introduction of Buddhism had occurred before the year A.D. 68. From a casual reference in an old historical text, we know that a Chinese prince was pardoned in A.D. 65 because of his piety in performing Buddhist worship. This occurred in the State of Ch'u, which lay about halfway between modern Shanghai and Peking, and shows that by the middle of the first century A.D. Buddhism had become an established religion in East China.* Probably it began to reach China about the beginning of the Christian era through the efforts of Kushan missionaries, and there is some documentary evidence in support of this.

As has already been noticed, Sir Aurel Stein found that the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhara spread eastwards to the confines of China; but unfortunately there is no trace of Buddhist art in China before the end of the fourth century A.D. These traces consist of a few bronze statues of no great significance. Buddhist art in China begins a century later during the reign in North China of the Northern Wei dynasty, a nomad race who conquered North China and later became enthusiastic converts to Buddhism. There may have been, and probably were, sculptures before this time, but nothing of this has been found. Probably they were destroyed in the many iconoclastic persecutions of Buddhism that took place. The figures that remained are those carved out of the solid rock in the cave shrines at Yün-kang, Lung-mên, T'ien-lung Shan, and other places. The idea of the cave shrine appears to have an Indian origin.

The earliest cave shrines of which we have knowledge are those in Egypt, from whence they spread to Persia, and then to India in the time of Asoka. Many such temples were constructed in India, the best known, though not the earliest, being those at Ajanta, where the side of a hill was attacked and excavations made with regular doorways cut out of the solid rock. These caves are lovingly preserved by the Nizam of Hyderabad and his archaeological department. The entrance to a much earlier shrine at Bhaja, near Poona (Fig. 2), shows that the rock was carved to resemble exactly wooden posts and beams. The idea was to make the entrance as similar as possible to that of the ordinary temple made from wood, as all early temples were. Inside was a chamber vaulted like a cathedral, with perhaps an avenue of pillars, while in the middle would be a large ornamented stupa, the whole hewn out of one solid rock. Similar caves were excavated along

* Yetts, *The Eumorfopoulos Collection*, vol. iii., p. 1.

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the borders of the Taklamakan desert, and we find the first in China at Tun-huang, the place where the caravans from China started their journey across the desert.

There is an account, translated by Chavannes, of the starting of these cave shrines at Tun-huang, on a stele erected in A.D. 698, on which it is recorded that in A.D. 366 Lo-tsun, with a pure and tranquil heart, marched with pilgrim's staff across the plains and through forests to this hill. There he saw a vision of a thousand Buddhas, and started to make a cave shrine. After him came one Fa-liang, coming from the East, and made a second cave.* From this record we learn the date of the first cave shrines at Tun-huang, and that in all probability the work was started by a pilgrim from the West, who would be well acquainted with such shrines along the borders of the desert, if not in India. Nothing remains of these early caves, but Tun-huang became a great Buddhist centre, and the numerous caves that still exist have yielded up vast stores of manuscripts in Chinese, Sanskrit, and other languages, rock sculptures, and wall paintings, all marvellously preserved in that dry climate. Professor Pelliot has already told the India Society that the foreign influences at work in the early period of the work of Tun-huang were those of Gandhara.

As has been mentioned above, Buddhist art in China begins with the Northern Wei dynasty, which belonged to a Tartar tribe from Eastern Mongolia and reigned in North China from the end of the fourth century to the middle of the sixth. They extended their rule as far west as Tun-huang in A.D. 439, when the Annalist records that 30,000 families were removed from Tun-huang to the Wei capital at P'ing-ch'êng in North China, about 160 miles west of Peking, a distance of about 1,000 miles. At this time the ruler was an enemy of Buddhism, and the eight years ending A.D. 452 saw one of the greatest persecutions of Buddhism in China, when temples, images and sculptures were destroyed all over the country. His successor was a fervent Buddhist who led a revival. At this revival it is highly probable that many of the families who had come from Tun-huang were eager to make cave shrines similar to those at their old home, while they might well reflect that at the time of persecution isolated images in a wooden temple were much easier to destroy than those hewn out of the solid rock. A site was found at Yün-kang, ten miles west of the capital, and work was soon started. Writers tell us that the shrines were made firstly to spread the power of the Buddhist religion, secondly to make atonement for the persecution of the Buddhist

* Chavannes, "Dix Inscriptions Chinoises de l'Asie Centrale d'après les Estampages de M. Ch.-E. Bonin." Extract from *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xi., second part, pp. 250-252.

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religion, and thirdly to obtain benefits for the ancestors of the royal family—all religious ideas. It is also possible that they were stimulated by the reports of Fa-hsien, the first Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, who returned with Buddhist scriptures and images in A.D. 414. We are also told in some old records that some foreign monks arrived at the Wei capital in A.D. 455 with three Buddha images which were much admired. They also may have had something to do with the work of the caves. As in India, the caves had a central square pillar highly ornamented. Some of the figures carved were of enormous size, 30 to 40 feet in height, while the surrounding walls and ceilings were richly decorated. The entrance to the cave was often carved to resemble the entrance to an ordinary house, as is shown in the illustration of the entrance to a cave at south Hsiang-t'ang Shan, near An-yang, constructed just after the Wei dynasty.* The imitation wooden beams hewn out of the solid rock recall similar work in India. On either side of the door are the doorkeepers or *dvārapālas* set to guard the shrine. These doorkeepers also can be traced back to an Indian origin, for they are representatives of a religion older than Buddhism or even Hinduism, the old Animist religion still existing among certain aboriginal tribes in India. Spirits inhabiting trees, rivers or hills were enrolled under the standard of Buddha generally in a menial capacity. They were often portrayed in old Indian sculptures as attendants on Buddha or as guardians at the doors of the temples, and given fierce or even comic faces. The Chinese adopted the idea but showed the demon-like quality of the guardians in their own way.

Inside the caves at Yün-kang the niches for the large Buddha images were surrounded with figures of Buddhist saints and flying *devatās*, such as are met with in Indian Buddhist sculpture. In one cave are scenes from the life of Buddha, one of which has always captivated the imagination, his renunciation of home and a life of ease, to go out into the world to seek enlightenment.† The gods are seen holding up the hooves of his horse so as to muffle their tread. This should be compared with the portrayal of the same scene at Amaravati probably in the latter half of the second century A.D., the original of which can be seen on the staircase of the British Museum (Fig. 3). If all the unnecessary figures with which Indian art used to crowd its pictures are eliminated, the pictures are essentially similar. It looks as if somebody who had seen the Indian carving had had something to do with the designing of that at Yün-kang. This is not an impossible con-

* Tokiwa Daijo and Sekino Tadashi, *Shina hukkyo shiseki* (Buddhist Monuments in China), vol. iii., pl. 103.

† Shinkai Taketaro and Nakagawa Tadayori. *Unko Sekikutsu* (Rock Carvings from the Yün-kang Caves), pl. 69.

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jecture, as Amaravati, lying on the Kistna, about 250 miles north of Madras, was a port of embarkation on the voyage to Ceylon, Sumatra and China.*

The rich decoration of the ceiling and walls in Cave IX. at Yün-kang† consists of *devatās* dancing round a lotus in a manner reminiscent again of Amaravati, while the carving of the lotus and the curious dwarf-like supporting figures take us back to the old sculptures of the second century B.C. at Bharhut in Central India. The splendid elephant on which is riding a godlike being calls to mind the early Buddhist carving (Fig. 4) at the entrance to the cave shrine at Bhaja, which belongs to the first or second century B.C. India is again presented to us in Cave VII., where we find the god Siva with four arms and three heads. The presence of a Hindu god in Buddhist carvings is explained by the fact that the earliest Buddhist stories describe Hindu gods acting as attendants on Buddha. Indra and Brahma were the first to receive into their hands the infant Buddha at his birth. They were said to be in attendance on him on many other occasions. It was a small step to transform a personal attendant into a Buddhist saint or *Bodhisattva*.

Many other Indian motives are to be found during this period such as the *kirtimukha* mask, the palmette design common at Bharhut and Sanchi, guardian figures armed with the trident of Siva, the haloes of the Buddha or his saints covered with flames like the haloes of the Gupta period in India, the arches from Gandhara both triangular and horseshoe. Above all is found again and again the traditional figure of Buddha, seated as an Indian ascetic, clothed in the Grecian mantle. - The walls of the caves were crowded with images and inscriptions, many of the latter surviving on the hard rock of Lung-mên. Such inscriptions indicate the spirit that inspired the making of the images. "Ma Fu-t'o, a disciple of Buddha, and Dame Liu, his wife, wishing that they may enjoy tranquillity, respectfully made this niche containing a figure of Amitabha." "Cho Hsiang-chêng, a disciple of Buddha, having recently recovered from a malady in his foot, reverently made these two images, one of the Saint Kuan-yin, Saviour from Affliction, and the other of the Saint Ti-tsang. He dedicates these with his whole heart for the benefit of his forbears, male and female, to the seventh generation."‡

So far examples have been taken from the period of the Northern Wei dynasty in which the sculptural work has been of a somewhat primitive type with Indian influences coming mainly from Gandhara. These may be compared with examples of the mature period of Chinese sculpture during the T'ang dynasty, which lasted from the beginning of the seventh till the end of

* Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra*, p. 650.

† Shinkai Taketaro and Nakagawa Tadeyori, *loc. cit.*, pl. 102.

‡ Yetts, *loc. cit.*, p. 21.

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the ninth century. This was the most glorious epoch in the history of China, when her rule and influence extended in every direction, and all the peoples of the world came to her court at Ch'ang-an. During this period hundreds of pilgrims went to India, and intercourse between the two countries was frequent, not only by the north-west corner of India, but also through Tibet and Nepal, and probably most of all by the sea route by Canton, Sumatra, and Ceylon. Special monasteries were built in India for Chinese pilgrims, while Indian merchants were to be found in Ch'ang-an. Pilgrims brought back with them not only copies of the Buddhist scriptures, but also images. These images came not from the Græco-Buddhist School of Gandhara, but from the heart of the country. In them the drapery is almost entirely subordinated to the figure underneath, which is rounded and fully modelled, giving it the effeminate look of the statues of the Gupta period in India. This effeminacy is at times accentuated by a thin waist and lateral tilts to the trunk. The new influence is no longer Græco-Buddhist, but almost entirely Indian. This influence is so conspicuous in the work of this period at T'ien-lung Shan that it has been suggested that there must have been a group of Indian craftsmen at work on these cave shrines. The number of examples of this type is very great, and several may be seen in the Chinese Exhibition. The finest example is undoubtedly the figure of the headless *Bodhisattva* (Fig. 5), belonging to Mrs. J. D. Rockefeller, jun., standing in the middle of the room in the exhibition devoted to Buddhist sculpture. This figure has been said to combine the flowing draperies of Greece, the rounded limbs of India and the vitality of China. The statue, however, seems entirely Indian, and may be compared with the torso in red sandstone in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 6), which comes from Sanchi, and belongs to the fourth or fifth century, at least two hundred years earlier than the figure from T'ien-lung Shan. The similarity between the two figures is very striking.

So far I have been dealing with examples of Chinese sculpture obviously copied from Indian models or inspired by men who had seen such models. There are, of course, many cases even in Buddhist sculpture where the work is entirely Chinese and owes nothing to India except the subject portrayed in the work. As in other arts, so in sculpture, the Chinese have taken ideas from other countries and adapted them with wonderful results to their own culture. This may be illustrated by the treatment of the great conflict between Buddha as he sat under the *Bodhi* tree and Mara determined to prevent Buddha from obtaining enlightenment. If we look at the representation of this scene from the walls of a cave at Ajanta, a copy of which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 7), we see Buddha surrounded by tempting maidens and various threatening men and monsters, but none of them looking



FIG. 1. - PANEL FOUND AT MUHAMMED NARI,
NOW IN CENTRAL MUSEUM, LAHORE.

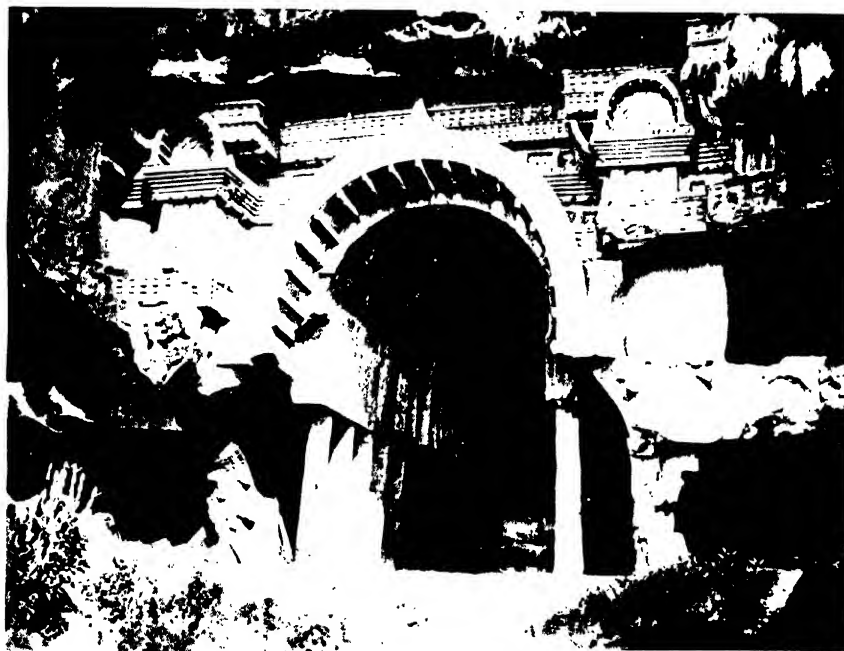


FIG. 2.—CAVE TEMPLE AT BHAJA.



FIG. 3. SCENE FROM THE TEMPLE AT AMARAVATI.

By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum



FIG. 4.—ENTRANCE TO THE CAVE
SHIKIN AT BHAJA.

From Chinese photograph.



FIG. 5.—HEADLESS BODHISATVA FROM
T'EN-LUNG SHAN.

Courtesy of Mrs. J. D. No. 46610, Jan. Published by permission.



FIG. 6. TORSO FROM SANCHI: VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.
By permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 7.—SCENE FROM AJANTA: VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.
By permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Indian Influences in Chinese Sculpture

as if they were really any danger to the large figure of Buddha sitting calmly in their midst. This may be contrasted with a representation of the same scene from a panel at the foot of a pagoda at Shê Shan not far from Nanking,* where, apart from the figure of Buddha, all the occupants of the stage are entirely Chinese. The Buddha sits quietly in the pose of contemplation while the attacking forces are grouped around him with great artistic skill. There is a vitality, reality and unity of design in the Chinese picture that is lacking in the Indian one. The Chinese had made the story their own while retaining the accepted figure of Buddha, just as European artists kept the figure of Christ in His Eastern robes while all the others in the picture might be European.

In this brief review I have tried to show what interesting parallels and fascinating contrasts exist between Indian and Chinese Buddhist sculpture. Study on these lines is at the initial stage, and I am sure there is a fruitful field for research open to those interested in the subject.

* Tokiwa Daijo and Sekino Tadashi, *loc. cit.*, vol. iv., pl. 9.

SOCIETY'S VISIT TO THE INDIA MUSEUM IN LONDON

BY JOHN DE LA VALETTE

IN recent times the conviction has spread among those responsible for the administration of our great London museums that their task has two distinct, but equally important, aspects. On the one hand there is the duty, long recognized, of making the magnificent collections under their care serve the austere purposes of their own highly expert staffs in their never completed researches, and of placing the material helpfully at the disposal of scholars and qualified students from without. On the other side there has grown up the determination to interest the general public, especially the rising generation, in the broad aspects of human activity and endeavour which the museum specimens, rightly interpreted, illustrate. This latter service is becoming increasingly recognized as not the least valuable to be expected of our museums. It demands of their leaders and staffs, in addition to knowledge and understanding of the collections from a scientific angle, a generous appreciation of their place in human endeavour generally. Especially is this the case where the collections illustrate human conceptions and activities remote from those with which the average visitor is familiar through his own experience or his national traditions.

Formerly it could not be said that the India Museum, which is a branch of the Victoria and Albert, showed signs of adequate appreciation of this need for the intelligent popularization of its treasures which the parent institution has long and successfully put into practice on its own side. The present Director, Mr. K. de B. Codrington, is fully imbued with the influence of the new spirit.

One of the striking impressions which members of the India Society formed last July when, by courtesy of the Director, they were privileged to visit, under his guidance, the collections that were then still in course of rearrangement, was the fact that by grouping the various classes of exhibits in chronological periods in proximity to each other, there inevitably grew up in the visitor's mind a coherent picture of the kind of people that lived in the country and century concerned. It is only when one begins to visualize the arts and crafts and the religious monuments of the past, or of distant places and peoples, as the activities of human beings fundamentally akin to ourselves, and differing only in detail, that any genuine interest for them can be roused among those not expert in the subject to which the exhibits relate.

Society's Visit to the India Museum in London

Such a treatment of our public collections relating to India is bound to stimulate a better understanding between Britain and India. The laudable efforts of the present Director of the India Museum to this end should receive in full measure the official support they merit and need. For it is unquestionable that the accommodation now allocated to the Museum is inadequate to display its valuable material effectively in accordance with the principles I have outlined. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the rumoured prospect of providing this Museum with more suitable premises may soon be an accomplished fact. There could be no more opportune time to render outstanding service to the Empire, by contributing towards a more generous understanding and a richer appreciation of India by the remainder of the Empire, than the coronation which will draw visitors to London from all parts of the world.

All who are concerned not merely with Indian art, but with India as a great and noble part of the Empire, must hope that Mr. Codrington may have been enabled by then to display his fine collections with such effect that they will not only draw numbers of London's coronation guests, but send them home with a vivid impression of the magnificent heritage of culture and civilization which India has contributed to the British Empire.

“MATTER, MYTH AND SPIRIT”

IN the review of Mrs. Dorothea Chaplin's book with the above title, which appeared in the last issue of *INDIAN ART AND LETTERS* (page 59), the publisher's name should have been given as Messrs. Rider and Co. (second edition), the first edition having been out of print.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF ASIATIC ART (HOLLAND).
EXHIBITION OF ASIATIC ART IN THE "STEDELIJK
MUSEUM," AMSTERDAM.

JULY 5 TO OCTOBER 4, 1936.

The Society of Friends of Asiatic Art has not only founded its Museum, but from the beginning of its activity in 1918 it has always been zealous for the enrichment of the private collections of Asiatic art. In this way interest in the art of India and East Asia has grown rapidly in Holland. At the same time the collections increased to such an extent that it has been possible to organize an exhibition of great importance. Only in order to fill up a few gaps was it found necessary to enlist the aid of museums. The illustrated catalogue contains 556 items. Of course, it was not possible for this exhibition to give a complete survey of the extensive domains of Asiatic art. Notwithstanding the development of private collections, Holland cannot compare with countries like England, France and Germany, but along with Sweden she takes an important place, not only in regard to the art of the Dutch Indies, but also of British India and of Eastern Asia. The quality of many objects collected in recent years is on a level with the collections of those three great countries.

In selecting the objects for exhibition, the Committee has taken into account the exhibits in the Museum; no object was chosen the category of which was already represented in the Museum. Special attention was paid to the æsthetic qualities of the exhibits.

For this particular exhibition the Municipal Council of Amsterdam gave the use of seven rooms in the "Stedelijk Museum" which communicate with those of the Museum of Asiatic Art.

The exhibition was opened at the same time as the remarkable summer exhibition entitled "Two Centuries of English Art." H.R.H. The Duke of Kent, after his inaugural address at the latter, paid a visit to the summer exhibition of the "Friends of Asiatic Art."

TH. B. VAN L.

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